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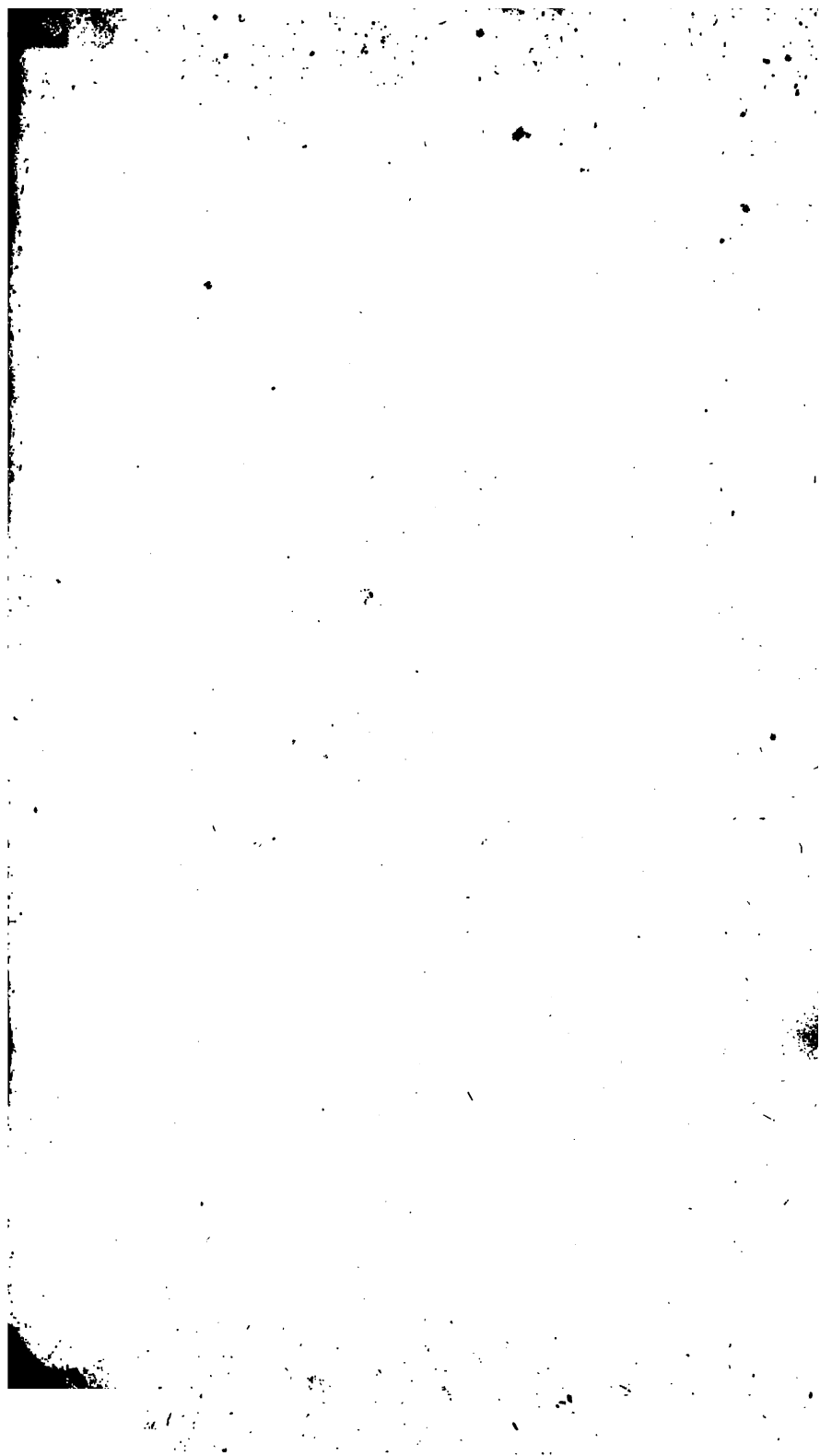
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THE
INVESTIGATOR;

OR,
Quarterly Magazine.

VOL. III.

JULY AND OCTOBER, 1821.

"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report."

EDITED BY

THE REV. WILLIAM BENGOLLYER, D.D.,

LL.D., F.A.S.,

THE REV. THOMAS RAFFLES, LL.D.,

(OF LIVERPOOL),

AND

JAMES BALDWIN BROWN, ESQ., LL.D.

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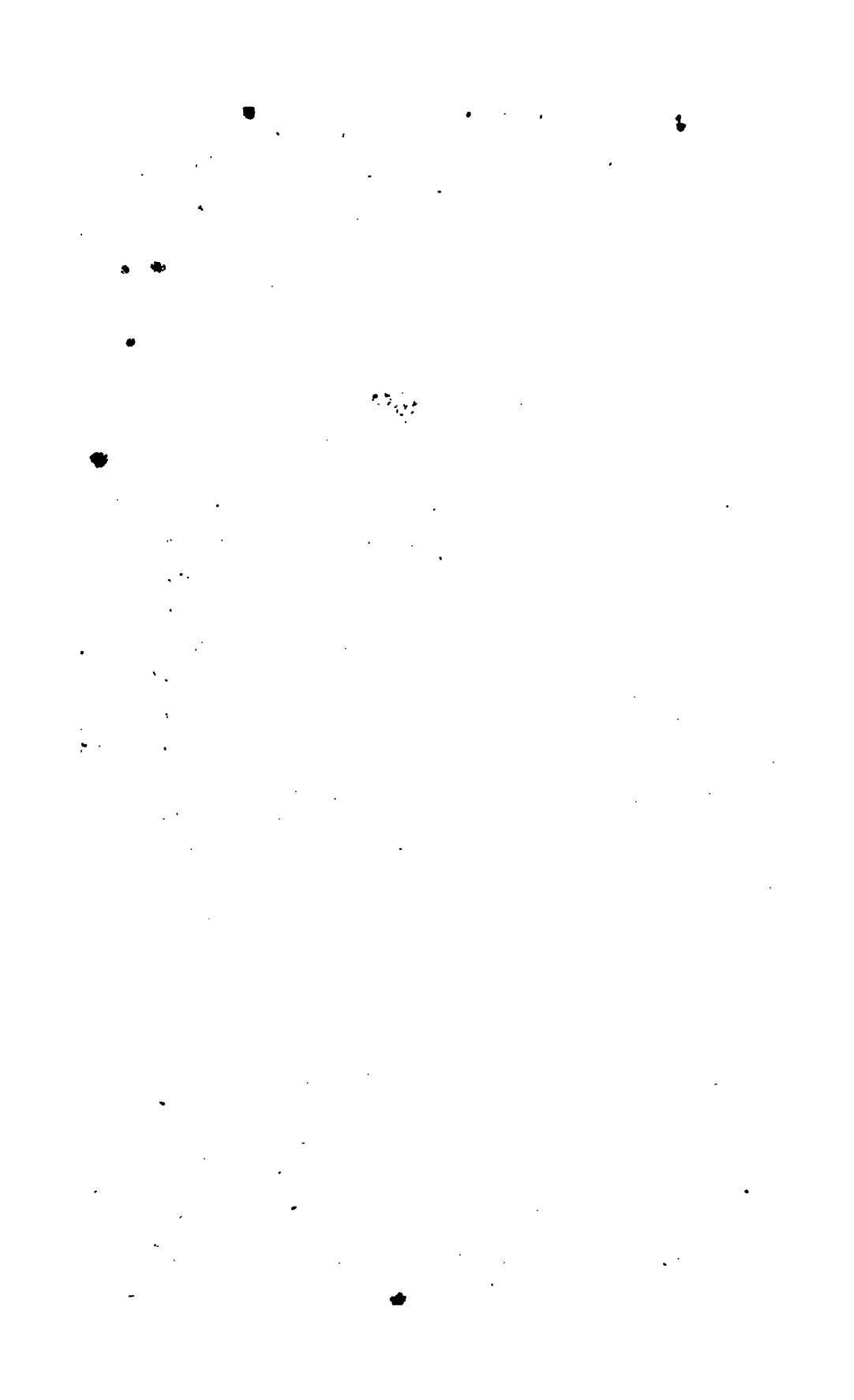
1821.





PREFACE.

THE Editors very gratefully acknowledge the increased support which they have experienced during the publication of the third volume of their Work. Measures have recently been taken to increase the number of contributors, in Great Britain, America, and India; and they flatter themselves, that the progress of the INVESTIGATOR will prove that they have not formed too high expectations, from the steps they have taken in this and other respects, to render it increasingly interesting to their Readers — though they will willingly and unfeignedly ascribe the merit of its becoming so more to their Correspondents than themselves.



CONTENTS TO NUMBER V.

ESSAYS, &c.	PAGE
A Short Account of the Battas, a Race of Cannibals in the Interior of Sumatra; communicated by Sir THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, Knt., Lieut.-Gov. of Fort Marlborough - - - - -	1
Sketch of the Present Condition of the Native Population of Sumatra, and of the Probability of its Amelioration, by the Education of its Children; communicated by the Same - - - - -	2
Reflections written by JOHN BRADFORD, the Martyr, on the Blank Leaves of his New Testament - - -	30
Monumental Inscriptions to the Memory of Great and Good Men; No. I. FRANCIS BACON, Lord Verulam -	31
Translation of the Cinghalese Book, called Rajewaliye, (Rájá-vali) a History of Ceylon, compiled from the Historiographic Records of the Kingdom. Communicated by Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE, Knt., late Chief Justice of that Island - - - - -	33
What is Poetry? - - - - -	54
An Essay on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America; Read before the New-York Historical Society. By SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D., A.A.S.—Part II.	70

REVIEW.

GODWIN on Population - - - - -	86
Two Sermons, preached at Shrewsbury, by Professor LEE	119
HOARE's Memoirs of GRANVILLE SHARP - - -	134
The Improvement of English Roads urged, during the existing Dearth of Employment for the Poor - - -	151

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
American Literature and Intelligence - -	153

POETRY.

The Death of Mungo Park - - -	175
-------------------------------	-----

Philosophical and Literary Intelligence - -	184
List of New Publications - -	193
Religious and Philanthropic Intelligence - -	201
Obituary - - - - -	211
Mr. JOHN SCOTT - - - - -	ib.
Provincial and Miscellaneous Intelligence - -	212
Summary of Missionary Proceedings - -	223
Political Retrospect - - - - -	231

THE INVESTIGATOR.

JULY, 1821.

A Short Account of the Battas, a Race of Cannibals in the Interior of Sumatra.

WE had intended to commence the present number of our work with some brief memoirs, in the form of an extended obituary, of a few of the most celebrated persons who died in the course of the last year: this intention, we have, however, been induced to abandon, by the arrival, just as these memoirs were going to press, of a volume of "Malayan Miscellanies," the first book ever printed in the island of Sumatra; and from its pages we shall fill up the two sheets left for matter, which we should despair of rendering as interesting, and which, certainly, could not be as new to our readers. The following are the contents of this curious volume, presented by SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, to one of the editors of the Investigator, who, together with his colleagues, has already been greatly indebted to his kindness, for some very valuable communications.

"1. Description of Malayan Plants. By William Jack. No. 1.—2. Notes on Bali.—3. Annals of Achim, translated from the original MS.—4. A short account of the Battas.—5. Descriptions of Malayan Plants. By William Jack. No. 2.—6. Annotations and Remarks, with a view to illustrate the probable origin of the Dayaks, the Malays, &c.—7. Short Account of the Islands of Timor, Rotti, Savu, Solor, &c.—8. Sketch of Borneo, or Pulo Kalamantin. By J. Hunt.—9. Notices on Zoological subjects. By Messrs. Diard and Devaucel.—10. Some particulars relative to Sulo, in the Archipelago of Felicia. By J. Hunt.—11. Proceedings of the Native School Institution.—12. Meteorological Table, extracted from a Register kept at Bencoolen, during the years 1818 and 1819.—13. Poem in the Malay Language, descriptive of the Journey of the Lieut.-Governor to Menangcabow, in 1818."

The fourth of these papers is, perhaps, the most curious; and as we are satisfied that the information it contains may be implicitly relied upon, we proceed to lay it before our

readers, without any other prefatory remark, than that we have reason to believe it to be the production of a gentleman, holding a very high office in the island, in which the singular race of people, which he describes, have long lived unnoticed by Europeans, and, indeed, almost unknown.

“ The Battas of the interior have an invincible prejudice to the sight of the sea, which they suppose to be the residence of evil spirits; and this circumstance added to the little communication they have with Malays or people of any intelligence, renders all account of this singular race of people extremely vague and limited. The sources of my information, are the chiefs of Tapanūli and Sorkom, the latter of whom have twice visited the Tohbah country, which is the parent state; consequently, these memorandums relate only to the countries interior, and to the northward of Tapanūli: excepting for produce, however, this description will answer for the countries to the southward of Tapanūli. The Batta country commences on the borders of the Acheen districts in the province of Karoh, as pointed out by Mr. Marsden in his Map of Sumatra, and extends to the back of Ayer Bonji south. The districts which are difficult of communication, and excite a desire of being known, are at a distance of from three to six days’ journey inland. Their population is numerous, as may be well conjectured from the vast consumption of salt, which it is erroneous to suppose is eaten by the Battas in larger quantities, than by any other class of people. Their stature is much above the middle size, and their voice uncommonly strong and sonorous. The country is open and cultivated, and the air keen and healthy. The space separating it from the sea-shore supports a race of people, inferior in stature, power, and wealth, but having a common origin with those of the interior. Whether the face of this part of the country, which is covered with impenetrable forests, produces a climate obnoxious to the constitution, I cannot pretend to say; but it is evident, that the inhabitants of these districts resemble those of the former in little more than their language. The population is also inferior; and their villages are at a greater distance from each other, on account of the necessity of choosing a spot favourable to cultivation, and contiguous to a rivulet; for which reason, they commonly reside in the valleys. I understand these parts to have been originally peopled by speculatists, wanderers, and outcasts from Tohbah, who, in the course of time,

and from various causes, have established themselves into chiefships: hence the almost constant state of war in which they are engaged with each other. Among them, reside the Pangalongs, or traders, who keep open the communication with the interior countries, by conveying thither salt, iron, silk chindies, gongs, and other commodities from the settlements on the shore, receiving in payment, dollars, horses, and grain. The only mode of conveyance is on the backs of men; but in the interior, horses are made use of. Having remarked the distinction between the inhabitants of the interior, and those of the countries bordering on the seashore, I shall take the latter as the subject of these memorandums, which I shall proceed to state in succession, commencing with the most northern dominions of the Batta country.

“*Karow*.—The men work mines, and the women manufacture cloth, and cultivate rice. They have been mostly converted to the Musselman faith.

“*Allas, Mahtumbulam*.—Cultivate rice and tobacco, which they carry down to Sūsū.

“*Se Nandong*.—Converted to Mahometanism by the king of Acheen: similar occupations.

“*Deiri District*.—*Divisions*.—*Se Kohtang, Kasujan, Tamongoh, Bannoriah, Barusoh, Simbatan*.—Situated at the back of Sinkel; populous; divided into six parts; producing camphor, benzoin, and wax, all of which are conveyed to that port.

“*Tukah District*.—*Divisions*.—*Sipang, Rambay, Tukahdulo, Tukahunbun*.—Situated between Deiri and the back of Bahrūse, and divided into four parts, producing benzoin, grain, horses and cattle.

“The following countries extend from Bharhūse to the back of Sorkom:—

“*Dohrulan*.—Produces gold in small quantities, besides grain for home consumption.

“*Parahbotian, Jeitegodong, Pagarsenundi*.—The chief employment of the inhabitants of these countries, is the transportation of the imports of Bahrūse, and the exports of Tohbah between the two places; besides which, they cultivate rice.

“*Peidundun Pasaribu Dohlut*.—Produce benzoin, which is brought down to Murolotah Tongah; and a small quantity of gold, which is collected after the harvest is in.

“*Tohbah Country*.—Situated in the interior of the foregoing divisions, and extending from the back of Sinkel

north, to the back of Batang Taroh south, contains the following districts:—

“ *Battumajaggah*.—The inhabitants cultivate tobacco and rice, for home consumption, but do not export any thing : a bad tribe of people, the resort of refugees and outlaws.

“ *Hutahuah*.—“ Produces grain, and a small quantity of scented benzoin, which is carried to Sorkom.

“ *Hutah Balu, Tangaran*.—Independent of the cultivation of rice, the inhabitants are the carriers of salt between Sorkom and Tohbah.

“ *Paripiah, Sepapei*.—Produce grain for home consumption and exportation.

“ *Jeikekahuli, Mahtiti, Menapong, Dohlok Sangun, Synakutul, Sabushak, Butar*.—These seven divisions, surrounding the foot of mount Palakir, (which will be spoken of hereafter) situated in the southern and eastern end of Tohbah, consist entirely of extensive plains, where cattle and horses run wild. The inhabitants conceive this mountain to be the principal residence of all the evil spirits scattered throughout the Tohbah country, and offer daily sacrifice to avert their anger. Rice is the chief produce.

“ *Bakarah*.—Here is an extensive, fair, and extremely fertile land, which frequently incite other districts at war to plunder its granaries. The country is so steep and hilly, that only one side of the houses has pillars, the other resting on the side of the hill : in consequence of the only level grounds between the hills being swamps, which are turned into rice plantations, the inhabitants are obliged to choose these situations for their houses.

“ *Baligah, Mohrang, Uluan, Asarhan*.—These four countries, the inhabitants of which manufacture clothes and earthenware, and cultivate rice and cotton, border on the large lake in Baligah.

“ *Pulu Serumi*.—An island in the middle of the above lake, the inhabitants of which occupy themselves in catching fish with nets, drying it, and carrying it for sale to the fair at Bakarah, in barter for rice and salt.

“ The only mountains of consequence throughout the whole extent of the Tohbah country, appear to be Palakir and Mahtimbong. The former is both an object of veneration, from a conception the natives have that it is the chief residence of the evil spirits ; and a source of utility, because they are supplied from it throughout Tohbah with chunan, to eat with the siri leaf ; its surface being covered with cockle-shells. The only visible inhabitants, are tame

pigeons, which the natives religiously feed. These two mountains are the highest in the knowledge of the Battas. Nor does the Batta country seem to contain the source of more rivers than any other division of the island, though it has certainly the singularity of possessing a fresh water lake in the district of Baligah, in the centre of which, is a large island, well peopled. Sampans, large and small, are made use of for fishing, and conveyance from and to the island; to reach which, without a sail, occupies half a day; the whole breadth of the lake may, consequently, be paddled over in a day. The only winds that blow over its surface, are east, west, and north, on account of the direction given to them by the surrounding mountains. They are, however, sometimes so violent, as to occasion a considerable surf on the shores, in which the sampans are sometimes upset. The lake is bordered with a sandy beach all round, and is called Laut Towah. From this lake descends a river, which empties itself into the sea on the eastern side of Sumatra, the name of which I could not ascertain. It is also connected with the river of Batang Tano on this side.

"I have already noticed the difference in stature between the inhabitants of the interior, and those residing nearer the sea coast; their features are, however, similar, both being remarkable for an extraordinary straight mouth, not of the smallest size. The clothing described by Mr. Marsden is very just; though the better sort, and Rajahs who can afford it, wear very fine blue deitahs or turbans, on their heads, and silk chindies round their waists: the commonalty are contented with a wisp of straw, or the bark of a tree, and coarse cloth of their own manufacture. These cloths are, however, greatly superior in the country of Anrohlo, to the southward of Tapanūli, where great ingenuity and taste are displayed in the workmanship and introduction of such colours as they can procure, the lower part being ornamented with a vandyke fringe of variegated beads. The kampil siri, or siri bag, is very neat, made of straw, and curiously ornamented with beads; one side of the mouth laps over like a pocket-book, to the extremity of which is suspended a string of beads, three or four feet long, of various sizes and colours, ending with a little bell. The pipe consists of a brass tube, about three feet long, curiously engraved, with an ornamented bowl, and a stopper of the same metal, connected by a small chain. The arms of the chiefs are generally encircled above the elbow with a

bracelet of kīmū, or Asuaso : ear-rings, or drops, of a triangular form, made of an inferior sort of gold, are also the ornaments of a Rajah. The women, as in most uncivilized countries, are paid little attention to ; and their dress is nothing more than the coarse cloth tied under the arms, and not extending below the knee : the better sorts wear vests of similar workmanship to the cloths of Anrohlo.

“ A kampong will contain from one to two hundred people, one third of whom, probably, may be children. The houses in the interior are well built of plank, curiously carved, covered with ijū in its raw state, and are sometimes a hundred feet long, without a division in them. The parents and all relations live together, if they can agree, or the building can contain them : the entrance, which they close at night, is by a ladder in the centre, from underneath : on every side of the house are large windows. The buildings of the inhabitants near the sea, are miserable erections : under each house, are the hogs, cattle, or buffaloes of the owner ; and as these compartments are never cleaned, the appearance of a Batta kampong resembles that of a buffalo kandong in rainy weather. The kampongs, in times of hostility, are enclosed by a parapet of sod, about four feet high ; outside of which are one, two, and even three, strong paggars of split camphor trees, reaching to the height of the windows of the houses, furnished with platforms in the inside, for the besieged to fire from ; and the whole is surrounded with an abbatis of briers, and well planted with ranjaus. The entrance is narrow, and over it is a platform protected by briers, from which they fire on those approaching ; the gate or door is strong, and closed by timber wedged against it.

The principal occupation of every member of a family, is husbandry. The low grounds are ploughed ; the hills are simply cleared of their wood. The tobacco planted in the northern and interior country, is of an inferior quality, and is smoked nearly in a green state : what I have seen, is shredded like the Java tobacco. The cloth is made by the women. The country abounding with sulphur and saltpetre, every chief manufactures his own powder ; but it is coarse, and will not long preserve its strength.

Their knowledge of the efficacy of particular shrubs, herbs, and roots, for the removal of many disorders, and healing of sores and wounds, is extensive ; and they are not less expert in the selection and administration of different poisons, from those of the most deadly and sudden nature,

to others of a less violent, though equally fatal effect. I have seen many suffering under the effects of the latter. The victim of revenge is not insensible of his situation, and sees the mournful prospect of many years to be passed in pain and torment, for the gratification of his implacable enemy. Soom, a China medicine, (for a small stick of which, three or four inches long, a hundred dollars is paid) is the only antidote to these poisons; but it is so seldom to be procured, and the circumstances of the person are in general so inadequate to the purchase, that it is very rare those once poisoned ever recover.

The Battas, with whom the Company's Settlements to the northward have communication, are a faithless, litigious, vindictive, and an independent race of people. I am sorry to say, I cannot allow them a single virtue. It is only the dread of punishment from a superior power, that will keep them in any degree of subordination, or excite them to the performance of their engagements. It is by no means uncommon for a chief to conceal his real inclinations with so much art, as to receive a compensation as a bribe from both parties, either for his assistance in the wars, or his opinion on a trial. A dispute, of which the value will not exceed ten dollars, is sufficient to set two kampongs, or districts, at war; though in this case, it is not so much the consideration of the sum, (for ten times the amount is probably expended before it is concluded, beside the loss of lives) as the mutual dislike to surrender the point which has caused the difference; and unless mediators appear from other districts, a war of this nature will continue for months and years. They carry their revenge to such an extent, as to eat their prisoners. Should the adverse party have attempted to burn the kampong, or should the war happen to be on a point of consequence, if they cannot vent their hatred in a public manner, they resort to their favourite resource, poison. Some idea of their obstinacy or independence (I believe it should be termed the former) may be obtained, from the conduct of Batta Koolies, hired to work in the Company's Settlements: they will continue their services as long only as they please; so that unloading a cargo of salt with despatch, depends on their good humour: the instant an example is made of those who are unwilling to proceed in their work, the rest run away to the main, and leave you to finish the business as you can. The Rajahs have no authority over them; and your only satisfaction is the curtailing of their wages, which

they willingly admit, from a consciousness that they have gained their point, and can in future have an opportunity of retaliating, by refusing their services. This circumstance (although the inconvenience attending it is now removed) is sufficient to give you an idea of the impossibility of urging the execution of any scheme or plan, contrary to their real wishes, even when supported by the opinion and concurrence of their chief.

The authority of a chief is hereditary to the son or brother, and founded solely on his abilities in regard to the sway he has among his people: his right to that part of the country no one will dispute; but if he be not prompt to resent insult, ready to take advantage of the weak and credulous, endowed with facility of speech and argument, bold in war and rapine, he has but few adherents; who, in return for their services, require from him those qualities, which will protect them in their agricultural pursuits during peace, and lead them to victory in war. Every kampong of consequence, is well furnished with matchlocks; and being easily supplied with powder and ball of their own manufacture, they frequently practise firing at a mark, and are, in general, excellent shots.

The Rajah and his adherents being unanimous in the necessity of having recourse to arms, (all discussions of a public nature requiring the presence of the commonalty) presents and messengers are despatched to other Rajahs, to join, or preserve their neutrality. This being ascertained, the people are collected by each chief, feasted on buffalo meat, and the cause of the war is loudly proclaimed, accompanied by the music of gongs, drums, and fifes. During this, they supplicate the anger of evil spirits, that their undertaking may succeed; and every man binds himself by oath, to be true to the cause, in taking of which, he participates of the buffalo. The next thing is, to announce the declaration of war to their enemies, which is done by erecting in the road leading to their kampong, a number of reeds, and the wooden figure of a human face on a post, from which a bamboo, containing the cause of enmity, is suspended. A matchlock is then fired, to draw attention to the spot, and the party returns: after this, every opportunity is taken for annoying each other, and the war is the cause of much privation and confinement; as the husbandman is afraid to work in his ladang, lest he should be shot or carried off by a party of the enemy, of whom there are always small detachments on the look out for the defence-

less. Day-break is generally the time of attack, superstition prohibiting any other part of the twenty-four hours to be so appropriated."

Sketch of the Present Condition of the Native Population of Sumatra; and of the Probability of its Amelioration, by the Education of its Children.

THE eleventh article in the "Malayan Miscellanies," enables us to lay before our readers a brief, but very interesting account of the present state of the native population of Sumatra, and some very encouraging prospects of its speedy amelioration, by the establishment of schools for the education of the young. To this object, we have reason to know, that the attention of the enlightened, the benevolent, and the active lieutenant-governor of Fort Marlborough, the first European in rank and authority in the island, was very powerfully directed before he left England; and, with his wonted despatch in the furtherance of every plan of improvement, soon after his arrival at his government, he appointed a committee, having at its head the chaplain of the settlement, to draw up a plan for the extension of the system of education, already in operation, for the benefit of the emancipated Caffree slaves of government to native children of all descriptions. In his instruction to that Committee, he very justly remarks:—

"At present, though there does not seem to exist any prejudice or objection to sending children to the school, many parents are so inattentive to their interests, and unacquainted with the benefits to be derived, that it cannot be expected they will send them without some pressing invitation and encouragement;—others derive some advantages from the services of their children, in attending cattle and otherwise; and, therefore, in order to remove these impediments, it may be advisable to afford to the individuals some positive advantage, of which they cannot fail to be sensible. With this view, a certain allowance of rice to each of the children, to be delivered monthly to those who regularly attend, may be advisable; and you are authorized to include it in the general plan of the parent school."

His final direction is:—

"You will be pleased to accompany your Report by such observations as occur to you, on the necessity and advantage

of this intended plan of educating the native population, the difficulties which may be expected, and the probable success and effects to be contemplated: and, as the same will probably form the subject of a communication to the Supreme Government, and the authorities in Europe, I earnestly recommend that your Report be as circumstantial and explicit as possible, in order to enable a distant authority to judge and decide on the advantage of the measure, and the probable results."

These instructions are dated Fort Marlborough, Sept. 19, 1819; and, in obedience to the governor's directions to the committee, to assemble with the least delay practicable, and to lose no time in carrying into effect such part of the plan as would depend on their individual exertions, they, on the 14th of the same month, prepared for circulation, in the Malay language, the following

" ADVERTISEMENT.

" This is to give notice, that a school has been opened, under the protection of Government, for the instruction of native children; which institution is in accordance with a benevolent and extensive scheme, which has been adopted by the British Nation, for the spread of useful knowledge, and the improvement of mankind. At this school, children will be taught to read and write their native language, instructed in the elements of general science, and the principles of practical morality, so that they may be brought up as profitable and respectable members of society. Be it, however, distinctly understood, that any interference with the religious principles of the scholars, will be strictly avoided. It is intended to receive into the school all children between the ages of three and sixteen years. The blessings of education have been generally confined to the rich; but in this institution, the poor have equal advantages; for it is the humane intention of Government to grant an allowance of rice to all whose parents come forward to apply for that indulgence, from inability to support them whilst deprived of their services. It is hoped that all natives of rank and education will, by their example in sending their own children, and by their influence among their dependants, endeavour to promote the extension and consequent utility of the institution; and they are invited to come and satisfy themselves, that the regulations adopted, and the instructions communicated, are such as have been

set forth, and as are calculated for the advantage and improvement of the population of the country."

This Advertisement was accompanied by the following judicious Prospectus, translated also into the Malay tongue:—

"It has pleased Almighty God to inspire the good in many parts of the world with a desire to supply the destitute, to instruct the ignorant, and to render happy the miserable;—this desire is extending on every side, and many people of many nations, who have hitherto been living in misery, because they have been living in ignorance of a state superior to that which they had been habituated to, are now receiving the blessings of their benefactors with pleasure and gratitude. At length the wishes of these benevolent individuals have reached the shores of Sumatra, and are only restrained till the consent of its inhabitants be obtained, when they will be extended and diffused without distinction over every part of the island. It is the opinion of the learned and the wise, that the most effectual means of rendering men happy, is to extend the capacity of their minds, to increase the degree of their knowledge, and to make them acquainted with the capability they possess, of occupying an exalted situation in the creation of the Supreme Wise. But how is it possible to bring them into this state? for if men be ignorant of the benefits afforded by it, they have no inducement to exert their activity in attaining to it; and the advantages arising from it, can be duly appreciated by none but those whose minds are already expanded, and whose abilities enable them to judge of the nature of good and evil. When men perceive the advantages to be derived from the possession of a thing, they require no foreign stimulus to excite them to obtain it; they immediately ask, "How shall I get it?" and embrace those measures without delay or hesitation, which are most likely to bring it into their possession. Thus money having been adopted as the standard value of property, and being that which can purchase articles necessary for the pleasures of the body, all men are endeavouring to obtain it; they make it the grand object of their constant pursuit; they use every just means calculated to bring it into their hands; and many are so eager to possess it, that they scruple not to act with the greatest injustice and cruelty. But where is the money that purchases happiness of mind? What will expand the mind, and increase the knowledge of men? It is not wealth, nor property, nor manual labour, nor superior

rank. This is only to be obtained by means of a continued effort of the attention, an unwearied exertion of the mind ; and the most effectual assistant of this exertion, is to learn to read and write. If a man be ignorant of this art, his knowledge can never extend beyond the narrow sphere of his own acquaintance ; he can know nothing of the sun, the moon, and the stars, in the heavens above ; nor of the various habits and customs of people of different ages and nations ; of the animals, the fishes, the trees, the mountains, the countries, and of the seas, or of the earth beneath ; he can know nothing of the arts and sciences ; of calculation, and of reason ; — all he can comprehend, compared with what he is capable of knowing, is not as an atom to the world. But if he has been taught these arts, without moving out of his own house, his mind may be carried beyond the boundaries of the earth ; he may be led to entertain correct ideas of the heavens ; he may become acquainted with people at the furthest extremity of the globe ; he may teach himself the situation of various countries ; he may inform himself of their history ; he may learn how the various articles of commerce are produced : in fact, it is impossible to enumerate the advantages to be derived from such an acquisition.

“ Viewing instruction in the arts of reading and writing, therefore, as the blessing which will ultimately lead to the greatest good, it is the wish of the English Government to confer it as extensively as possible in Bencoolen, and the adjacent countries. That this benevolent wish may be more expeditiously accomplished, an institution has been founded, which will receive scholars of every description, and of every age, from three to sixteen years. They are required to be present at the school-room in the morning at ten o'clock, and will be liberated at three in the afternoon. That no one may hesitate to send his children, from ignorance of what is taught, the school and books will be open at all times to examination, and if any objection should be made to any particular part of any subject inculcated, the person is at perfect liberty to withdraw his child. But having no other object in view, than the good of those for whom the establishment has been formed, it is not supposed that an objection of any description will be made : however, for the previous information of all who are likely to be influenced by this provision for the education of children, it is thought advisable to insert a slight sketch of the subjects it is intended to introduce.

“ When a child first comes, his name will be inserted in

the list of scholars, and he will be expected to attend regularly. If he be ignorant of the alphabet, he will be put to learn the characters; after an acquaintance with which, he will be taught to learn to read, and write, upon sand, the various combinations with facility; he will be instructed in writing and spelling short and easy words; from which he will proceed to reading and writing simple lessons on history, on science and natural philosophy, on geography, on morality, on the produce of the arts, on the natural productions of the earth, and on many other subjects, which combine utility with entertainment;—as he advances, he will be taught to write well on paper, and to calculate by means of figures, which will give him an advantage scarcely to be estimated in its value. He will continue to exercise himself in these various subjects, till they become familiar and easy, when he will be at liberty to pursue what course he or his parents may think most proper; but whatever be his object, with these acquisitions he will be amply qualified to obtain it. They will lay a foundation, upon which he may build a superstructure of whatever nature he wishes—a foundation that will endure, not only through the contracted space of our present state of existence, but one that will last to eternity.

“ Still further, that no obstacle whatever may remain to retard the progress of the institution, or prevent the general diffusion of good, it has been proposed to allow the children of those parents who cannot dispense with their services, a certain quantity of rice, which they will receive monthly. It will be issued at so much per day for every day they attend, but not for the days they are absent. Thus then, having commenced an institution at a great expense, for the sole good of the inhabitants, it is hoped that no one will be found to deprive himself or his children of the inestimable blessings it is calculated to afford.”

These documents were immediately transmitted to the Governor, enclosed in a letter, in which the Committee thus unequivocally express their approbation of his honour's plan, for the general education of the native population.

“ We cannot, however, conclude this communication without stating our conviction, that the plan is calculated for the radical improvement of the population: that the very backward, immoral, and depraved condition of society, points out the instruction of the rising generation as the most probable, if not the only, rational means of introducing a state of ultimate civilization: and that the absence of

violent bigotry, or prejudice in favour of existing opinions, holds out a fair prospect that but little serious obstruction will be found to impede the establishment and progress of the proposed institution."

To this letter Sir Stamford Raffles replied on the 20th of the same month, approving of the preliminary measures of the committee for the establishment of the first school on the new system, and associating four native chiefs with the four European members of the Education Committee. On the 29th of September those chiefs attended in their official capacity; and we have great pleasure in extracting the following minutes of so interesting a meeting:—

"The native members are now made most fully acquainted with the objects of the Institution, and with the steps that have as yet been taken towards its promotion. The advertisement announcing its establishment, which had been translated and printed, was submitted to them; and having been generally informed of the immediate and remote advantages contemplated from it, the following questions are put to them, with reference to local circumstances and peculiarities.

"*Ques.* 1. The repairs of the school, now in progress, will be completed in ten days, when it will be fit for the reception of one hundred boys;—is it your opinion that scholars to that number may soon be expected to offer themselves?

"*Ans.* We are convinced that candidates to that number, and much exceeding it, will soon present themselves; but exactly how soon we cannot say.

"*Ques.* 2. Do you think the people of the country generally will wish to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered of educating their children?

"*Ans.* The advantages are so great and so obvious, that we have no doubt but they will gladly avail themselves of it.

"*Ques.* 3. Do you think any objections will exist to the eventual extension of the plan, by the general establishment of schools on the same principle?

"*Ans.* We do not foresee any: the more the thing is known and extended, the more it will be approved.

"*Ques.* 4. How is the education of youth at present conducted, and by whom?

"*Ans.* Education, in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen, and generally in the adjacent districts, is conducted at small schools, which are generally kept by priests, who

teach the children to read the Koran; but any competent person may teach at these schools.

“ Ques. 5. What profit or advantage is derived by the priest, or person who teaches such a school?

“ Ans. The course of education being completed, the usual fees for each scholar are twenty dollars, a suit of clothes, a large tray of yellow rice, and a plate of betel leaf; but some pay more, and some less, according to their means.

“ Ques. 6. What time does it usually take to complete this course of education?

“ Ans. On an average, about three years.

“ Ques. 7. What proportion of the children of the country are thus educated?

“ Ans. About twenty in a hundred, that is, in the neighbourhood of Bencoolen; but in the interior there are no schools, and they learn nothing.

“ Ques. 8. What description of information is communicated at these schools?

“ Ans. As soon as they have learned their letters, they are taught to read the Koran; they also read fables or tales, and histories; they also are taught to write.

“ Ques. 9. If such schools as this now establishing, where all kinds of knowledge are gratuitously communicated, should be generally instituted, do you think the present mode of education would be thereby affected, or fall into discredit or disuse?

“ Ans. Our opinion is, that the present plan will supersede the old one.

“ Ques. 10. If those children who are now instructed by priests, should quit their schools and resort to ours, might we not expect that the loss which would thus be sustained by their present masters, would render them hostile to our plan, and that their influence, open or secret, would be excited to oppose it?

“ Ans. Whatever their private feeling might be, we do not think they would venture openly to oppose it. Their secret influence is not great.

“ Ques. 11. Would it not, however, be advisable to invite into our school some of the best of the native teachers, that they may become acquainted with our system, with the view to their extending it by the establishment of new schools on the same plan?

“ Ans. This plan would, no doubt, be advantageous, and we strongly recommend it.

“*Ques. 12.* You being persons possessing high rank and influence in the country, have it in your power to insure the complete success of the proposed plan, which you seem quite sensible has only the good of the people in view:—may we depend on your taking an interest in it, and giving it every support?”

“*Ans.* We do see the liberal and disinterested object of Government in the proposed plan, and we pledge ourselves to support it to the utmost of our ability.

“With reference to question 11th, Dyang Mabelak here requests to recommend a person who has been employed in instructing youth of the higher orders, as peculiarly fit for master in the present school.

“The committee receive the recommendation with pleasure, and measures are taken to communicate an invitation accordingly to the person alluded to.

“A letter, reporting on the necessity and advantage of generally educating the native population, the difficulty to be encountered, and the probable success and effects to be contemplated, is read and approved, and directed to be forwarded to the honourable the Lieutenant-Governor.”

That letter we extract entire:—

To the Honourable Sir T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor.

HONOURABLE SIR,

“WE have now the honour to lay before you our promised observations on the points specially brought under notice in your letter of the 10th instant, viz.; The necessity and advantage of generally educating the native population, the difficulties to be encountered, and the probable success and effects to be contemplated. We are aware of the great importance of the subject thus brought before us, and of the difficulties that must attend its due consideration, and are fully sensible of our inability to do it justice:—we feel, however, deeply interested in the success of the proposed plan; we cherish concur in its benevolent and enlightened object; we heartily anticipate a lively anticipation of its happy results; and we shall esteem ourselves fortunate indeed, should our humble efforts conduce in any way to its prosperity. Under these feelings, and with these views, we enter on the subject; and however deficient our researches may be with regard to skill and ability, we pledge ourselves they shall not be wanting in zeal and perseverance, and that they shall be conducted with the utmost precision, impartiality, and fidelity.

“ From those who have visited, or spent a considerable portion of their lives in regions obscurely known, and contemplated man under various forms of existence, it is reasonable to hope for some information which may elucidate the moral and natural history of the race. Yet we find travellers often unjust in appreciating the characters of the natives they visit; the standard by which they usually decide, being that of their own country, and the times in which they live: hence the illiberal epithets of savage and barbarian are so lavishly and indiscriminately applied. We are aware of this propensity; and set out with a determination to avoid falling into it. This declaration we conceive the more necessary, because our subject leads us at once into the contemplation of a state of society, more debased, depraved, and ignorant than could be supposed to have existed for upwards of a century, under the influence of the British Government. In saying this, we trust we shall not be considered as presuming to pass any undue strictures on the past administration of this dependancy of British India. Our business is not with the past; the task of tracing effects to their causes, in this instance, would be as unprofitable as it is invidious; and after all, would answer little purpose. We must state things as we find them, and endeavour to point out actual and existing evils, that suitable remedies may be applied.

“ The necessity and advantage of generally educating the native population, is the first point to which our attention is directed. In order to prove this necessity, we must exhibit the existing condition of the people with reference to their character; their religious opinions; their intellectual and moral knowledge; their government and habits; and their acquaintance with the manufactures and arts of civilized life.

“ First, then, as to their character. It has been asserted, that among the Malayan tribes inhabiting the west coast of Sumatra, the infant is hardly separated from the breast of its mother, before it evinces a perverseness of disposition, impatience of control, and manifest tokens of disobedience to the will of its parents: that these keep pace with its increasing years, and prove the fruitful sources of that marked insubordination to authority, impatience under restraints, and implacability of revenge, which form very prominent features in the character of those people, and render them treacherous allies, uncertain friends, inveterate enemies, and dangerous subjects. We shall not pretend

to decide on this point; but we must admit, that with the Malays, indeed, revenge is virtue: it is hereditary in their families, and regularly handed down from father to son. Slow in the attainment of useful knowledge, the murderous inventions of the country have preceded and outstripped the culture of those peaceful arts, which civilize and adorn society. Indolence the most obstinate, forms a striking peculiarity in their character. Persuasion cannot rouse or stimulate them to exertion: and coercion, as we have had but too fatal proof, only drives them to desperation.

“ Mr. Marsden, whose history is so justly celebrated, and whose character is remarkable for mildness, benevolence, and impartiality, speaks of them in the following terms: — ‘ They retain a strong share of pride, but not of that laudable pride, which restrains men from the commission of mean and fraudulent actions. They possess much low cunning and plausible duplicity, and know how to dissemble the strongest passions, and most inveterate antipathy, beneath the utmost composure of features, till the opportunity of gratifying their resentment offers: veracity, gratitude, and integrity, are not to be found in the list of their virtues; and their minds are almost strangers to the sentiments of honour and infamy: they are jealous and vindictive.’ — The above, however, rather more strictly applies to the people of the coast, or to the Malays as distinguished from the inhabitants of the interior, who may, perhaps, be viewed in a more favourable light.

“ At the principal settlements, and indeed along the whole extent of the coast from Acheen to Kroee, the Mahomedan religion is established; but the tenets of the prophet are very imperfectly grafted on the ancient superstitions of the country. There is, however, a regular priesthood; yet it does not appear that their influence over the people is so extensive as might be expected, considering the ignorance which prevails. This is accounted for, when we consider the total absence of common information, even amongst the most learned; the priests, who are, with very few exceptions, the instructors of youth, themselves being unacquainted with the tenets of their own faith. They read the Koran, it is true; but in a language (the Arabic) which they do not understand, and are, consequently, unacquainted with its doctrines; some of the most objectionable of these, however, have been handed down to them from their first converters, and have taken a fast hold of their minds, and produced considerable influence on their conduct — parti-

cularly the doctrine of fatality; agreeably to which, they believe that whatever occurs in the natural or moral world, whether it be good or evil, happens by the express appointment and positive ordination of God.

“ It would be difficult to say, what are the religious opinions of the people of the interior. They have little or no conception of a future state of rewards and punishments; they have no priests, nor any species of worship to the Supreme Being instituted among them; they believe in the existence of certain superior beings, both of a benevolent and malignant nature, who have the power of rendering themselves visible or invisible at pleasure: to these beings they are in the habit of offering up sacrifices, with the view of conciliating their good will, or averting their wrath. Their superstitions are very numerous, and many of them are analogous to those of ancient and modern times in other countries. They have an imperfect notion of the metempsychosis: the terrific alligator which inhabits their rivers, and the ferocious tiger which prowls in their forests, are supposed to be animated by the souls of their departed ancestors: hence, although the mischief committed by these animals is said to be very great, such is their veneration for them, that they can seldom be prevailed on from any consideration to destroy or molest them. With respect to the state of their intellectual and moral knowledge, little need be said: they are nearly without exception, especially in the interior, destitute of the most ordinary information on every subject connected with literature and the arts. They use the Arabic character, which they adapt to the peculiar genius of their own language, and write with considerable facility; but their orthography is so arbitrary and unsettled, that their productions are often with difficulty understood, even by each other; hence the little advantage to be derived from the present introduction of books, and the great benefits that might be communicated in establishing a fixed standard of orthography. They know nothing of astronomy, geography, mathematics, natural philosophy, nor indeed of any of the sciences.

“ Their form of government (patriarchal) is that which is generally attached to the most infant state of society; their chiefs possessing little more than a nominal authority, without the necessary power to make themselves feared and obeyed. So great indeed is the imbecility of their system of legislation, that it cannot punish even murder, except by imposing a certain pecuniary mulct, which is proportioned,

not to the ability of the murderer, nor with reference to any circumstances of aggravation or extenuation which might attend the perpetration of the deed, but to the rank and quality of the person murdered. Yet whilst the native government is so weak and inefficient, many of the established customs and usages (for they have no written law) are of a nature the most oppressive and injurious; particularly those which relate to slavery, to debtors, and to marriage contracts. Slavery, which is so degrading to the species, and which was considered by an eminent statesman as the greatest practical evil to which the injustice of mankind had ever given birth, prevails on the coast, both amongst the European residents, and the Malays. But the principles of slavery have been so fully investigated of late, and its miserable consequences so indubitably ascertained, that little remains to be said, but that it really exists to a considerable degree.

“ The late restrictions, however, which have emanated from the humane interposition of the British Government, have extended their influence to the shores of Sumatra; and, indeed, the native regulations regarding this point, are on the whole less harsh and severe than might be expected; but it is to be feared, that for the most part they are little attended to. The state of debtors is little better than that of slaves; the only difference being a regulation which does not allow their creditors to strike them, and which leaves them the option of changing their masters, provided they can procure others to redeem their debts, when they transfer with their pecuniary obligation the conditions of their servitude. No part of the produce of their labour is appropriated to the liquidation of their debt, nor do they receive any allowance beyond what is necessary for their bare subsistence; consequently, the greater part continue for their whole lives in a state of servitude and dependence. The committee do not pretend to develop the origin and causes of institutions, so unjust and oppressive, but they may, doubtless, be imputed in part to the large sums exacted for marriage contracts. The average price paid by one man to another in the lower classes of society, as a consideration for the person of his daughter (according to the mode of marriage by Jujur) is about one hundred and twenty dollars, to which other charges and expenses are frequently added. Should the husband find himself unable to produce the necessary sum, he becomes the slave-~~debt~~or of his wife's family, until he can raise a sufficient

sum to redeem himself. This custom may be also assigned as one cause of the low and thin state of the population.

"The arts and manufactures being of a nature in some degree allied to necessity, by their connexion with the immediate wants of nature, have at least kept pace in their progress with other subjects of improvement amongst them. Their houses are well constructed, and not unfrequently ornamented with rude carving; they forge iron into knives, but unskilfully; they know the use of the bellows, which they work after the manner of a pump, with double tubes to keep up a constant stream of air, and a piston formed of a bunch of feathers. They press the sugar-cane in a mill formed of two rollers, acting upon each other by the involutions of a perpetual screw*; and have many artful methods of ensnaring fish. The springes they set for birds are ingenious and effectual: the women weave with considerable neatness, and want only a fine staple, such as the Bourbon, or far-famed Pernambuco cotton. Sometimes they interweave an inferior kind of silk in their stuffs, but it is coarse and not glossy; and they are fond of ornamenting their clothes by working in the gold thread of China. They extract a blue dye from a plant that grows around their villages, and also a red one from the roots of the *morinda citrifolia*. Their fine works in gold, such as filagree, are well known; but these are performed by artists who reside at the principal settlements on the coasts. In the operations of agriculture, they content themselves with cutting down the trees for the purpose of cultivation, the new land yielding an immense increase. This toil is renewed every year or every second year, and contributes somewhat to the clearing of the land; but the population is so inadequate to the extent of the country, and vegetation is so rapid, that as they never remove the roots of trees, nor till the soil, the underwood quickly shoots up, and again covers the ground: but even where agriculture is practised, it is not carried to an extent sufficient to supply the demands of the island.

"This view, which we have taken of the existing state of the people, and of their genius and progress in the arts, we believe to exhibit a true picture of the state of society on the coast; and therefore are fully justified in our conclusion, that there does exist a very urgent necessity of 'generally educating the population,' and that the advan-

* The public spirit of the present lieutenant-governor of Bencoolen has induced him recently to order sugar-mills from England on the best construction.—EDIT.

tages which may be expected therefrom, are beyond calculation.

- "Among the principal difficulties which present themselves to our notice, in opposition to ~~the~~ undertaking, may be enumerated, the general disinclination of the natives to innovation, even when calculated to promote their best interests; their habitual indolence, and aversion to mental and corporeal exertion; their apathy, proceeding in a great measure from their creed as fatalists; the influence of the priests, who at present derive emolument from the education of the youth, and who, of course, may be expected to oppose any plan that tends to the diminution of their consequence and profits; and the inability of the lower classes to dispense with the services of their children, whom they employ at a very early age in offices of domestic drudgery. These obstacles will, however, we doubt not, be overruled by unremitting perseverance in the system, and a due appreciation on the part of the people, of its beneficial results, when these come to be fully understood. Indeed we have already the most encouraging assurances from three of the principal native chiefs, (the same whom you, honourable Sir, have been pleased to nominate to our committee), that the projected plan will be received with general approbation, particularly when recommended by your liberal proposal of a certain monthly allowance of rice, at the public charge, to such children as may be regular in their attendance, and whose parents are unable to support them without deriving some advantage from their exertions. Nothing further by way of encouragement appears necessary in the first stage of the institution, except such means as come within the scope of scholastic usage. We proceed briefly to state the nature of the discipline, and the course of education which we recommend to be maintained and inculcated in the parent institution. As to discipline, we propose to adopt, as far as local circumstances will admit it, that laid down in the Lancastrian system, and practised with so much success in various parts of Hindoostan.

"We submit the following course of instruction as well calculated for inculcation with reference to their present ideas of things:—When a child first comes, if he be ignorant of the alphabet, he will be put to learn the characters; after an acquaintance with which, he will be taught to read and write upon sand the various combinations of the character. When he shall be able to form the combinations with facility, he will be instructed in writing and spelling

short and easy words, from which he will proceed to reading and writing simple lessons on history, on science, on morality, on the produce of the arts, on the natural productions of the earth; and on many other subjects, which combine utility with entertainment. As he advances, he will be taught to write well on paper, and to calculate by means of figures. He will continue to exercise himself in these various subjects, till they become familiar and easy, when he will be at liberty to pursue what course he or his parents may think most proper. The superior advantages of this mode of tuition; the facility with which it communicates instruction; its efficiency in fixing the attention, and impressing on the memory the subjects inculcated; the readiness with which the children fall into it; the entire possession it takes of their minds, and the effect it produces in rendering them submissive to discipline, are points which have been most fully and satisfactorily established, and which at this moment are sufficiently exemplified in the present state of the little school at this place, which has been only a year and a half established, for the instruction of the emancipated Caffree slaves of government. The decided success which has attended this infant institution, under circumstances of comparative neglect and discouragement, affords a cheerful prospect as to what may be anticipated from the scheme which is about to rise on its foundation; sheltered, and protected, and cherished, as it will be, under the fostering care of government. But in addition to its superior advantages, this system is found to have a beneficial influence on the morals of the children, and a powerful tendency to produce good and useful habits. Its leading features, self-tuition, or the mode of conducting the school through the medium of the scholars themselves; the rules with regard to precedence and classification, proportioned to their respective attainments; the peculiar nature of the rewards and punishments, which are intended to operate exclusively on the moral feelings; are calculated in an eminent degree to produce diligence, to excite a generous spirit of emulation; to animate to the desire of distinction, as the most gratifying recompense, and to a dread of disgrace, as being far worse than the most severe corporeal punishment. Then the whole is conducted with such a regard to method, as cannot fail to insinuate itself into the habits of the scholars, and to produce a proportional influence upon their future conduct.

“ In the establishment of an institution similar to that in contemplation, the committee beg leave to recommend as a most powerful auxiliary, a fount of large types in the Arabic character. Should the plan be carried into execution to any considerable extent, the effect such an acquisition would possess in its tendency to fix the orthography, and the general facility it would afford in supplying the respective schools with matter to work upon to any degree required, renders it a most important object.

“ The prospective advantages and felicitous results to be expected from the establishment, appear beyond measure momentous. By virtue of its slow, but certain operation, the infant mind will be moulded into habitual obedience; an early check will be given to the predominance and gratification of unruly passions; habits of industry will be acquired, and the dormant capabilities of the race roused into a vigorous and efficient energy; the utility of arts and sciences will be appreciated, and the cultivation of them identified with the happiness of the people, and improvement of the country.

“ We are decidedly of opinion, however, that any direct inculcation of Christian doctrines in the school, should be, under existing circumstances, most scrupulously avoided. Still, as Christians, sincerely attached to that divine religion which we profess, and convinced that it alone can afford an effectual and adequate remedy for the wants and miseries of mankind, we cannot help adverting to the probable effects of education, in reference to this important subject. It is by confinement of the intellect, that idolatry and superstition maintain their sway. If, then, by leading the native children to our schools, we enlarge their minds with proper instruction, they may in due time find their way to our temples. If they can be brought to love the precepts of morality and virtue, they may gradually become enamoured of our religion.

“ The committee do not imagine that a revolution so entire in their habits and opinions is to be effected by any sudden effort. It must be the result of long and patient and persevering exertion. None of those who are now living here can expect to witness it, but they may break up the ground which has so long lain desolate and uncultivated; they may sow the seed of the future harvest; and here and there, in a happier soil, they may be permitted to behold the first tender buddings of that germ, which,

striking deep its roots, and spreading wide its branches, shall eventually cover the land.

"We are,

"Honourable Sir,

"Your most obedient Servants,

(Signed)

"C. WINTER,

"J. LUMSDAINE,

"T. C. WATSON.

"N. M. WARD."

"Bencoolen,
2d October, 1819.

These proceedings were immediately communicated to the Supreme Government of British India, and were thus noticed in an official letter from the governor-general in council.

"Para. 29. 5th Oct. 1819.

"Education of the Native Population of Bencoolen."

"The measures described in this despatch have received the cordial approbation of government. His excellency in council applauds the motives of benevolence which led you to extend the means of instruction to the inferior classes of the native community, in the immediate vicinity of Fort Marlborough. The practicability of a further diffusion of the advantages of education on the island of Sumatra, is discussed by the committee appointed by you to report on the subject, with great ability, zeal, and intelligence. Interesting as the prospect held out by them is, the governor general in council deems it to be proper, that the pecuniary aid of the government should be restricted, under existing circumstances, to the establishment already formed at Fort Marlborough. The charge incurred for the enlargement of the Caffree school, as well as the estimated monthly disbursements on account of a superintendent, native masters, and stationery, are accordingly sanctioned; but as the issue of rice to the scholars, after the objects of the institution are sufficiently promulgated, would appear to be no longer requisite, as an indispensable incitement to attendance, his excellency in council desires that the donations of rice may be discontinued."

In communicating this sanction of their proceedings to the education committee, under date of the 18th of May, 1820, Sir Stamford Raffles intimated his wish, that a public examination of the pupils, in presence of their parents and the native chiefs, should take place on the forenoon of his majesty's birth-day, when, according to the merits of the parties, certain honorary rewards should be conferred on those

who had distinguished themselves. To his intimation, and to the whole communication, the committee returned the following answer :—

“ *To the Honourable Sir T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor.*

“ HONOURABLE SIR,

“ We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult. with the enclosed extract of a letter from the secretary to the supreme government on the subject of the native school at this settlement.

“ We are unanimously of opinion, that the proposed public examination of the children, for the purpose of ascertaining the progress they have made, and of conferring certain marks of honorary reward on those who have most distinguished themselves, will be attended with many beneficial effects. One of the most important which we anticipate, is that of enabling us, in conformity with the desire expressed by his excellency the governor-general in council, to discontinue the donations of rice, and to ensure attendance from motives more laudable, and more accordant with the spirit and design of the institution, and with the benevolent and enlightened views which gave rise to it. We think it, indeed, of the utmost importance, to promote and encourage by every fair and practicable means, a desire for the acquisition of knowledge, resulting from a just sense of the benefits and advantages which it confers on its possessors. This feeling being once excited and roused into action, the inherent energies of the institution will be fully adequate to its own support and enlargement, independently of any foreign stimulus, and the expense attending the present system being thereby so considerably diminished, there will be no obstacle to prevent its widest possible extension.

“ Pleasing, however, as this prospect may be, we are of opinion, after fully discussing the subject, that the donations of rice should be abolished only in a gradual way. With the view, however, ultimately to effect its complete abolition, we have agreed as follows :—

“ 1. That an inquiry be instituted into the circumstances of the parents, and that allowances of rice be altogether withdrawn from those whose circumstances do not require this indulgence; also, that it is expedient that honorary rewards should in future be conferred only on those who do not receive rice; and that the quota to those who continue to receive it, be reduced from four to three bamboos per mensem.

“ 2. That it may be attended with a beneficial effect, if

the native teachers were to be paid in proportion to the number and proficiency of the scholars. By this means, their own interest would stimulate them not only to increase the number as far as possible, but to use their utmost endeavours to bring them forward through different branches of education. An emulation will be excited amongst the teachers, as well as the scholars, and thus an impulse would be given, which it is hoped would leave no room on either part, for either idleness or inattention, while each would be directing the whole force of his mind towards the attainment of the object in view.

" 3. We think it highly proper that the school should be regularly visited one day in every week by an European and a native member of the committee, and a resolution to this effect has accordingly been adopted. It will be the business of the visitors to hear the classes read and go through their different exercises; to make inquiry with respect to the absent; to take cognizance of any instance of bad behaviour; to give such instructions as may appear requisite to the teachers; and, in short, to endeavour to carry into the fullest effect the regulations, and every part of the discipline of the school.

" 4. We are of opinion, that it is worthy of consideration, whether the exclusion or separation of the Caffree children, would not tend to the respectability of the school, in the view of the native Malay population. It is, we believe, pretty well known, that they regard the Caffrees as a very inferior race of people, and that they have in general, especially the higher classes, an aversion to any sort of connexion with them. If this be really the case, as the Caffree children are few in number, and those few are for the most part stubborn and refractory, we certainly think that it becomes a question whether it be an object to retain them, at least that it suggests the propriety of appropriating a separate apartment for their use.

" 5. We are farther of opinion, that it may be of advantage to form a class from the most promising of the scholars, for the purpose of instruction in the English language. Whilst an advancement to this class would be considered by them as a high distinction, they would become emulous to excel, as a means of acquiring this honour. Thus also would a door of access be opened to our rich stores of English literature and science, and it is not beyond the verge of possibility, or perhaps even of probability, that in some few minds of a superior order, and such are not exclu-

sively confined to any particular country or state of society, a kindred genius may be elicited, which in process of time may be destined in its turn, under the direction of Providence, to add to the stock of human knowledge, and to instruct and enlighten mankind.

"In adverting to the progress of the school since the last report of the committee, and its present state of proficiency, although from unavoidable and unlooked for occurrences we have not been able to realize all that we promised and anticipated, yet neither are we without ample ground for hope and encouragement. We have to regret the long absence of Mr. Ward, on whom the management of the school immediately devolved, and who is the only member of the committee thoroughly acquainted with the minutiae of the British system of education. Another very efficient member of the committee has also been unavoidably absent until within a short period; and of you, honourable Sir, to whom, as patron of the institution, we look for counsel and advice, we have likewise been deprived. The school has, therefore, been in a great degree carried on by the impulse first given to it; yet, even under these circumstances, seventy children have been added to the original number, of whom the greater part have been advancing progressively through the different classes; and we trust, that on the day of examination, many will be found deserving of the rewards which you purpose to bestow.

"We have the honour to be,

"Honourable Sir,

"Your most obedient servants,

"C. WINTER,

"J. LUMSDAINE,

"T. C. WATSON,

"J. BOARDMAN."

"Fort Marlborough,
June, 1820.

The projected examination took place on the day appointed, June the 4th, 1820, in the presence of the lieutenant-governor, several native chiefs, the principal European and native inhabitants, the Mahomedan priests and others, when two-and-twenty pieces of velvet chintz and handkerchiefs were distributed as rewards to as many native children.

Since that period, an interesting communication has been made by the lieutenant-governor to the committee, which we give entire, as the latest intelligence on the subject:—

" To the Rev. C. Winter, Jas. Lumsdaine, Esq., Captain Watson, and N. M. Ward, Members of the School Committee.

" GENTLEMEN,

" Several circumstances have occurred to induce a delay in communicating to you my sentiments on the native school under your superintendence. Among these, the arrival of intelligent and active missionaries, under the sanction of the Court of Directors, for the express purpose of extending useful knowledge; and a plan which has been suggested, of combining a knowledge of several branches of industry with the usual course of education, are not the least important.

" I have now much pleasure in expressing to you the very high degree of satisfaction which I derived from the recent public examination of the pupils; the result of this examination is as creditable to your active and zealous superintendence, as to the application and capacities of the scholars, and abundantly proves that where pains are taken to direct the minds of the youth of this country to proper and desirable ends, and to train them in habits of regularity and assiduity, a corresponding degree of improvement and civilization must and will take place.

" I enter fully into the views expressed in your report of the 3d of June, except in as far as they apply to the Caffrees; I see no objection, however, to their being separated from the other scholars, should you think it advantageous to persevere in this arrangement; but I hope the conduct they have since evinced, will be found fully to entitle them to all the advantages of the institution originally established for their peculiar benefit and advantage. Many of these children have already arrived at an age when they may be advantageously bound out as apprentices, under indentures to be framed by you, to learn some useful trade, or as servants, and the few that will remain, shall be required to attend regularly.

" It appears to me, that much advantage might arise, were the immediate direction of the school placed in the hands of the Reverend Mr. Evans and Mr. Ward; and if those gentlemen are willing to unite this charge with that of the higher school they have lately undertaken, I would suggest the propriety of such an arrangement, which need not in any way interfere with your more general superintendence.

" I would also suggest the advantage of introducing

among the children of this institution, a knowledge of such of the more immediately useful arts, as may enable them, after leaving the school, to obtain a respectable livelihood, such as carpentry, joinery, braziers, mat-making, pottery, and various other employments, for which there is a constant demand, as well in Marlborough as in the surrounding districts. The officer in charge of artificers, being a member of your committee, will be able to suggest those which are most in demand, and which may be most readily taught, and I shall be happy to receive your sentiments, how far a plan of this kind is practicable, and likely to be attended with advantage.

"I take this occasion to urge you to persevere without relaxation, in the plan which has been so advantageously commenced. Ultimate success appears to me to depend almost entirely on the continuance of the zeal and interest you have already taken in the institution; and as our second year commences with increased advantages, so I would hope the result of another public examination, will show a corresponding improvement, and a more general and permanent extension of the plan.

"I am,

"Gentlemen,

"Fort Marlborough,
Aug. 7, 1820.

"Your most obedient Servant,

T. S. RAFFLES."

Reflections written by John Bradford the Martyr, on the blank leaves of his New Testament.

[Continued from Vol. 74.]

BEWARE more of evil thoughts than of any evil words or deeds; for of evil words and deeds there is judgment here, and they be of such sins as precede the judgment; but of evil thoughts there is here no judgment, and they be of such sins as do follow the judgment. Farewell, my own most dearly beloved pastor in the Lord for ever, forth of prison, the 8th February, 1555, by your own most assured

JOHN BRADFORDE.

Many would come to thee, O Lord, but few will come after thee. Many would have the reward of thy saints, but very few will follow their ways; and yet we know, or at the least should know, that the entrance to thy kingdom and paradise, is not from a paradise, but from a wilderness; for we come not from pleasure to pleasure, but from pain to plea-

sure, or from pleasure to pain, as thy story of the rich glutton and Lazarus doth something set forth and teach.
Ex carcere, 15th February. JOHN BRADFORDE.

Enemies to God are such as hate God, Ps. lxxviii., so when in thyself thou seest not through hatred of God, think that the punishments, how great and grievous soever they be—be not the punishments of enemies, but rather the fatherly castigations of children; therefore be not dismayed, but take occasion, as a child, to go to God, as to thy father through Christ, and doubt not of love and friendship accordingly, how deeply soever thou hast deserved the contrary.

Labour for a lively sight and sense of heavenly things, and so shall no sight or sense of earthly things trouble your affections, further than you shall be able enough with ease and pleasure to relinquish and forsake them whenever God's glory shall require. Now this sight and sense of heavenly things is not otherwise than by faith, which begins not but where reason faileth, or rather maketh an end; therefore, in all matters of religion, and concerning salvation, have reason with Abraham's ass, and leave your corporeal sense with his servants, in the valley, to be occupied in evil things, if that you will climb up with Isaac into the hill of heaven, whither God our father bring us for his mercy's sake.
 J. B.

If we ought to be patient when any man doth wrong us, much more then when God doth deal roughly with us, in that he cannot wrong us. God is patient, he then that is patient is common with God, or rather hath communion with God in this virtue, whereby it followeth, that the patient man cannot perish; inasmuch, as none having any communion with God, can perish.

Monumental Inscriptions to the Memory of Great and Good Men.

UNDER this title it is our intention to form a collection of the epitaphs of such of our countrymen as have been distinguished for their talents and their piety, or who have otherwise merited the preservation of the last tribute to their worth, now fast perishing from the mouldering stones on which it has been traced,—as the fond memorial of affection—

the expression of well-earned admiration of their abilities, or the frail record of those works which follow them. Where these inscriptions are in the dead or foreign languages, a translation will be given.

I. FRANCIS BACON, LORD VERULAM,
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL, ST. ALBANS, HERTS,
On the pedestal of a statue of Lord Bacon, sitting in a chair, and
leaning on his elbow in a musing posture.

H. P.

Francisc. Bacon, *Baro de Verulam, Sanct. Albani Visco.*

Sui notitioribus Titulis

Scientiarum Lumen, Facundiæ Lcx,

Sic sedebat :

Qui postquam omnia naturalis sapientiæ

Et civilis Arcana evolcrisset,

Natura decretum explevit ;

Composita solvantur !

Anno Dom. MDCXXVI.

Ætat. LXVI

Tanti Viri

Mcm.

Thomas Meautys,

Superstitis Culpor,

Defuncti Admirator.

TRANSLATION.

FRANCIS BACON, BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT
ST. ALBANS.

Or, by more conspicuous titles, the light of science, of eloquence
the law,

Sat thus :

Who, after he had unfolded

All the secrets of natural wisdom and of civil policy,

Fulfilled the decree of Nature :

“ Let compounds be dissolved !”

In the year of our Lord 1626 ;

Of his age 66.

In memory of

So great a man,

Thomas Meautys,

Living—his attendant,

Dead—his admirer,

Erected this monument.

Translation of the Cinghalese Book called Rajewaliye (Rājāvali). A History of Ceylon, compiled from the Historic-graphic Records of the Kingdom.

(Communicated by Sir Alexander Johnston, Knt. late Chief Justice of that Island.)

[PART I.

From the Commencement of the Cinghalese History to the Arrival of the Malabars.]

THIS book relates how this world was formed, and consists; and gives an account of the kings who have reigned, and the particulars of their reigns.

As it appears in the Cinghalese writings, there are an infinity of worlds, whereof one hundred thousand lack of worlds are more precious than the other worlds, and ten thousand worlds are still more precious than those; and this world, called Magol-Sakwele, is more precious than all the rest. This world contains thirty lacks, ten thousand three hundred and fifty yodoons*, around which is a bulwark of stones, in the midst of which are standing the Trikutay†, each of them thirty thousand yodoons in height, and on them stands Mahameru‡; its height is one lack and sixty-eight thousand yodoons, and ten thousand yodoons is it in circumference; above it stands Sakra-Bawene§ (*Bhavana*) and Asura-Bawene¶, and below the great rock lies Naga-Bawene¶.

There are seven bulwarks of stones** encircling the world's circumference, which gradually lessen one yodoon in height from the innermost to the outermost; and they stand apart, at regular distances. On the four sides of Mahameru lie the four continents of the world: on the east Purwawidaihea, extending eight thousand yodoons, to which belong five hundred islands; on the south Gambodwipay, or Dambediwa, (*Jambudwipa*), extending ten thousand yodoons, and it contains five hundred islands, (one of them is this Ceylon;) on the west Aparagodawnea, extending five thousand yodoons, and it contains also five hundred islands; and on the north Uttarakuru Dewene,

* One yodoon contains four Cinghalese miles.

† Three rocks within the centre of this world, bearing the greatest rock, Mahameru.

‡ Signifies great rock,

§ The world of Sakra, or Indra.

¶ The world of Asuras, or demons. ¶ The world of Nagas, or serpents.

** Called Satcole Pahoraa.

extending eight thousand yodoons, and containing also the same number of islands. Among the four continents of this world, Dambediwa (*Jambudwipa*) is more valuable than the other three; and it contains ten thousand yodoons in land and water, out of which four thousand yodoons were sunk into the sea, and three of the remaining six were left for a wilderness.

There are eighty-four thousand rocks encircling the great rock called Mahameru, each five hundred yodoons in height. There is in this vast wilderness a great lake or valley called Anottate Wille*, and five hundred streams descend into this lake from the different rocks of the wilderness; it is a spacious plain, surrounded by five large rocks, two hundred yodoons in height, and fifty in circumference: the lake extends fifty yodoons in length, fifty in breadth, and fifty in depth, and is also surrounded by six other small lakes. On the four sides of the great lake are four caves, one is formed like the mouth of a lion, one like that of an elephant, one like a horse's, and the other like the mouth of a bullock; the streams which pour out of these caves form the four large rivers which run through Dambediwa: and there is another large river runs through the country, called Solikaraya†, through the power of Maha Moeny (*Maha-Muni*, or Buddha.) These following five are large and high rocks, Supiriseya-Parwatea, (*Parvata*), Chittra-Kuta-Parwatea, Kalikute-Parwatea, Gandemane-Parwatea, and Kawilawse-Parwatea‡. Three of these rocks have caves in them, and one of the caves is called Miny-Lene, which is full of precious stones; another is called Ran-Lene, which is full of gold; and the other is called Ridy-Lene, which is full of silver. On the fourth rock stand five hundred palaces, wherein Passay Buddha§ lived; and one of the said palaces is full of flowers belonging to Gandha¶, who preaches on every quarter-day of the moon to all the gods, in order to make them happy.

This world, Dambediwa, is a field of charity, and is more precious than the glory of the gods, and the glory of Bamboo¶¶, which is more precious than all the rest. Bodimandel** stands in the country called Medde Desea

* A vast lake, situated in the midst of the great forest Himalay.

† Coast of Coromandel.

‡ The abode of Iswara.

§ Signifies a second, or an inferior Buddha, who never rises during the existence of the superior Buddha, or his government.

¶ The god of smelling.

¶¶ Brahma, or the supreme God.

** Signifies the place whereon stood the tree, called Bhoogaha, worshipped by the Bauddhists.

(*Maddhya-Desa*) in the middle of Dambediwa; in the eastern side of which stands a city or land, called Kajangele-Niyangame, which is six hundred Cinghalese miles distant from the said Bodimandel. On the east of the said village stands a very large and high tree, called Salkworksay; on the south of Bodimandel is a river, called Saleawaty; in the west of which stands a village, called Sawekarnea (*Swetakarna*): five hundred Cinghalese miles distant from Bodimandel, on the south-east, stands a village, called Tonawnam-Bamonogame*; five hundred miles distant from the said Bodimandel, and on the north, stands a rock, called Ussiratdejenam Parwatea, which is also five hundred Cinghalese miles distant from Bodimandel; from Salworsay to the said village, called Tonawnam-Bamonogame, (*Bráhmaṇagrāma*) eastward, is one thousand and two hundred Cinghalese miles; and westward the village Sawekarnea; to the north, a rock measuring 10,000 Cinghalese miles. On the east side are situated seven cities, Hastipura-Nowera, Matange-Nowera, Sawira-Nowera, Saweorande-Nowera†, Panderike-Nowera, Callingoo-Nowera, and Ruanaukara-Nowera‡. On the south-east of Bodimandel are situated six cities, namely, Sewat-Nowera, Jayetaru-Nowera, Sawgela-Nowera, Kosawatty-Nowera, Rajegaha-Nowera, and Miyolu-Nowera. On the south of Bodimandel are situated seven cities, namely, Aristepura, Kolesawogan-Nowera||, Indipat-Nowera, Kururatte, Barenes-Nowera§, and Kimbolwatpura-Nowera¶. On the west of Bodimandel are situated seven cities, namely, Sinhaba, Aristepur, Wisalamaha, Kasanbea, Pellalop, Karune Gamoadé**, and Dantepur Nowera§§. And on the north stand eight principal cities, namely, Uttrapanchale (*Uttarapanchāla*), Rajewarawas, Taksala, Kosee Naura††, Taumboo Parnie, Gauwade Daisea‡‡, Gowndare Daisea|||. These thirty-five cities stand as above mentioned, and it is known that the Baddus, powerful monarchs, powerful gods, great and rich people, the second Buddha, and eighty great Sawawan§§ were born; and the religion of Buddha is established within the above-mentioned thirty-five cities.

The following are the cities which do not follow the law,

- * A village of Brahmans. † Properly Sawraster Nowera.
- † Properly Rowenakara. || A city in Ayodhyapur. § Benares.
- ¶ Properly Kapelawastoe, the birth-place of Buddha.
- ** Karnagamonda Noowara. †† Or Cochin China.
- ‡‡ Near Calcutta. ||| Kanahar.
- §§ Signifies sanctified priests, who will experience no farther transmigration; but, on dying, become annihilated.

or religion of Buddha, viz. Bangale-Desa *, Areyemene-Ratte †, Waagoo-Ratte, Congane-Ratte ‡, Cannada-Ratte §, Sindura-Desa §, Marakkele Desa ¶, Neropal-Ratte **, Godjera-Ratte ††, Niggojere-Ratte, Dolowera-Ratte ††, Sare-Ratte, Wadige-Ratte |||, Wirekaly-Ratte, Callian-Ratte §§, Porena-Ratte, Wasu-Ratte, Canarte-Ratte, Lalaste-Ratte, Pallere-Ratte, Kawke-Ratte, Mallewe-Ratte, Malayore Desa, Pandere Desa, Chine, or China Ratte, Maha Chine, or China Ratte, Caws China Ratte, Yandeseya, Bamboroo Desa, Pretyal Desa ¶¶, Spanish Desa (or country) Nalisaneye, Palwakkea, Rome, Noremaky, Armaneya, Porene-Ratte, Pandy-Ratte, and Soly-Ratte.

There were five Beings who should become Buddha, and reign for one Calpa ***; and this Calpa is called *Maha Bhadra Calpa* †††, for which five Buddhas were appointed to reign, viz. first Kákasandha, second Konawgaine, third Kasyapa, fourth Gautama, and fifth Mittra, who has not yet become Buddha; but after his reign is to be expected the end of the world, and this world ††† is called Mahabhadra-Calpa. Now that we are speaking of the reign of the fourth, or our own Buddha, before his reign all the inhabitants of the world died, after living ten years only; but since, from ten, their lives were increased to an Asankhaya (without end, eternity;) but *by sin the age of man was again lessened, they began to die from the plague which descended from heaven*; and thus it will be till the end of the Antah-Calpa ||||, that the age of man will increase and decrease five different times before the end of the world.

In the first *Antah-Calpa*, the God of the sun began to give light to the world; and on the same day, as soon as the rays of the sun appeared, a prince was born from heaven; and all the inhabitants who were at that time were born in the same manner, and were Brahmans, who took the said prince as a chief over them, because he was born on the first day the sun began to give light to the world, so that they called him King Maha-Samata, whose person is resplendent as the rays

* Bengal. † About Coromandel. ‡ Kongs.

§ About Maleyalam. § Sindh. ¶ Arabia. ** Nepal.

†† Guzzerat.

†† About the coast of Malabar.

||| The country of Wadoegas.

§§ About the country of Wadoegns.

¶¶ Country of the Portuguese.

*** Calpa signifies the period from the beginning to the end of the world.
††† This Calpa is so called because it produced five Buddhas, which is very uncommon.

††† The period of the present mundane system.

|||| The twentieth part of the world's duration, the eightieth part of a calpa.

of the sun, and *has power to ascend into the heavens, in order to prevail or intercede for the great multitude*; and when he speaks there issues from his mouth the smell of the flower called Mahanil, to the distance of one yodoon, and from his body issues the smell of Sandal. Four deities, called Sidhi Widdedereyo*, (*Siddhi Vidyādhara*,) keep guard over the four sides of the king, and each of them wears a sword. The said king reigned an asankha of years, and in his time every living thing had the same age. And, at the same time, the lion was taken as king among the beasts, the bird called Hansea (*Hansa, the goose*) over all the feathered tribes, and the fish called Anand over all the fish.

The son of the king, Maha-Samata, was called king Rajenam, who reigned an asankha of years; his son, king Callaine, reigned the same number of years; his son, Mandatoo, was *chakrawarty Raje*†, who had such power, that he caused gold to fall like rain on the earth, and gathered the shower into a place, thirty yodoons in circumference. The said king continued in this world for a considerable time, and by the same power ascended to heaven, and there he enjoyed happiness for a great number of years; and from thence he again descended to this human world, and reigned another asankha of years; his son, king Marnenam, reigned also an asankha of years; and his son, king Upechaure, reigned the same number of years: his son, king Chetia, reigned the same number of years. This king Chetia, wishing to promote the Brahman called Korecawly, who was his school-fellow, into the office of prime minister, said that Capile (who was his prime minister at that time, and eldest brother to the said Brahman) was younger than the Brahman: the king sent orders to the multitude, who were gathered together, and wondering at the king's purpose, being contrary to the truth: then the king told a lie, being the first ever uttered, by saying that the prime minister was younger than the said Brahman; so that by this falsehood the Brahman obtained the office of prime minister; but immediately after the earth opened, and the king descended to hell; since which time falsehood is increased in the world, by which means the kings are ever since out of favour with the gods. This king had five sons; one reigned in the city called Hastipora, which is situated on the east of the country called Barenese; one reigned in the city called

* Saints, possessors of knowledge.

† Signifies a powerful king, whose authority extends from sea to sea. (*S. Chakravartin.*)

Aswapora*, which is on the south; one reigned in the city called Sinhapora, which is on the west; one reigned in the city called Dantepora, which is on the south-east; and the other in the city called Uttarapanchala, which is on the north. The succeeding kings kept their brothers, or ministers, to keep guard over them, instead of the four deities.

The eldest son of king Chetia, called king Mohalinde, by taking notice of the circumstances which happened to his father, continued his reign according to the customs of the former kings; and he reigned an asankha of years, and during his reign none of the inhabitants uttered any sort of falsehood. The other four brothers of the said king Mohalinde had eighty-four thousand children and grand-children, who continued to keep guard over their kings, as already stated. The son of the king Mohalinde, called king Pounchy Mochalinde, reigned an asankha of years; his son, king Saugera, reigned the same number of years; he had about sixty thousand sons, who divided Dambediwa among themselves, and each of them reigned in separate cities; and, after a great number of years, there were made different ranks and royal families from their descendants; but they were all, at first, of one rank, called *Malia Samate*. The king, called Sorimy, who was the eldest among the sixty thousand kings, reigned an asankha of years, in the principal place; his son, king Bawgry, reigned the same number of years; his son, king Rochy, reigned the same number of years; his son, king Maha Pretape, reigned the same number of years; who, in his reign, ordered his own prince, called Dharmapal, to be killed when he was seven months of age, by cutting off his hands and legs, by a murderer called Abimale, because the queen did not stand up from her seat when the king came in, because she had the child in her lap: by which impious act of this king, he was condemned to hell; and since that period the horrid crime of murder has prevailed in the world, and since that time the kings have lost their personal beauty by degrees, but their age did not lessen.

The son of king Maha-Pratape, called king Pandare, reigned an asankha of years; his son, king Maha Panade, reigned the same number of years; his son, called king Saddasai, reigned the same number of years, and was king Chakrawarty, a powerful king; and in his reign he caused to be made a large and valuable city, extending twelve

* A city in the middle kingdom of Jambudwipa.

yodoons. His son, called king Neroope, reigned an asankha of years; his son, called king Maha Neroope, reigned the same number of years; and his son, king Asie, reigned the same number of years. These are the kings who reigned an asankha of years each, and held the title of Maha Samate. The sons and grandsons of the said king Asie did not attain to the same age as the former kings; and, on account of their sin, they were out of favour with the other gods, and so they reigned each only one kile of years in the city Baked Miyolu Nowera. The most powerful king among them was called Maha Dewe, who, on seeing his first grey hair, caused the same to be plucked off, and resigned the throne to his son, called Maha Dewe; and went and remained in the wilderness for eighty-four thousand years, as an hermit; and from thence he transmigrated into the world, or heaven, called Brahma Loka; and, since that time, the title of Maha Samate was changed into the title of Maha Dewe. There were eighty-four thousand kings who had the title of Maha Dewe, all of whom, on seeing the hairs of their head become white, went also and remained in the wilderness as hermits; and afterward transmigrated into the said world, or heaven, called Brahma Loka. Each of the said kings reigned three hundred and thirty-seven thousand years.

The kings who reigned afterwards did not follow such examples as the former kings, who, on becoming grey-headed, became hermits; and then the title of Maha Dewe was changed into the title of Asoke, and again the title of Asoke was changed into the title of Okase. The following kings were called Adeye Dastareye, Rameye, and all together were one hundred thousand kings, had the title of Okasa, some of them reigned fifty thousand years, some forty thousand years, some thirty thousand years, some fifteen thousand years, some ten thousand years, and some five thousand years; and at the end of all these there reigned a king, called Okkawre, whose descendants were called Adeyebadea Denuvigae Corandua, Wes Anterea Senhesaye, and all together were one hundred thousand kings; and some of them reigned ten thousand years, and some less. Among the said number of kings, there reigned one called king Sote; his son, called king Atte Trity Okawre, had five hundred wives; and amongst them the principal queen was called Sabawatie, and she bore to the king a beautiful prince, called Jantoo. When the prince became five years old, the queen dressed him with flowers, and pre-

sented him into the hands of the king, saying, "King, behold the beauty of your son!" The king, on beholding such a beautiful boy, at the same time looked at the face of the queen, and told her that she might request any thing whatever she desired, for the trouble she had experienced in bringing forth the prince; to which the queen replied, that she would apply whenever she had occasion: and accordingly, some time afterwards, when the prince grew up, the queen requested the king to resign the throne to her said son. On which the king, moved with compassion towards the other four princes, whom he had loved very much, told the queen that he could not comply with her request, as he had four more princes by his former queen; and thus replying, the king could not restrain his anger, but withdrew to his bed-chamber. A few days after that, when the king was somewhat composed, the queen addressed the king, saying, "You as the king of truth and justice, is it proper for your majesty to tell a lie, such as your majesty did? And did your majesty never hear of the king who first told a lie having gone to hell, by the opening of the earth?" And thus she railed at the king, so that the king was ashamed, and could not bear his affliction; and calling the four princes of his former queen, related to them the whole circumstances, embraced them, and shed a flood of tears over their heads; and recommended them to depart to another country, and to take with them as much people and jewels as they liked, except the following articles, which a king always makes use of, viz. a hair fan, a golden band, which the king used to tie on his forehead, a golden sword, a golden pair of shoes, and a white umbrella; and so they took leave of the king, and departed. Upon hearing this, all the following people left the country, and accompanied the four princes, viz. the daughters of the said king, with their attendants and property, a thousand ministers, Brahmans, rich men, and several thousand merchants. And, on the first day, the whole company proceeded on their march as far as one mile; on the second day they marched eight miles, and on the third day they marched twelve miles, pursuing their march in the wilderness, and on one side of the city called Barenès; and there the princes took counsel, and spoke amongst themselves, saying, "If we take a town not belonging to us by force, it will greatly tarnish our fame;" and so they determined to settle a new town. One of the said princes remained with the multitude to clear the wilderness, and when the others went through

the wilderness in search of a proper place to build a town, they found a hermit, called Kapiterusee, at the foot of a tree called Bogaha, on the margin of a lake; which hermit had devoted himself to piety and religion. He asked the princes what they inquired for, and the princes informed him what they searched for. Then the hermit advised them to make a city where his own hermitage stood; and also he gave them encouragement, by giving them a good account of the said ground, saying, that when the foxes happened to run after the hares, so soon as the hares came to the hermitage the hares used to turn about, and run after the foxes, and, in like manner, the does after the tigers, &c. : and, likewise, that any person, or persons, who should live in this place, would always be in great favour with the gods and Brahmahs, and also be able to vanquish their enemies in time of war; and, therefore, that this ground would be the most proper for their purpose: and also the hermit requested the princes, after they founded the city, to call it by his own name, Kapilewastoo. And, according to the advice given by the hermit, the four princes built the city, and gave it the name of Kapilwastoo Pura. The princes next considered, that if they should unite themselves by marriage to the other casts, it would be a disgrace to their rank and dignity, so that they took four of their youngest sisters as wives for themselves, and their eldest sister was honoured, and kept as their mother. Upon hearing that the princes did not unite themselves to any other cast, their father was very much pleased, and joyfully called them royal princes; and since that time the title of Okawel was changed into the title of Saukewansea, and thus there were two hundred and forty thousand seven hundred and seventy kings, who reigned in this city, also known by the name of Kimbolwatpora Nuwera, by the title of Sawkewansea.

It came to pass, that the eldest sister of the above mentioned four princes who built the new city, called Kapilwastoo Pura, was seized with a dangerous leprosy; upon which the four princes had a consultation amongst themselves, saying, that if the eldest princess should remain any longer with them, the disease with which she was seized would be communicated amongst them; they, therefore, took the princess in a carriage with them, under pretence that they were going to bathe, and carried her to some yodoons distance in the wilderness; and there they made a large pit, and on the bottom of it placed planks, and put the princess into the pit, with all kind of necessaries to support

her for a long time; and the mouth of the pit they also covered with planks, and over the planks they laid earth; then the four princes returned back to the city. In the mean time, the king called Rama, who reigned in the city called Barenès, was seized with the same disease, and knowing himself that it was a dangerous disease, resigned the throne to his own son, and went into the wilderness; and in his great hunger and thirst he began to eat the bark, leaves, and flowers of a tree, and lived in a hole which was in the middle of a tree called Kolongaha, and by that means he was recovered from his disease; and, after he was perfectly recovered, he made a wooden stage in the tree twelve cubits from the ground, there he preserved fire; and after that time, his only support was the remainder of the beasts which he found killed by the lions, tigers, and other dangerous animals. And while he lived in this manner, on a certain night a tiger came near to the pit in which the above mentioned princess was buried; and as soon as he caught the human smell, he began to draw away all the earth which covered the surface of the pit; and as soon as he had broken open the planks which were placed over the mouth of the pit, the princess perceived the tiger, and cried out with a dreadful noise; and, upon hearing the human voice, the tiger left the place, and run away. The king, Rama, who lived on the neighbouring tree, was surprised to hear a human voice in the midst of the wilderness; and, as soon as the day began to break, he descended from the tree, and searched round about for the person that he heard in the night; and when he discovered the mouth of the pit which was covered with planks, he removed the same, and found a human being in the pit. The king Rama asked, "Who was there?" The princess answered, "I am a human being, and a female." King Rama thereupon answered, "I am a man, come out." The princess answered, "I am the daughter of the king Okawre, and though I should lose my life, I will not lose my honour and rank." Thereupon king Rama said, "I am the king Rama of the city called Barenès, come out." The princess replied, "My lord, I am afflicted with a dangerous disease." King Rama replied, "I had the same disease, but was cured by myself, and I know a remedy to cure that disease: come out." Thus, upon the persuasion of the king, the princess came out of the pit, and the king carried her into his hole in the tree, and provided her with the same remedy which removed his disease; and after she was recovered of the

same, the king lived with her, and the said princess bore to the king sixteen pairs of twins, all together thirty-two beautiful princes, and they all lived together in the hole in the said tree.

When an archer of the city, called Barenès Nuwera, went a hunting into this wilderness, he accidentally met the king in the midst of the wilderness; and after making a low bow to the king, he informed him that he was an archer of the city called Barenès Nuwera; and thereupon the king inquired from him after the health of his son, who was the king of that city; and the king was greatly satisfied with the good information that he received from the archer. The archer, seeing the thirty young princes standing round about the king, he asked the king, "Whose sons are they?" And the king answered that they were his own. The archer returned to the city called Barenès Nuwera, and informed the king of Barenès of the above circumstances; and how his father lived in the wilderness. The king of Barenès, together with a great multitude of people, thereupon went into the wilderness in search of his father; and when he found his father, he embraced him with joy, and requested him to come to his country; but the father refused to comply with the son's request. On which account, the son sent to his city for every thing necessary to found a new town; and caused the colon tree to be cut down, and built a new town upon the spot; and caused to be cultivated many paddy fields, and many dams and ponds to be made; and also furnished his father with a proper guard, and many citizens to live in the new town: and after he had finished every thing to his father's satisfaction, he returned back to his city, Barenès. And the new city was called by the name of the colon tree, viz. Colon Nuwara*.

The four kings, the brothers to the queen of king Rama, had eight daughters each, altogether making thirty-two princesses; and when king Rama asked the thirty-two princesses in marriage for his sons, the father of the princesses refused, saying, that it was a disgrace to give their daughters in marriage to the sons of the king of Barenès. However, the thirty-two young princes sent private letters to the daughters of the four great kings; and when the princesses came to bathe in the river, the princes came there also; and each taking a princess by the hand, carried them into the city called Colia, or Dewodanam Nuwera†.

* A city in the middle kingdom of Dambediwa.

† Ibid.

The fathers of the princesses heard that their daughters were carried to the city called Colia Nuwera by their own nephews, and laughed; and since that time the princes of the city called Kimboolwat have continued to take in marriage the princesses of the city called Colia, and the princes of the city called Colia to take the princesses of the city called Kimboolwat; and by that means the royal families of the said two cities are of one rank. From the king Maha Samate to the king called Sudeson, or Soododene, there reigned seven hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven kings; and out of them were three hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and ninety-three crowned kings. The king Sadene had two younger brothers called Amitodinea and Pasodenea.

We shall now relate about the kings, or royal families of Srilake, that is, Ceylon. The king called Calingo, in his reign gave his daughter in marriage to the king called Wanyo, and the said queen bore a beautiful daughter to the said king. The astrologers prophesied by the birth planet of the said princess, that when she should attain to the years of maturity she should become united to a lion, and bear him children, and they reported the same to the king; on which account the king caused to be made a palace which contained seven galleries, and he kept the young princess therein, with proper guards around the same. However, after the said princess had attained the years of maturity, she privately left the palace, from sensual desire; and coming into a road, she fled away with a party of merchants who were passing on the said road; and on their way through a wilderness of the country, called Lade Desay*, a lion fell upon them, and caught the said princess; and the lion seeing her beauty, carried her into the wilderness, and married and lived with her. And it came to pass, that the said princess bore twins to the lion; the eldest of the twins was a male, and the youngest a female. When the twins grew up, he asked from his mother what was the reason that she and his father were not alike? upon which the mother informed him of the whole circumstances, and how she came to marry with the lion, his father. And on the next morning, after the lion went in search of food, the son of the lion opened the stone door of the cave in which they were shut up, and walked fifty yodoons; and on perceiving that he was then at a great distance, he turned

* Properly Rawdha, a country near Gonde Desaya.

back and returned to the cave, and took his mother and sister upon his shoulders, and began his journey towards the city called Wango Ratte, where he safely arrived. And at that time, this city was governed by the son of the uncle of the princess who lived with the lion; and the princess and her two children presented themselves to the king, and lived in that city.

When the lion returned back to his cave, he found missing his wife and children, and was greatly vexed on that account; and the next morning he left the cave, and followed his wife and children. And when he came into the vicinity, he killed some people, whom he met in a village belonging to that city. When the king was informed of this, he gathered his troops, and sent them to destroy the lion; but when the people surrounded the wilderness, the lion roared, and fell upon, and killed some of them, and the others escaped, and ran away. And the king having been informed of the case, ordered the tom-toms to beat, proclaiming that any person who should kill the said lion, should have a part of the country, as a reward for his valour. And when this proclamation was made through all the city, the son of the lion offered his service, and prepared himself to go and kill the beast, and accordingly took his bow and arrows, and went into the wilderness where he was, and cried with a loud voice, "Come, lion!" The animal was greatly satisfied on hearing his son's voice, and came running to meet him: but as soon as the lion's son saw his father, he shot the first arrow; but, on striking him, its point was turned backward, and fell harmless on the ground; in like manner did it fall out with the second and third arrows which were shot at the lion by his son: but when the lion's son took the fourth arrow, the father saw it, and thought within himself, that his son wished to kill him, and, therefore, resolved that he would tear him in pieces, and with that intention he fixed his eyes upon him; and, in that moment, the arrow wounded him on his forehead, that the lion fell to the ground, and calling his son, and laying his head on his knees, requested to be affectionately commended to his wife and daughter, and died. And the lion's son cut off his father's head, and presented it to the king.

This king caused a new city to be built in the country called Lader Desay, and gave it the name of *Sinhaba pura Nuwara**; and the son of the lion, whose name was now Prince *Sinhaba*, was made king of the new city. Then

* A city in Wagoë Ratta.

king Sinhaba took to wife his sister, the daughter of the lion, otherwise called princess Sinhaba, and she produced king Sinhaba sixteen pair of twins; out of them, the first born, called Wijaya, was a great and fortunate prince. On marking his planet, the astrologers prophesied at his birth, that he should have such power as to destroy the devils of Srilake or Ceylon, and become king of the same; and also seven hundred boys were born on the birth-day of the said prince, who all grew to be giants.

When the said prince Wijaya attained his age, he gathered the said seven hundred giants who were born on his birth-day, and they were his only attendants and companions. Now when the valiant prince Wijaya, with his seven hundred giants, began to torment the inhabitants of the city, they gathered together, and represented the same to king Sinhaba; and upon the information of the people, the pious king became enraged against his son, prince Wijaya, and on the seventh day after the death of our Buddha, the said prince Wijaya and his seven hundred giants were sent on board ship, and banished from his father's kingdom. Whilst the ship was sailing towards the country called Rune-Ratte*, in the midst of the sea they perceived the large rock called Samante Booteparwetay, (or Adam's Peak on Ceylon), and then they concluded among themselves that it was a good country for them to reside in, and so they landed at the place called Tammene-Tota†, on Ceylon, and went to rest under the shadow of a neighbouring tree, called Nogihaga. At that time Ceylon was inhabited only by devils, but no human inhabitants were to be found therein. And after the war of Rawena, before the present or fourth Buddha appeared as such, Ceylon had been inhabited by devils for the space of 1840 years: but no human inhabitants during that time were on Ceylon. And after the fourth Buddha came, and on the day when he was preaching to a great multitude at the place called *Wilwena-Rameya*‡, in the city called Rajegaha Nuwere, he saw in a vision that Ceylon was inhabited by devils at that time, and also that it was formerly inhabited by human inhabitants; and that during the reign of the three former Buddhas, they revealed the religion amongst the inhabitants of Ceylon, and that there were built different temples thereon. After the expiration of nine months from the day that he became Buddha, according to

* The southern third part of Ceylon.

† A ferry near Wanny.

‡ One of the Buddha's own temples, situated in a Bamboo forest.

the custom of the former Buddhas, he ascended to heaven from the said place called Wilwena-Rameya, and came to the place called Myangemea*, in Ceylon, and there standing on the air, he requested permission from the devils to descend; and, after he descended, he caused a thick darkness to cover every part of Ceylon, and then beams of light of different colours to issue from his body, which went through every part of this world, and also throughout the world of Brahma; and at last caused a large fire to burn throughout all Ceylon, by which the great multitude of devils were terrified, and they were gathered together on the sea-shore, without being able to go further, lamenting their destruction, and, with great lamentation, complaining to Buddha, and begging his favour. Then Buddha, by his great and mighty power, caused the devils to go to the place called Yakray Dewina†. And the second time in the sixth year after he became Buddha, on the day of the full moon, in the month of May, he came to the place called Calany in Ceylon, and settled the dispute which had taken place amongst the Nagas, or snakes; and after that, they presented him with a minepale age: and so Buddha remained there three days, preaching to the Nagas. After three days, he returned to his temple, called Deworan Wehera, and for the third time, at the end of the ninth year after he became Buddha, on the day of the full moon, in the month of July, he came to Ceylon again, and preached religion at the sixteen consecrated places on Ceylon, and so he went to the place called *Getewena-Rama*. And on the last day of his stay, Buddha preached to all the gods and Brahmans of ten thousand worlds: he spake in their presence, and said that his religion had such power as to continue for the space of five thousand years, in like manner as the three Buddhas called Kakasande, Konogaine, and Kassepe, who planted Bo-trees in Ceylon. And, moreover, Buddha called the god Sakra, who had the care of this world called Magal Sakwele, and gave Ceylon into his charge, and also gave him some water and thread which he had prepared to give to the prince Wijaya, who should become king of Ceylon, as a charm, to keep him secure and out of danger; and afterward, Buddha gave the island of Ceylon into the charge of the god called Upolivan, and departed this life.

We left the prince Wijaya, and his seven hundred giants who landed on Ceylon, under the shadow of a tree, called

* A temple in the district of Wellasa, in Ceylon.

† Yakray Dewina, signifies an isle of devils, in or about Manaar.

Nogihaga. Then the god *Upolivan* came there, in the shape of a hermit, dressed in yellow. He put the thread round the neck of the prince *Wijaya*, and sprinkled the water over the seven hundred giants, and so went to the world of God on the day that Buddha sent the devils, who were in Ceylon, to the place called *Yakray Dewina*. Seven hundred devils absented themselves in the wilderness, called *Jammenawanea*, and they lived on the places called *Laggela* and *Loggela*, on Ceylon; but a goddess, or female devil, called *Cowani*, who was on Ceylon, and had three breasts; had been informed formerly, by the god called *Iswara*, that whenever her middle breast should be decayed, she would have the fortune to get a husband; and on the day when the prince *Wijaya* and his giants landed on Ceylon, *Cowani* found her middle breast decayed. And while *Wijaya* and his giants were sitting under the shadow of the said *Bo-tree*, she took the form of a female dog, of five different colours; and came to the spot where the great prince *Wijaya* and his giants were sitting, and as soon as she came there, she went directly to the prince, and kissed his foot, and moved her tail with demonstrations of pleasure, and ran away immediately. After the dog ran away, the prince *Wijaya* thinking within himself that there might be human inhabitants in the neighbourhood, sent his giants one by one to inquire; and when they reached the place of *Cowina*, she laid hold of them, and tied them in a tank, and covered their heads with the leaves. The prince seeing that his giants did not return, bound the enchanted thread round his neck, and took his sword in his hand, and descended in search of his giants. He came to the borders of the tank where they were hid, and seeing the footsteps which they had left on going into the tank, but no sign of their having re-ascended, he began to be afraid, and very sorrowful; turning about, he saw a woman sitting in the shade of a *Nuga* tree, spinning a thread, which appeared like shining gold, and immediately he suspected within himself, that this person was the cause of his having lost his giants. He repaired to the place where she sat, and seizing her by the hair of the head, ordered her immediately to tell what had become of his giants. The said demon, for this was the person who had formerly appeared to the prince in the form of a dog, immediately replied, "O prince, do not take my life, but promise to make me thy queen, and I will restore to thee thy seven hundred giants." The prince then promised that he would make her his queen; and to ratify

his promise, made an oath, the tenor of which was, that should he not fulfil his word, the seed sown in Ceylon should be unfruitful. She accordingly restored the said seven hundred giants to the prince; and at the place called Tammāna Adawia, a palace was built as was promised, and the said demon furnished him and his giants with paddy, and rice, and cocoa-nuts, out of the wilderness.

On the same day, at night, the he-devils who resided at the place called Laggala, were to be married to the devils who resided at the place called Loggala, and the prince hearing the great noise of the wedding, when informed of the reason, replied, that it was impossible for them to remain in such a country as this, which was inhabited by devils: whereupon Cowani replied, that she would transform herself into a mare, and that the prince should ride upon her, and cut the devils to pieces. Accordingly, on the next morning, Cowani transformed herself into a mare, the prince mounted upon her, and with his seven hundred giants marched to the place where the wedding of the devils was held, and there they slaughtered all who were gathered together at the wedding; and so great was the slaughter, that the blood flowed like water round about the said place, which was called Sri wat pura; and having returned from the slaughter of the devils, Cowani was made queen. The giants, however, with reverence approached the prince, and prayed that he would admit of his being crowned king; but the prince answered, that while united with a demon, such could never take place, and so saying, sent a magnificent present to the king of Pandi, requesting that a princess might be sent to be his queen, and seven hundred women to be wives to his giants, and with them five sorts of tradesmen: and these having arrived, Cowani, the demon, was driven away; the princess of Pandi was made queen; the seven hundred women were delivered to the giants; and the prince was crowned, and began to reign as king. Cowani, out of revenge, made to herself a tongue of diamond, with an intention of killing the king; but by this time, Buddha delivered the care of Ceylon to the gods called Sakra, Brahma, Iswara kihi Relle-upul Saman, and Cumara, which conservators, watchful over the king, caused the diamond tongue to be broken, and Cowani herself they turned into a stone, and preserved the king till he had reigned thirty years; after which, he died, and went to heaven. The queen, having been barren, there was again no king in Ceylon, on which account the people elected the late king's

minister, called Upatissa, to be king, and he, after his coronation, left Tammēna Nuwera, and built a new city, which he called by his own name, Upatissa Nuwara, and there he reigned and kept his court.

In the mean time, the brother of the late king, Wijaya Rajah, and the son of Samita Rajah, attended with thirty-two ministers, came from the city called Saugal Nuwara by ship, and arrived at the haven of Tammēna Nuwera, and repaired to the new city, Upatissa Nuwara, dethroned the reigning king, Upatissa Rajah, and proclaimed himself king, by the name of Pandiwas Rajah; but although this person was crowned king, he had no queen; but the three kings, Sido Dana, Puso Dana, and Ameto Dana, who were the brothers of the king, who was the father of our Buddha, the master of three worlds, had amongst them six princes and a princess, which princess had become a priestess, and put on the yellow garments; and the princess, with thirty-two female attendants, and other retinue, embarked at the city called Kimbulwat Pura, and came by sea to Ceylon, and having visited the king Pandiwas Dewe Raja, he inquired concerning their arrival and intention, and having understood that the said princess had come with an intention to become his wife, he desired her to lay aside her yellow robe, and made her his queen; and the thirty-two female attendants which the queen had brought with her, he gave to his thirty-two ministers. In the mean time, the six princes, the brothers of the queen*, embarked at Kimbulwat Pura, and also arrived in Ceylon, and having visited the king, and inquired concerning their sisters, the king bestowed upon each of the princes places for them and their retinues to remain. One of the said six princes was called Ramagot Sawkya, Camara; and the place which was appointed for his residence, was called after him, Ramagot Pura Nuwara. Another was called Oersewal Sawkya Cumara, and the place which was appointed for his residence, was called Gampala Nuwara. Another of the princes was called Wisita Sawkya Cumara; and the place appointed for his residence, was called Wijeta pura Nuwara. Another of the said princes was called Anaraw Cumara; and the place appointed for his residence, was called Anuradha Pura Nuwara. Another of the said princes was called Sudo Dana Sawkya Cumara; the place appointed for his residence, was called Mawgam Nuwara. The sister of these

* Among the Cinghalese people, uncles are called fathers; and cousins, brothers and sisters.

princes brought forth to the king Pandiwas, two children, a son and a daughter: the name of the son, who was the eldest, was Ambo Cumara; and the name of the daughter, who was the younger, was Mantri Bisa. And now it came to pass, that the perjury of which the king, Wijaya, had been guilty, was visited in the person of the present king, Pandiwas Dewoo Rajah, and the same having been revealed to the king in a dream, he awoke in a fright. The god called Puradaraw, otherwise Sakra, having likewise foreseen the evil which was coming upon Pandiwas, in consequence of perjury, called the god Iswara to prevent the evil which was impending over king Pandiwas (or Panduwas); and, in order, finally, to avert and turn aside the same, to bring the king called Mala Rajah to the island of Ceylon.

The Eclipse, or otherwise the planet Rahu, now transformed himself into a swine, and went to the garden of Malah Rajah, and began to tear and lay waste every thing before him. The said Mala Rajah was brought up by a princess, whom a powerful hermit caused to proceed out of a tank flower; and while Rahu, in the form of a swine, was laying waste his garden, he was in the city which he had caused to be built, and which was called Urivel Nuwera. When the king heard that such a swine was destroying his garden in that manner, he alarmed and brought his subjects to surround the garden, in order to kill the swine, and the king himself stood in a gap, with his bow and arrow, in order to prevent the escape of the swine by that way; then the swine, making directly towards the place where the king stood, the king let his arrow fly; but the swine, without receiving the smallest injury, sprung over the king's head, and made off. The king pursued, but could not overtake the swine, who in the chase, entered the city and palace of the king, overturning and destroying all before him. The king, still more enraged by the destruction of his palace, did not cease from the chase, but with his three brothers, called Kit—Suran—and Sanda Siree, armed with poles, and bows and arrows, pursued the swine, till they came to the place called Awutheta-Cudia (*i. e. Tutocoreen*), and there the swine threw himself into the sea. The king and his three brothers did the same, for they all were endued with the power of walking on the water without sinking; but before this, there was no sea between Tutocoreen and Ceylon; but the demon Rawana, who governed the country between Tutocoreen and Ceylon, was very wicked; and his country, in those days, contained a fortress, and twenty-five

palaces, and four hundred thousand streets. (Another book says, so many houses). The swine came swimming through this sea, which was caused by Rawana, and made the shore of Ceylon, and the place where he came ashore, is called Urau Totta, that is, Swine Haven, till this day. The king Mala Rajah likewise landed on Ceylon, and pursued the swine throughout; and, at last, the swine transformed himself into a stone, and again, in the quality of Rahu or Eclipse, went to his place. The king, however, began to strike at the stone, and to wonder at the transformation which had come to pass. In the mean time, the god Sakra made himself visible to the king Mala Rajah, and ordered him to go and avert the judgment of perjury, which was about to fall upon the king, Pandiwas Dewe Rajah, and restore him to ease and soundness of mind. The king Mala Rajah, thereupon, formed the figures of two Brahmas, by virtue of which, he removed the evil of perjury, which was about to fall upon the king Pandiwas, and restored him to his right mind: and this king, Pandiwas, reigned as king for the space of thirty-two years.

The son of Pandiwas, called Abamba Rajah, succeeded his father, and reigned as king also for the space of thirty-two years. He took to wife his moil, that is, his mother's brother's daughter, and by her had a prince, whose name was called Pandumba Cumara, which prince, after he had grown big, murdered the nine sons of his mother's brother. He had to wife, the daughter of Here Cunda Rajah, whose name was Pallawa Tibesawa, and having come to the throne, reigned king for the space of thirty years.

His son, called Pandumba, succeeded to the throne; and, in the course of his reign, cleared a piece of ground, four leagues in length, and the same in breadth, of all the trees and roots, and formed a city upon the same, and also made a lake of eighteen leagues in length, along the sides of which he caused stone pillars to be set up, which were engraven with the figures of lions, and reigned king for seventy years.

His son, called Ganey Paetissa Rajah, succeeded to the throne, and reigned as king for the space of thirteen years.

His son, called Motalis Rajah, succeeded to the throne; and, in the course of his reign, caused to be planted a garden, to which was given the name of Mahame Uyan. He reigned for the space of sixty years.

His son, called Deweny Paetissa, succeeded to the throne; and, while he was king of Ceylon, the king, called Dharma Soca, was emperor of ~~Dambediwa~~, and had the whole

circle of the earth under his controul. The said Deweny Paetissa, king of Ceylon, and Dharma Soca, emperor of Dambediwa, in a former state of being, were brothers, born of one mother, and they gained their livelihood by selling honey; now, on a certain occasion, having met with the second Buddha, called Passi Buddha, they presented him with a cup of honey; on which account, according to their prayers then made, the youngest had now become Dharma Soca, emperor of Dambediwa, and the elder king of Ceylon, and their other elder brother, called Nigrada, was likewise born to be a priest. This Dharma Soca caused to be built eighty-four-thousand Dawgobs, and caused the religion of Buddha to be propagated throughout all the countries of Dambediwa; and moreover, his own son, called Mihindu Cumara, at the age of eighteen, he caused to become a priest; and he, having learned all the religion and statutes of Buddha, attained to a state of sanctification, which, whoever attains, is no more subject to transmigration, but when the body dies, drops into eternal oblivion, and resolves into non-entity. The said Mihindu, moreover, made a journey to Ceylon, and, doing so, ascended through the heavens (for in those days, all who obtained to that degree of sanctification, could fly through the air), and having alighted in Ceylon, paid a visit to the king, Deweny Paetissa, and also planted the religion of Buddha, and having preached to the king, confirmed him therein. He also caused the right jaw of Buddha to be brought from the heavenly world, called Sakra Chawana, and built upon the same a Dawgob, which was called Tapan Rama. He also caused to be brought from Dambediwa, from the emperor Dharma Soca, a vase full of Dhatu (or bones of Buddha). From league to league he caused a Dawgob to be raised, and also caused to be built the temple, called Tissa Maha Wihawra. He also, when in Dambediwa, caused the right branch of the Bogaha tree to be marked round with a yellow paint and gold pencil, and petitioned that it might be translated to Ceylon; when, as if separated by a saw, it parted from its trunk, ascended to the sky, and of its own accord, descended over Ceylon, and over the place where the Bo-trees of the three former Buddhas had grown. The branch was then received in a vessel inlaid with gold, and there planted. This wise king afterwards caused houses (another book says vessels) to be cut in the solid rock, at the place called Mihintala, and there he settled the higher order of priests, bestowed great alms upon the

same, and having governed for the space of thirty-six years, went to one of the regions of the gods.

The younger brother of the said Deweny Paetissa, called De Paetissa, succeeded next to the throne, and went upon a time to dig a lake, and his deceased brother's son also went with him. The queen desiring the throne for her son, devised a measure to procure his elevation. She placed a quantity of mangoes in a vessel, and putting poison into one mango, covered them over, and sent them away to the place where the king and her son were, as a present. Her expectation was, that the king would uncover, and first partake of the fruit, and, consequently, that the poisoned mango would fall into his hands, and the prince would eat afterwards without danger. The messenger went, and presented the fruit where they were marking the bounds of the lake; but the king having been informed of the plot which his sister-in-law had contrived, rejected the fruit, and being offended with her, went to the city which his brother, Deweny Paetissa Rajah, had built, called Magam Nuwara, and there abode; but as for the mangoes, they fell into the hands of the young prince himself, who having uncovered the deadly fruit, ate, and fell a lifeless corpse; but the king reigned, and laid out fields and gardens.

His son, called Molata Tissa Rajah, was made king of Calany; and while king thereof, he built the said city of Calany.

His son, called Goten Tissa Rajah, was the next that succeeded to the throne; and he also built the city of Calany.

The son of Gatambaw Rajah was the next king, and his name was Kawivan Tissa Rajah.

The king, called Calany Tissa Rajah, reigned as king of Calany, and built that city.

The grandson of Deweny Paetissa Rajah, was made king of —, and reigned ten years: his name was Sura Tissa Rajah.

His son was also king, and reigned likewise for ten years: his name was Oepatissa Rajah. At this time, the king of Calany used to pay a yearly tribute to the king of Anuradhapura.

What is Poetry?

THE other night I had stirred my fire, snugly settled myself in the large oaken arm-chair with the velvet cushion,

when, prepared to spend a comfortable evening of pure thought, I agreed with myself to let imagination rove wherever she might list, and indulge in one of those waking and luxurious dreams which a blazing fire, a still house, and a comfortable apartment, have a most powerful influence in conducting to engender. I felt the poetical furor stealing over me, of which words are insufficient to convey any distinct idea, except to those who have themselves experienced the fervid transport, and have found how feeble and inadequate a medium language has appeared, to embody their sensations, or to portray their form and semblance.

What is poetry? was a question which started on me in the midst of my wanderings. A better time for its appearance, and for obtaining a satisfactory solution, could not have been chosen, than when its influence was rapidly stealing upon my mind.

I had read Lectures on Poets, and Lectures on Poetry; the first, like our reviews, giving you the body and substance without its essence; the latter, like Locke's abstractions, tending only to bewilder. In fact, poetry may be talked about and written about, without coming one jot nearer to a knowledge of its qualities and modes of subsistence, as the scholiasts say; and, if a person were to acquire no other knowledge of Poetry than what may be gained from the definitions and inexplicable explications of modern definers, I really think he might live, and die, without ever discovering whether it were a metaphysical, enthusiastical, or scientific assemblage of ideas, or a compound of them all, according to form and quantity, mingled *secundum artem*. What, then, is it? I was comfortably ruminating upon the subject, and watching its operations on my own mind, as I thought, to catch its "manners as they rose," when lo! the chamber seemed slowly to expand, and my old book-case changed into a very magnificent, though odd looking kind of temple, in which I beheld, instead of my books neatly arranged in half-bound pomp, a number of strangely attired persons, variously employed, in sundry amusing occupations: they took no notice of me, though I started up to watch their motions and behaviour. I do not know how I came by the information, whether by some intuitive knowledge, or by some occult sympathy mysteriously arising in the mind, but I knew them to be our living Poets, and the name of each was revealed to me, without my being at the trouble of any formal introduction.

Not finding any obstruction to my proceedings, I marched forwards, and soon found myself amongst the motley masquerade, without so much as needing the protection of a domino. These men, thought I, will be the likeliest to tell me, "*what is Poetry*," and I will solicit the opinion of each individual on this momentous, and hitherto puzzling subject. Not to obtrude immediately on the privacy of a few solitary phantoms, who were sedately pursuing more important occupations, I approached a knot of worthies, who were chattering with amazing volubility, in pretty good town language, though evidently applied in discoursing about places and things with which these personages were entirely unacquainted. Some of these young men were very cavalierly dressed in hat, cloak, and feather, wearing false mustachios, and having a very dark, and evidently would-be villanous appearance in their aspect; their eye-brows were painted black, and their wigs very heavily curled over their ears. Each had a wooden sword, curiously gilt, and ever and anon they struck their hands to the hilt, with a force which made them rattle in their sheaths: the sound, however, proceeded only from the wood, being marvellously dull and tubbish. They seemed to have no connexion with, or to notice any body but themselves, except sometimes by an occasional point, and stare, accompanied with a hearty and very loud laugh at most of the persons who passed by: but these motions were seldom noticed by the individuals for whom they were intended, and the self-complacency of this precious group of *petits-maitres* was, in consequence, not often disturbed; nay, so far from this being taken as a proof of silent contempt, and an utter recklessness of their praise or their scorn, their censure or their commendation, the silence of their adversaries was always hailed as a fresh source of triumph and gratification to our pseudo-cavaliers, whose good opinion of themselves seemed to be increased by every succeeding adventure. Once, indeed, I observed a little ill-looking man, with a villanous Scotch accent, and having a blown bladder tied to a pole, approach these worthies, and fall to belabouring them vehemently with his windy instrument: they seemed struck with consternation for a while, and scampered off in every direction; but immediately rallied when the man was gone, and with all the *sang-froid* imaginable, began to sing "*Jo Peans*," in token of a complete victory. As I approached, one of these personages met me, and offered for my acceptance a book, which he said was *his* tragedy, "1500

of which had been disposed of in the first week, and that Covent Garden had realized more money that week, than ever they had done before in the same space of time, these two years." Another youth had helped its dispersion, by chanting passages out of it, in the public places of the city; another had written about it; and, in return for these favours, the tragedy writer was expected to give them a lift for their respective performances, in a somewhat similar manner, whenever he should be required. After waiting some time, in order to have a chance of introducing my question, I at last, by main force, attempted to take their attention a little from themselves, and propounded my query respecting poetry. A very short space of time sufficed to make me acquainted with their respective opinions; these were given with an air and manner, as if from them were no appeal; having uttered the sentiment, seemed to them, of itself, sufficient to stamp it everlastingly with the seal of immutable truth. I should have been very well disposed to accede to this, had I not observed a strange and unaccountable discordancy in their various opinions, and even from the same individual a most palpable difference was perceived in the explanations that were given. One gentleman, of a wild and scatter-brained aspect, said, that poetry was the hidden essences of things—the soul of the universe—the omnipotence of nature; another man, that blew a penny whistle, which he told me, made his heart "*dance like a trumpet*," said, that Poetry was nature talking, and her very how-d'ye-does, and very-well-thank'ees, were all poetry, and, as such, deserved to be embodied into verse; his penny whistle, he said, was as capable of giving pleasurable emotions, and exciting grand, magnificent, and noble ideas in the mind, as a more splendid instrument, and having the advantage of being more portable, and he better able to use it, he always gave it the preference. I turned me to a young man of sober brow, amongst the group, evidently labouring under some depression of spirits; he was looking into a lantern, and fancied that therein he beheld the moon, which he apostrophized most laboriously, in strains, which appeared, from his gestures, to run over with an overwhelming pathos, roaring as it were any nightingale; unfortunately, however, I did not understand their meaning. On requesting his opinion, he stared strangely, and told me, that the Quarterly Review knew nothing about it; which was all the answer I could get, as he began immediately to recite a hymn (as he termed it) in praise of moonshine. I now

approached the most respectable personage in the group, to whom the others seemed to pay a kind of implicit deference. His aspect was good; but there was an appearance of affected homeliness and simplicity about him, which was any thing rather than nature; however, the man seemed as if he could not help even the affectation of her realities, and, in consequence, appeared to greater advantage than the rest, inasmuch as his affectation was natural, and sat upon him very becomingly; whilst in the others, every gesture only displayed the constraint under which they laboured; in order to convey to others what made their manners only appear the more ridiculous. This man also had written a tragedy, and I thought he was not marvellously fond of the display of the 1500 copies, made by his companion, who, I saw, was much occupied in gazing at, and fondly admiring, a mask which he had some time worn, and inquiring from his comrades, whether it were proper to walk abroad without it, and how he looked in his natural face. To say the truth, his were a very insipid and *unexpressionable* sort of a set of features, nothing much of good or ill depicted there; and I heard his companions, and the last named gentleman in particular, strenuously advise him to drop the mask; and I fancied it was with a view of letting the world into the secret, and so allowing the interest to subside, which was probably raised solely by the artifice of always going abroad with his face under a visor, and by that means causing the wondering and anxious inquiries of those, who might never have thought it worth their pains to bestow any attention on the wearer, had not a sort of factitious interest been kept up by this empirical contrivance. The fate of the man with the iron mask would probably never have been remembered, had not the curiosity of the world been stimulated by his mysterious concealment. I fancied I should much like to know the opinion of these two tragedy writers, on the subject of my lucubrations:—one said, that Poetry was any thing, and any thing was Poetry, if treated in a proper manner; for which proper manner, he referred me to his —; the other said, no one, save the Italians and the old writers, knew what Poetry was, until the knowledge had been revived within this year-and-a-half by himself, and that he had made Poetry a great deal more poetical, and given it a far greater relish, by a due admixture of fornication, adultery and incest, which were in themselves highly poetical, and imparted a savoury smack to the dry moralities on which they were forced

sometimes to expatiate. This was all I could get from him, and, on looking over his tragedy, I thought it amply sufficient. I was going to proceed with my inquiries, when I felt myself seized by a heavy hand, and, on turning round, I beheld a clumsy looking man, with a strange and solemn countenance, who told me to come with him, as I should get no good by hearkening to these lads. I followed him apart, and he began with a kind of sing-song voice, and manner, like unto the pathetic gesticulations of an Egyptian beggar-woman, to repeat a favourite part from one of his productions. Not comprehending its import, I waited rather impatiently for its termination; and, taking the advantage of a momentary pause, or breathing space, equivalent to a blank line in one of the stanzas, I ventured hastily to propound my question, "What is Poetry?" The man seemed struck with amaze, as if doubting the evidence of his astonished ears; but soon gathering into his face a terrific expression, and darting at me a look of unutterable scorn, he loudly replied, *That is Poetry*, and away he went; nor could any entreaties or apologies of mine bring him back, or make any atonement for the obtuseness of my intellects, in failing to recognise that he had been repeating what he supposed a most apt illustration of the very subject, to solicit an explanation of which, I had unluckily interrupted him. I could not refrain from laughing at the pertness of my last group of acquaintances, who, when they observed my admonitor sullenly marching off, cried out,

Tu-whit! — tu-whoo!
How drowsily it crew!

and a universal war greeted the angry poet, who forthwith proceeded to complain of their treatment to a knot of his friends at some distance.

I was travelling onwards, when I met a man mounted on an animal of the long-eared tribe, whether mule or ass, I have at present no distinct recollection; he had a carter's frock slipped on rather untidily over a dark suit of clothes, and he carried a good stout cudgel in his dexter hand; but most ludicrously did the solemnity of his look contrast with his garb and equipment. He appeared to be repeating something of great moment to himself, evidently in measure, for at the end of every stanza, as I supposed, he lifted his head, hand, and cudgel, crying aloud, with a most rapture-awakening tone, "Fiddle, fiddle," and bang went the cudgel on the ribs of the patient beast, who, evidently inured to the operation, displayed no impatience, but, with steady gait,

and philosophic mien, held on the even tenour of his way; "Fiddle faddle," "bang," at regular intervals, being the only sounds which gave notice of their approach or departure. The rider had a long mournful face, like unto his bearer; and whether with continued habits of intercourse, or by the influence of that assimilation by which things, animate and inanimate, grow imperceptibly into each other's likenesses; there certainly was a great similarity of *expression* between the two. I regretted my being obliged to interrupt the performance, and was loath, indeed, to disturb the regularity of their proceedings; however, I made free to step nearer to the rider, and requested his definition of Poetry. He very civilly waved some apologies I was making, for my unseasonable interruption, and, lifting up his frock, displayed a huge pair of plush breeches, from the sinister pocket of which he drew out a toad-stool, an excise permit, a dandelion-flower, and a daisy; he then began to discourse most touchingly concerning nature and her sympathies, and informed me, that the soul of man had passed through an indefinite number of modes of existence, and that his own soul had wandered up and down the universe from eternity, for any thing he knew;—that Poetry was nothing but a sudden uplifting, for a moment, of the veil which concealed the combinations of former reminiscences, and left on the soul a track of glory like the train of a meteor, after the body has disappeared; or, like the rumbling of a coach, after the vehicle has passed. I thanked him for his solution, and was again speeding onwards, when another laugh was heard from the worthies before mentioned: on turning round to ascertain its cause, I beheld an indifferently tall, fair-looking personage, dressed in a black gown, who was passing by in great haste, and trying to tear away a label, which some of these witty wags had pinned to his back; he troubled himself exceedingly to get at it, but in vain; this seemingly unwelcome companion kept its place, very much to the annoyance of the wearer. I was curious to ascertain the contents of this ticket, particularly as I saw it excited a smile of satisfaction in most of the persons who chanced to behold it; but to get a peep I found no very easy matter; he wriggled and twisted, and kept up such an incessant fidget, either to get rid of it, or to prevent its being read; however, after much running and doubling, I ascertained the purport of what sat so uneasy on the gownsmen. "*Professor of Morality to B——d's Magazine*," was emblazoned in pretty large characters on his encumbrance;

and the humour of the thing tickled the passers by so hugely, that a continuous shout of unrestrained laughter was heard for some time, kept up by the fresh comers, who every now and then had a sight of the unlucky paper. I thought the man was not in a very enviable situation, and would have wished to drop his connexion with that publication; but something or other prevented him from speaking out, and he was evidently contriving how to get off unperceived, not being able to get rid of the label without stripping his gown. I ventured to approach him with my question on Poetry; but I could get no answer, either because he did not know much about the matter, or else, being particularly hurried with his present engagements, he had enough to do, without attending to what did not immediately belong to his own concerns; nevertheless, I felt exceedingly sorry for his situation, as the man really possessed talent, and was a true worshipper of the Muses.

I had scarcely time to turn me, ere I was aware of a young man galloping furiously his courser, as if he would have outstripped the wind. He was without hat, and his long hair and garments flying loose, in most tumultuous disorder, gave him the appearance of a madman just escaping from the trammels of his keeper. He attracted the notice of all around him, from the apparently unrestrained impetuosity of his career, and the headlong fury with which he rushed onwards, as he told us, towards destruction, crying out, that it was the last time the people ever would hear from him; and, roaring aloud, in very good player-like accents, a most deep-toned and energetic "*Farewell*," he was out of sight in an instant. I thought from the ostentatious manner of his departure, and the tone of his adieus, there was "*method in his madness*," and that his miseries and disappointments were not quite of so incurable a nature as he represented, from the public display which he made of their accumulated and sickening operations. We had scarcely time to begin our lament over his untimely fate, when, from afar, I beheld his courser's eye of fire, and foot of wind, again approaching; and, as he flew by, the rider rolled out a torrent of complaints at the waywardness of fate. I heard no more; the velocity of his motion preventing further cognizance. Scarcely had I an opportunity to talk to my neighbours about this strange phenomenon, or to inquire its meaning, when I beheld him returning, mounted on the same steed, but in a far different garb; a suit of motley was his wear, and most gracefully did he flourish his long cap,

and jingle his bells, to the no small entertainment of the crowds who followed in his train. He reined in his courser with great skill, and occasionally instructed the beast to fling out his heels on the too near approach of some curious and impertinent wight, whose discomfiture was a source of infinite mirth to the grinning multitude. People at last grew wary, and kept at a respectful distance, not daring to achieve a too near approximation to the mountebank rider;—this did not, however, prevent them holding on a sad clamour and disturbance amongst themselves, respecting the merry mountebank; but it was astonishing with what indifference he beheld the turbulent mob, and appeared not to value a rush, either their censure, or their applause. I just longed to ask him the question about poetry, but I really durst not approach, for I fancied his steed was mischievous, and might do me a despite; however, recollecting that there might be some stupid fellow near, whose person he would not think it worth while to molest, I began to look around me, and soon found one to answer that description. For a trifling reward he undertook to convey my message, and immediately conveyed his stupid and unmeaning face into the vicinity of his — ship's. The question being put, the rider looked a moment, as if rather puzzled with his round-faced Œdipus, who, unmoved and unconcerned, awaited patiently and uncaringly his answer. The pause was scarce a moment, a sarcastic smile gathered on his lips, and he suddenly replied, "Springs to catch woodcocks," and scampered immediately out of sight.

Marching off rather troubled with the answer I had gained, which seemed much more puzzling to understand than the original question, I trod unwillingly on the toes of a lady, who was discoursing in most amazing diction with an elderly personage, who, with praise-worthy and unexampled patience, had endured for some time the infliction of the chastisement he could not escape without a murmur. I was, however, afterwards told, that the gentleman had got a very comfortable and convenient method of napping with his eyes open; and when he appeared to be enduring with a wonderful patience evils of the above nature, which, unfortunately, we are all of us either more or less subject to, nothing was farther from his thoughts than the subject matter whereon his tormentors were ingeniously expatiating. After making a host of apologies to the lady for my inadvertence, I begged she would resume her discourse, adding, that when that was ended I had a question to ask:

She brightened on hearing this, imagining probably that the question was one which every fair dame does like, once or twice in her life-time, having an opportunity given her of listening to, and availing herself of its import. She seemed now as eager to finish her discourse, as before she had been to continue it. "Oh! dear Mr. —, my poor conversation has only been carried on for the amusement of our worthy friend here; and, I dare say, he will excuse the interruption." "Whatever your conversation might have been, madam, I should be but too happy in listening to it; nothing that falls from your lips can fail to be interesting." "So think Messrs. —, my booksellers," said the lady, evidently well pleased; "and you, of course, have seen mentioned in all the public papers the amount they have given to me for what, I can assure you, are mere trifles to the subjects I intend to execute; mere bagatelles, I promise you. But, Mr. —, if you are determined to know the matter of our discourse, the baronet can inform you, that I was just hinting at the propriety, and indeed the necessity of his majesty establishing a female order of merit, when knighthood, or rather ladyhood, might be conferred on the most deserving of our sex. I think it a matter of the highest moment, and, of course, I should not then have to wait for knight or belted lord; but might be ennobled immediately by a gallant thump from his majesty." I readily agreed to the propriety of this measure, and offered my best services towards its happy accomplishment. To my question she replied, that passion was the very essence of poetry; and whenever a man was passionately fond of any thing, he might "very justly be said to be a poet for the time being." "An alderman over his turtle at a city feast; and a baillie in the '*toon cooncil*,' then, are both true poets," said the baronet, with a smile of keen enjoyment. "Your pardon, sir; ridicule is not a test of truth, and there rests mine answer." "Very lady-like indeed, madam, and exceedingly well parried," cried I, willing to preserve quietness: however, they both appeared in the best possible humour, and very happily disposed to be soon pleased. The baronet was a pale, large looking man, with a very expressive countenance, having long white locks, which covered a head of peculiar conformation; the height from the eyebrow to the summit of the skull was truly astonishing, and the nearness of the eyebrows to the eye, gave a very searching appearance to his look and manner; there was also a cutting sharpness about the mouth, which

savoured very strongly of a disposition to satire, and of a power to execute vengeance to the uttermost, on any unfortunate fellow-mortal who might chance to come short, or offend in any point — though, perhaps, the infliction of punishment might be continued rather for amusement, than from any absolute pleasure he might derive in the culprit's sufferings. It is but justice, however, to say, that the kindness and urbanity of his nature prevented the exercise of a talent so injurious to the peace and comfort of society. Sir ——— was amusing his leisure hours, some years back, in furbishing up a number of rusty and strange-looking helmets, breast-plates, and other warlike appurtenances; and he had succeeded to admiration in improving their old and uncouth appearance. He likewise took great delight in changing the aspect of modern weapons, and other less martial matters, so as to give them all the appearance of real antiques; though most of them were but Birmingham ware, of exceedingly slender manufacture, and not composed of the most durable materials. For some time past there have been hawked about, in shoals, a numerous train of raree and gallanti shows; accompanied by dancing figures of very ingenious mechanism, imitating the movements and transactions of real life to admiration. So superior were they, at first, to the common run of these exhibitions, that old and young, rich and poor, were equally fascinated with the delightful spectacles exhibited with so unsparing a hand throughout the country. Nothing was heard of, for a while, but these delightful novelties; and what added much to keep up the universal interest excited, was the mysterious concealment of the mechanic who put together the machinery, by which their motions were governed. Some said it was Buonaparte, who, by their means, was endeavouring to amuse the country, and to divert the public attention from a too close inspection of his own movements. Others said, the galloping lord before mentioned was the engineer; however, that was soon found out to be the wrong quarter to direct the public scent to. It was soon perceived that some of the new-old and old-new wares belonging to the baronet were exhibited in these show boxes, and the hue and cry was immediately commenced in that direction; but the public again were put to a full stand, by a flat and explicit denial of his having the honour to be the contriver of the articles in question. Every bush was beaten, every cover was unclosed, and all means, fair and unfair, were tried to detect the source of so

powerful a scent; but in vain. Whenever the dogs were turned loose, and wherever the hunt began, it always ended at the baronet's own door; and, at last, neither denials, nor expostulations, could convince the mob, that the "*trait*" did not commence from his own apartments. The matter rests here at present, and the same mystery hangs over the original contriver. We are, however, still overrun with fresh importations from the northern metropolis, by the same hand, which follow one another with inconceivable rapidity; but it is very evident that haste, scantiness of materials, or exhaustion, have long begun to render the puppets less attractive; and every fresh arrival but displays how hard it is for a person to know when he has attained the height of his fame, and to prevent a descent of the hill with an accelerated velocity.

I was gazing with feelings of great interest on the figure of the baronet, who certainly is an object worthy of a diligent perusal, when my attention was turned towards a good humoured, unpolished shepherd, who, with a "*corbie*" on one hand, and a large greyhound by the other, was chanting some time-worn ballad, and evidently with great feeling. A poet's glance shot from his eye, and as he gazed, with an intense ardour, on the blue sky, the brown hill, and the still cool waters of St. Mary's Lake, I heard him exclaim, with a gush of delight bursting from his very soul —

" She found me in the bracken glen."

I hastened to him, having caught a kindred feeling; and we were soon found traversing together the banks and "*Braes of Yarrow*," and expatiating at large on the wild, and even *luxuriant* barrenness of the scenes around us. Dryope Tower, where the "*Flower of Yarrow*" died, was in full view; and all the wonders of the past came booming on the mind, mingling regret, love, sorrow, admiration, awe; and a thousand other nameless feelings, into one vast flood of thought, of an indescribable intenseness, making the very heart-strings tremble, lest they might not be able to withstand the full burst of the tide, which threatened to overwhelm the very hiding places of the soul, and to sweep reason from her tottering throne. I had no occasion to ask the shepherd his definition of poetry; I felt, at that time, it would be an insult to her high office to examine the titles by which she held it, or to explore the tenure on which her pretensions were founded. The right by which she wielded

her sceptre, is a spontaneous acknowledgment of the soul—it is interwoven with the very essence of our being, and to define her attributes seemed to me as vain, as an attempt to define our existence, or that of the Deity, by whom its blaze was first enkindled. I was suddenly aroused from my reverie, by the shepherd roaring out a humorous song, the materials for which were gathered from amongst his neighbours; and numerous were the scraps of legendary lore which he had contrived to cull from the peasantry of the surrounding districts. A vein of infinite humour ran along his features, and that eye, which had before been lit up with ecstasy, now rolled on me with a roguish leer, which, in spite of my well-behaved efforts to the contrary, most irresistibly put to flight the gravity and pathos of my before-mentioned demeanour. I was forced to bid adieu to the “braes o’ Yarrow,” and I departed from my companion with much regret; not, however, without expressing an ardent hope that we should meet again, and mingle together in after days “the thoughts that breathe, and words that burn.”

I had entirely lost sight of my bookcase-temple, and was pursuing my way, by hill and dale, and winding stream, when I found myself in the midst of a beautiful pleasure-ground, interspersed with artificial rocks, ruins, and moss-grown castles; embellished with an unceasing variety of fountains, grottoes, and thick spreading woods. All the charms which art could invent to please the eye, and gratify the taste, were here mingled with unsparing profusion, yet with most consummate skill; and though evidently the work of art, yet the elements of that art being taken from nature alone, displayed a power and a fascination to the eye, which nature’s unassisted beauties perhaps never could have produced, unheightened by those very forms which her own works had first developed. It was as one of Claude’s paintings, compared to the real landscape. Nature’s accidental and scattered beauties were here brought together, and constituting a whole of such transcendent loveliness, as was never perhaps seen by mortal eye in the realities by which we are surrounded; or, if ever beheld, it was only by the mind looking through herself, if I may be allowed the expression, at the glowing scene; and giving it a hue, and a glory, which perhaps even the pencil has but feebly the power to portray. Two well dressed gentlemen were walking in a beautiful parterre, studded with a profusion of choice exotics, mingled with a splendid variety of

flowers, the natural productions of our own soil. One of them, an elderly person of most mild and benevolent aspect; with a few hairs thinly sprinkled over his fine forehead, was speaking *enravingly* on the Pleasures of Memory. The other, a more youthful person, looked forward and around, singing the delights which Hope can give; and never, I believe, was beheld such a striking and illusory personification of Memory and Hope, as then presented themselves before me. I had no occasion to put my question. One would have replied, that poetry was the recollection of the past, stripped of all its unpoetical realities, and *glazed or scumbled*, as the painters would say, with the warm hues of a fervid imagination. The other, that Hope was the true source of all poetical feeling; deprive it of her alluring smiles, and you deprive it of that by which its very being subsists, and its operations are carried on to succeeding generations.

My attention was now directed to a figure at some distance, most monstrosously attired; he was viewing himself, nevertheless, with vast satisfaction, in the still waters of an extensive lake; and occasionally reading aloud portions of poetry out of several neatly bound manuscript books, glittering in all the pride of morocco "leather and prunella." There was a heaviness about his manner, which was a perfect contrast to the looks and habits of the preceding individuals; and the *outré* and unnatural dress with which he had garnished his person, did not in any degree tend to remove the unfavourable impression his appearance was calculated to produce. How it was I know not, but the first look was prodigiously against him; yet he might have been perhaps taken for a god in some countries, for verily his aspect was not very far unlike those precious specimens of Asiatic and South-Sea-Island worship, which we gaze at, wondering if it were possible for beings endowed with human faculties, to behold such mis-shapen and "horrible imaginings," with any other feelings than those of disgust and abhorrence. I turned me away, not caring to pay any regard to the opinions of so unpoetically equipped an article as now stood before me. I was, however, afterwards informed, that I had conceived an erroneous opinion of his character as a poet, arising from prejudice; and that if I had but taken the trouble to ask him the question, I should not have repented making the attempt.

Proceeding onwards, I met with one to whom, at the first glance, my heart seemed as if attracted by some invisible

agent. Retired and unassuming in his demeanour, his society I solicited, and soon found that I was not mistaken in my first impressions. I found him, like his poetry, tender and unaffected; breathing an air of something more than mere humanity, humble, devout, kind, and feeling a warm sympathy for the fate, and an interest for the ultimate success of those who, like himself, once solicited diffidently the attention of a cautious public; and, like him, were driven back from her door by some pampered and over-fed menial and minister to her depraved appetites, with obloquy and with scorn. Kind and disinterested was the advice he gave, and so meek and forgiving his disposition, that he murmured not at the ungenerous reception he met with; but solely attributed it to the curs and lacqueys, who infest the first approaches to her presence. It was quite refreshing to listen to the divine and holy breathings which seemed to arise from his very soul, after gazing on the revolting scenes, and hearkening to the tales of unblushing abominations, which from every side were unsparingly revealed. I wished to feel what he had felt, to strike like him the lyre with a sanctified ardour, and with a hand freed from the pollutions which taint the whole mass of *our* polite literature; exhibiting a loathsome spectacle of the corruption and moral decay which takes place, when the body is uninigorated, and unrefreshed by the life-giving spirit from above.

Near to the poet walked a young man of a warm and ardent imagination, who occasionally chanted forth a sacred song, quite *con amore*; the muse being evidently wooed for love, and her affections solely the object of his pursuit. He often appeared to meet the cold scorn of the passing eye, but it chilled not the ardour of his pursuit; it repressed not the uprising of the spirit, striving to soar to that empyreal space, where the poet's soul can sit unmoved and undisturbed by the petty commotions of a busy and unthinking world. I heard him repeat a few stanzas, and my recollection still enables me to preserve the following, which, if not the best, are the only lines I can snatch from their oblivion:—

“ I seek, but cannot find;
 I cry, thou hearest not;
 My moans are given to the wind,
 Unanswer'd and forgot.

Oh, that yon cloud might bring
My soul unto its rest!
Oh, that the zephyr's gentle wing
Would bear me to thy breast!

Sovereign of all, supreme
Dost thou for ever dwell,
Encompassed by th' eternal beam,
Light inaccessible.

Yet from those dazzling rays
No mortal may come nigh,
The sun hath kindled first his blaze,
To bless this lower sky.

And though in glory now
I may not meet thy face;
That sunny beam may round me glow—
The sun of righteousness.

Or dost thou, wrapp'd in night,
Now veil thine awful face;
Thick clouds thy throne of hidden might,
Darkness thy dwelling-place.

Yet should that darkness shroud
Thy presence from my sight,
There is a star can pierce the cloud
Which dims the brow of night.

That faint and twinkling gem,
Its lustre wan doth borrow
From yon bright orb, whose coming beam
Shall bring an endless morrow.

And though that sun hath set
In proud magnificence;
I see the stars' pale glimmer yet,
Whose beams are borrow'd thence.

Soon shall the night be o'er,
And day's own monarch rise,
In clouds and gloom to set no more,
Nor speed to other skies.

Then shall I seek and find
A joy which fadeth not;—
No sighs shall float upon the wind
Unanswer'd and forgot.

Gladness and delight were in his heart, emanating from every limb and feature. His eye shed raptures, and an atmosphere of joy seemed to surround him. I was going to solicit his definition of poetry, when the whole scene suddenly disappeared. I beheld the polished doors of my old book-case, shining fitfully in the trembling and uncertain glimmerings of a decaying fire, the candle had disappeared from the socket, and I started up just as the old wooden clock was hastily proclaiming the hour of midnight, wondering at my vision, but wondering more that the old house-keeper had not awakened me, ere the charm was wound up; though not regretting my time as unprofitably passed, however the gentle reader may consider his own, after he has perused this article.

An Essay on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America: Read before the New York Historical Society.
By SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D. D., A. A. S.

PART II.

ON the belief of a God who regulates the affairs of men, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, all religion is founded; and from these principles all religious rites are ultimately derived. But there is an obvious distinction to be made between the tradition of doctrines, and the tradition of those outward observances, with which the doctrines were originally connected. The tradition of doctrines is oral; the tradition of ceremonies is ocular. The relation of the most simple fact, as it passes from mouth to mouth, is discoloured and distorted. After a few removals from its source, it becomes so altered as hardly to have any resemblance to its first form. But it is not so with regard to actions. These are retained by the sight, the most faithful and accurate of our senses; — they are imitated; — the imitation becomes habitual; — and habits, when once formed, are with difficulty eradicated. No fact is more certain, or falls more within the experience of every attentive observer of our nature, than that of customs prevailing among nations, for which they are totally unable to account. Even among individuals, habits exist long after the causes have ceased, to which they owed their origin. The child imitates the actions of the parent, without

inquiring, in all cases, into the motives which lead to the observance; and even if informed of the motives, he may either misconceive or forget them. Here, then, is the difference between oral and ocular tradition. The doctrine may be lost in the current of ages, while the ceremony is transmitted unimpaired:—

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

HOR. A. P. 180.

————— That which strikes the eye
Lives long upon the mind: the faithful sight
Engraves the image with a beam of light.

In endeavouring, therefore, to trace the affinities which a corrupt religion may bear to the pure, if we wish to be successful, we must confine ourselves to its outward observances. This remark applies with peculiar force to the religion of the Indian tribes. They have never possessed the knowledge of letters, and all their religious doctrines have been trusted to the uncertain conveyance of oral tradition. The wild and roving life of the Indian is at variance with the reception of regular instruction; and though the parents may be very careful in relating their traditions to their children, they must of necessity be confused and imperfect. But supposing them to be ever so exact, we have no certainty that the accounts given of them by travellers are correct. The Indians, it has before been observed, are not communicative on religious subjects; and they may take pleasure in baffling, or misleading, the curiosity of white men, whom they, in general, look upon with no friendly eye. And with regard to oral traditions, there is greater room also for the imagination of the traveller to draw wrong conclusions, and to be influenced in his report by the power of a preconceived system. On the other hand, with regard to religious ceremonies, he has only to give a faithful relation of what he sees; and even if the force of some favourite theory leads him to mingle his comments with his description, a judicious reader is able to separate the one from the other. The application of these principles will save much labour, and give certainty to a subject, which has hitherto been considered as affording nothing but conjecture. We will proceed, then, to consider the external part of the religion of the Indians; and we shall soon see, not only that there is a great

uniformity among the rites of nations who are radically different; but, if I am not mistaken, that connexion with the patriarchal religion which might naturally be supposed to exist, if the one be considered as a corruption of the other.

All who have been conversant with the worship of the American tribes, unite in the assertion, that they offer sacrifices and oblations, both to the great Spirit, and to the subordinate or intermediate divinities. To all the inferior deities, whether good or malevolent, the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Algonkins, make various kinds of offerings. "To propitiate the god of the waters," says Charlevoix, "they cast into the streams and lakes, tobacco, and birds which they have put to death. In honour of the sun, and also of inferior spirits, they consume in the fire a part of every thing they use, as an acknowledgment of the power from which they have derived these possessions. On some occasions, they have been observed to make libations, invoking at the same time, in a mysterious manner, the object of their worship. These invocations they have never explained; whether it be, that they have in fact no meaning, or that the words have been transmitted by tradition, unaccompanied by their signification, or that the Indians themselves are unwilling to reveal the secret. Strings of wampum, tobacco, ears of corn, the skins, and often the whole carcasses of animals, are seen along difficult or dangerous roads, on rocks, and on the shores of rapids, as so many offerings made to the presiding spirit of the place. In these cases, dogs are the most common victims; and are often suspended alive upon trees by the hinder feet, where they are left to die in a state of madness." What Charlevoix thus affirms, with regard to the Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonkins, is mentioned by Mackenzie as practised among the Knisteneaux. "There are stated periods," says he, "such as the spring and autumn, when they engage in very long and solemn ceremonies. On these occasions, dogs are offered as sacrifices; and those which are fat and milk-white are preferred. They also make large offerings of their property, whatever it may be. The scene of these ceremonies is in an open inclosure, on the bank of a river or lake, and in the most conspicuous situation, in order that such as are passing along, or travelling, may be induced to make their offerings. There is also a particular custom among them, that on these occasions, if any of the tribe, or even a stranger, should be passing by, and be in real want of

any thing that is displayed as an offering, he has a right to take it, so that he replaces it with some article he can spare, though it be of far inferior value! but to take or touch any thing wantonly is considered as a sacrilegious act, and highly insulting to the *Great Master of Life*, who is the sacred object of their devotion." At the feasts made by their chiefs, he farther observes, "a small quantity of meat or drink is sacrificed before they begin to eat, by throwing it into the fire, or on the earth." A similar account is given by Adair of the practice among the Creeks, Katabahs, Cherokees, Choctaws, and other southern Indians. "The Indian women," says he, "always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire, when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. They pretend to draw omens from it, and firmly believe that it is the mean of obtaining temporal blessings, and averting temporal evils. The men, both in their summer and winter hunt, sacrifice in the woods a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health, and for their former success in hunting, or that the Divine care and goodness may still be continued to them."

The song of the Lenapé warriors, as they go out to meet their enemy, concludes with the promise of a victim if they return in safety:—

O! Thou Great Spirit above!

* * * * *

Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy;

Suffer me to return again to my children,

To my wife,

And to my relations!

Take pity on me, and preserve my life,

And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

Accordingly, "after a successful war," says Heckewelder, "they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies."

Loskiel, who has given a minute account of the sacrifices offered by the Lenapé, or Delawares, and who is said, by Heckewelder, to have almost exhausted the subject, affirms that they are offered upon all occasions the most trivial, as well as the most important. "They sacrifice to a hare," says he, "because, according to report, the first ancestor

of the Indian tribes had that name *. To Indian corn they sacrifice bear's flesh, but to deer and bears Indian corn; to the fishes, small pieces of bread in the shape of fishes; but they positively deny that they pay any adoration to these subordinate good spirits, and affirm that they only worship the true God, through them: for God, say they, does not require men to pay offerings or adoration immediately to him. He has, therefore, made known his will in dreams, notifying to them what beings they have to consider as *Mamitoes*, and what offerings to make to them."—"When a boy dreams that he sees a large bird of prey, of the size of a man, flying toward him from the north, and saying to him, 'Roast some meat for me,' the boy is then bound to sacrifice the first deer, or bear, he shoots to this bird. The sacrifice is appointed by an old man, who fixes on the day and place in which it is to be performed. Three days previous to it, messengers are sent to invite the guests. These assemble in some lonely place, in a house large enough to contain three fires. At the middle fire, the old man performs the sacrifice. Having sent for twelve straight and supple sticks, he fastens them into the ground, so as to inclose a circular spot, covering them with blankets. He then rolls twelve red-hot stones into the inclosure, each of which is dedicated to one God in particular. The largest belongs, as they say, to the great God in heaven; the second to the sun, or the God of the day; the third to the night sun, or the moon; the fourth to the earth; the fifth to the fire; the sixth to the water; the seventh to the dwelling, or house-god; the eighth to Indian corn; the ninth to the west; the tenth to the south; the eleventh to the east; and the twelfth to the north. The old man then takes a rattle, containing some grains of Indian corn, and leading the boy, for whom the sacrifice is made, into the inclosure, throws a handful of tobacco upon the red-hot stones; and, as the smoke ascends, rattles his calabash, calling each god by name, and saying: 'This boy (naming him) offers unto thee a fine fat deer, and a delicious dish of sapan! Have mercy on him, and grant good luck to him and his family.'"

All the inhabitants of the West Indies offered sacrifices; and of these the Charaibes were accustomed, at the funerals

* This may account for the following statement by Charlevoix: "Presque toutes les Nations Algonquines ont donné le nom de *grand Lièvre* au premier Esprit. Quelques uns l'appellent *Michabou*; d'autres *Atahocan*." Journal, p. 344.

of their friends, to offer some of the captives who had been taken in battle. I scarcely need advert to the well-known fact, that human sacrifices were offered by the Mexicans; Of these all the Spanish historians have given the most horrible and disgusting account; and they are described more especially by Bernal Diaz, who was an eye-witness, with the most artless and affecting simplicity. Of this practice, however, there are no traces among the present Indian tribes, unless the tormenting of their captives, as Charlevoix seems to intimate, be considered as a sacrifice to the God of war.

That the practice of sacrifice, as an expiation for sin, formed a prominent feature in the religion of all the nations of the old world, is a truth too well known to require proof. That it formed a part of the patriarchal religion is equally evident; and that it must have been of divine institution will, I think, be admitted, after a very little reflection. The earliest instance of worship recorded in the Holy Scriptures, is the sacrifice offered by Cain and Abel; at a period when no permission had yet been given to eat animal food, and no pretext could have possibly presented itself to the mind of man for taking the life of any of the creatures of God. It is equally inconceivable, that by any deduction of unassisted reason the mind could have arrived at the conclusion, that to destroy a part of creation could be acceptable to the Creator; much less, that it could be viewed as an act of homage. The difficulty is still greater, when it is considered that this was intended as an expiation for the sins of the offerer. How could the shedding of the blood of an animal be looked upon as an atonement for the offences which man had committed against his Maker? This would have been to make an act at which nature would once have involuntarily shuddered, the expiation of another act which might not in itself be so hurtful or so barbarous. This reasoning is further strengthened by the next instance of worship recorded in the Bible. When Noah had descended from the ark, the first act of a religious nature which he performed, was to build an altar, and to offer sacrifice. Human reason would have dictated a course of conduct directly opposite, for it would have told him not to diminish the scanty remnant of life, especially when the earth was already covered with the victims which had perished in the mighty waste of waters.

But if of divine institution, the question then arises, what was the reason of the institution? Every intelligent being

proposes to himself some end — some design to be accomplished by his actions. What, then, with reverence let it be asked, was the design of God?

To the Christian the solution of this inquiry is not difficult. He has learned, that in the secret counsels of Almighty wisdom, the death of the Messiah was essential for the salvation of man; that, in his death, the first of our race was as much interested as he will be who will listen to the last stroke of departing time; that it was necessary, therefore, to establish a representation of this great event as a sign of the future blessing, in order to keep alive the hopes and the expectations of men; and that this was effected by the slaughter of an innocent animal, whose life was in the blood, and whose blood poured out was the symbol of his death, who offered himself a ransom for the sins of men. Assuming this as the origin and intent of sacrifice, it is easy to account for its universal prevalence among mankind. Noah, as we have seen, offered a burnt-offering immediately after he left the ark. From him, and his three sons, did their posterity derive the practice; and we find, from the Scriptures, that it prevailed among all the nations, which, from their connexion with the family of Israel, are there incidentally mentioned. If we turn to profane history, we cannot open a volume without meeting every where the record of sacrifice. The Phenicians, the Ethiopians, the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Persians, the nations in the north of Europe and Asia, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Romans, the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain — in a word, every heathen nation, of which we have any records remaining, constantly offered sacrifice as an expiation for sin. The gradual corruption of the true religion, while it caused the origin of the rite to be forgotten, made no other alteration in the practice than such as regarded the quality of the victim. Human reason must, at all times, have perceived how inadequate was the slaughter of animals to atone for the sins of mankind. A nobler victim seemed to be demanded; and it was not to be wondered at that the blood of men, and even of children, as approaching nearer to innocence, should finally be considered as essential to obtain the grant of pardon. To find the same practice prevailing among all the Indian tribes of America — a practice deriving its origin, not from any dictate of nature, or from the deductions of reason, but resting solely upon the positive institution of God, affords the most triumphant evidence, that they sprang from the

common parent of mankind; and that their religion, like that of all other heathen nations, is derived by a gradual deterioration from that of Noah. At the same time, it will be seen, that they are far from having sunk to the lowest round on the scale of corruption. With the exception of the Mexicans, their religious rites have a character of mildness which we should elsewhere seek in vain.

Having seen that sacrifice is practised among the Indians, we are naturally led to consider the question, whether they have among them a priesthood; and, on this point, the testimony of travellers is somewhat discordant. Mackenzie mentions that the Chepewyans have high priests*; yet he describes the public sacrifices of the Knisteneaux, as offered by their chiefs, and the private, by every man in his own cabin, assisted by his most intimate friend. Charlevoix says, that among the Indians of whom he writes, in public ceremonies, the chiefs are the priests; in private, the father of each family; or where there is none, the most considerable person in the cabin. An aged missionary, he says, who lived among the Ottawas, stated, that with them an old man performed the office of priest. Loskiel says of the Lenapé, or Delaware Indians, that "they have neither priests regularly appointed, nor temples. At general and solemn sacrifices, the oldest men perform the offices of priests; but, in private parties, each man bringing a sacrifice is priest himself. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling-house is fitted up for the purpose." He afterwards speaks of the place of offering, under the name of "the house of sacrifice;" and mentions it as being "in a lonely place†." On the other hand, Bartram, in his account of the southern tribes, says, "There is in every town, or tribe, a high priest, with several inferior, or junior priests, called by the white people jugglers, or conjurers." To the same purpose Adair asserts, that they "have their high priests, and others of a religious order." "Ishtohoollo," he observes, "is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest."

Notwithstanding this diversity, however, the difference is more in appearance than in reality. Various meanings attached to the same words, in consequence of arbitrary associations, may produce a diversity of description. If a

* Mackenzie, 8vo. vol. i. p. 153. "There are conjurers and high priests, but I was not present at any of their ceremonies."

† Loskiel, p. 39, 40, 42. ad calc. A house of sacrifice is only another name for temple.

priest be one whose exclusive duty it is to celebrate the rites of religion, then it must be admitted that a priesthood exists among the Indians; for those who deny that they have priests, allow that in their public sacrifices the chiefs are the only persons authorized to officiate. The only difference, then, lies in this, whether the priesthood be or be not connected with the office of the magistrate.

Among Christians, as among the Jews, the priesthood is distinct from the civil authority; but previous to the separation of the family of Aaron, these two offices were generally united. Melchizedek was both king of Salem, and priest of the most high God. Jethro was, at the same time, priest and prince of Midian; and Abraham himself, who is called a prince, performed the sacerdotal functions. We find this union of the regal and sacerdotal characters existing among heathen nations. Homer describes the aged Pylian king as performing religious rites*; and Virgil tells of the monarch of Delos, who was both priest and king:—

“Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos†.”

Among the Creeks, and other southern Indians, a monarchical form of government seems to prevail; among the northern Indians, a republican. In both the sacerdotal office may be united with civil authority, and therefore partake of its peculiar character. Among the one it may be hereditary, among the other elective. If this be not sufficient to reconcile the discordant accounts, we are bound, I think, to respect the united testimony of Charlevoix and Loskiel in preference to any other, as they do not appear to have had any system to serve which might give a bias to their statements. And if this be so, it will be seen that the religion of the Indians approaches much nearer to the patriarchal than to that of the Jews. Their public sacerdotal offices are performed by their chiefs, and in their private, the head of every family is its priest.

But there is another office, which Carver, Bartram, and others, have confounded with the priesthood which exists among all the Indian tribes, and concerning which there is no diversity in the statement of travellers. To this class of men the French missionaries gave the name of *Jongleurs*, whence the English have derived that of jugglers or conjurers. To use the definition of Charlevoix, they are those servants of their gods, whose duty it is to announce their

* *Odys.* lib. iii. l. 418—460.

† *Æneid.* lib. iii. l. 80.

wishes, and to be their interpreters to men: or, in the language of Volney, those "whose trade it is to expound dreams, and to negotiate between the manitto and the votary." "The jongleurs of Canada," says Charlevoix, "boast that by means of the good spirits whom they consult, they learn what is passing in the most remote countries, and what is to come to pass at the most distant period of time; that they discover the origin and nature of the most secret disorders, and obtain the hidden method of curing them; that they discern the course to be pursued in the most intricate affairs; that they learn to explain the obscurest dreams, to give success to the most difficult negotiations, and to render the gods propitious to warriors and hunters." "I have heard," he adds, "from persons of the most undoubted judgment and veracity, that when these impostors shut themselves up in their sweating stoves, which is one of their most common preparations for the performance of their sleight of hand, they differ in no respect from the descriptions given by the poets of the priestesses of Apollo, when seated on the Delphic tripod. They have been seen to fall into convulsions, to assume tones of voice, and to perform actions which were seemingly superior to human strength, and which inspired with an unconquerable terror even the most prejudiced spectators." Their predictions were sometimes so surprisingly verified, that Charlevoix seems firmly to have believed that they had a real intercourse with the father of lies. This account of the jongleurs of Canada is confirmed by Mr. Heckewelder, in his late work on the Indian tribes. "They are a set," he observes, "of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians, in general, believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science; by means of which they are able, not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, and expel evil spirits. There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women—who get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge—to bring down rain when wanted, and to impart good luck to bad hunters. In the summer of 1799, a most uncommon drought happened in the Muskingum country.

An old man was applied to by the women to bring down rain, and, after various ceremonies, declared that they should have rain enough. The sky had been clear for nearly five weeks, and was equally clear when the Indian made this declaration. But, about four in the afternoon, the horizon became overcast; and, without any thunder or wind, it began to rain, and continued to do so till the ground became thoroughly soaked. Experience had doubtless taught him to observe that certain signs in the sky, or in the water, were the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power." "It is incredible to what a degree the superstitious belief in witchcraft operates on the mind of the Indian. The moment his imagination is struck with the idea that he is bewitched, he is no longer himself. Of this extraordinary power of their conjurers, of the causes which produce it, and the manner in which it is acquired, they have not a very definite idea. The sorcerer, they think, makes use of some deadening substance, which he conveys to the person he means to 'strike,' in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus 'stricken' is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror. His spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last, a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination."

A remarkable instance of this belief in the power of these sorcerers, and of the wonderful effects of imagination, is related by Hearne, as having occurred during his residence among the northern or Chepewyan Indians. Matonabbee, one of their chiefs, had requested him to kill one of his enemies, who was at several hundred miles distant. "To please this great man," says he, "and not expecting that any harm could possibly arise from it, I drew a rough sketch of two human figures on a piece of paper, in the attitude of wrestling; in the hand of one of them I drew the figure of a bayonet, pointing to the breast of the other. 'This,' said I to Matonabbee, pointing to the figure which was holding the bayonet, 'is I, and the other is your enemy.' Opposite to those figures I drew a pine-tree, over which I placed a large human eye, and out of the tree projected a human hand. This paper I gave to Matonabbee, with instructions to make it as public as possible. The following year, when he came to trade, he informed me that the man was dead. Matonabbee assured me that the man was in perfect health when he heard of my design against him, but

almost immediately afterward became quite gloomy, and, refusing all kinds of sustenance, in a very few days died."

Bartram, in his account of the manners and habits of the tribes which inhabit Florida and the south of the United States, relates, as their general belief, that "their seer has communion with powerful invisible spirits, who have a share in the government of human affairs, as well as of the elements. His influence is so great, as frequently to turn back an army when within a day's journey of their enemy; after a march of several hundred miles." "Indeed," he adds, "the predictions of these men have surprised many people. They foretel rain or drought, pretend to bring rain at pleasure, cure diseases, exercise witchcraft, invoke or expel evil spirits, and even assume the power of directing thunder and lightning." The power, then, of these impostors, is supposed to consist in the miraculous cure of diseases; the procuring of rain, and other temporal blessings; in the same supernatural manner; the miraculous infliction of punishment upon the subjects of their displeasure; and the foretelling of future events. It will immediately be seen, that these are, in fact, the characteristics of the prophetic office; those, I mean, which are external, which produce, therefore, a lasting impression upon the senses of men, and from the force of ocular tradition, would naturally be pretended to, even after the power of God was withdrawn.

That true prophets had such power, is evident from the whole tenour of Sacred History. On their power of predicting future events, it is not necessary to dwell; but it will be seen; that there is a striking analogy between the pretensions of the Indian impostors, and the miracles wrought by the prophets. We have seen, that the former assume the power of curing or inflicting diseases by supernatural means. We find the prophets curing or inflicting the most inveterate diseases by a word, by a touch, by washing, and other means naturally the most inadequate.* We have seen the Indian impostors pretend to foretel drought or rain. So Elijah the Tishbite said to Ahab, "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word†." And again, the same prophet, when there was no appearance of change in the heavens, said to the king,

* Thus Naaman was cured of his leprosy by Elisha, and the same disease inflicted by the prophet on his servant Gehazi. 2 Kings, v.

† 1 Kings, xvii. 1.

"Get thee up, eat and drink, for there is a sound of abundance of rain*." We have seen, that among the Indians, the conjurors pretend to inflict punishment on their enemies by supernatural means. So we read of a true prophet, that he commanded fire to descend from heaven, and consume the soldiers who were sent by the king of Israel to take him†.

But I wish to direct your attention more especially to a very early period of Sacred History, while the Gentiles had not yet entirely apostatized from the worship of the true God, and therefore were not yet wholly cut off from the patriarchal church. In the history of Abraham and Abimelech, we have an instance of the power which prophets possessed of obtaining blessings for others." "Now, therefore," said God to Abimelech, "restore the man his wife: *for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live*†." The same power is attributed to Job, who was probably a descendant of Esau, consequently not one of the chosen family; and, therefore, a prophet among the Gentiles. "The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite; My wrath is kindled against thee and against thy two friends. Therefore, take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept: lest I deal with you after your folly §." Traces of the same power are to be found in the history of Balaam, the prophet of Midian. When the Israelites, on their passage from Egypt, were passing through the country of Moab, the king of the Moabites, alarmed for his personal safety, sent for the prophet to curse them. "Come now, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me; peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: *for I wot, that he whom thou blesseth is blessed, and he whom thou curseth is cursed*. And the elders of Moab, and the elders of Midian, departed *with the rewards of divination in their hand*; and they came unto Balaam and spake unto him the words of Balak. And he said unto them, lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as Jehovah shall speak unto me. And God said unto Balaam, thou shalt not go with them; and thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed ||." Here is not only a proof of the power

* 1 Kings, xviii. 41.

† Gen. xx. 7.

§ Job, xlii. 7, 8.

† 2 Kings, i. 10, 12.

|| Numb. xxii. 6, 7, 8, 12.

ascribed to the prophet by the nations among whom he dwelt, but a recognition, by God himself, of the authority of Balaam to bless and curse in his name. And here, if I mistake not, we may observe the connecting link between the power of true prophets, and the arts practised by the false, after the divine influence was withdrawn. The elders of Moab and of Midian, it is said, "departed *with the rewards of divination* in their hand." The inference is inevitable, that Balaam, who undoubtedly had intercourse with the true God, was at times deprived of the divine influence, and that under a sense of that deprivation he had recourse to the arts of divination. Of this there is farther evidence. "Surely," he exclaims, in one of his sublime prophecies, "there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel." And it is subsequently stated, that "when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments*." When he could not obtain authority from God to curse Israel, he had recourse, in the depravity of his heart, to these unhallowed incantations; but finding that it was in vain to contend with the determination of the Almighty, he resigned himself at length to the divine influence, and converted his intended curse into a blessing. "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel! Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee†!" In proportion, then, as Idolatry increased, the prophetic spirit in the patriarchal church was gradually withdrawn. While the true God was worshipped, even though in absurd connexion with idols, the divine influence was sometimes communicated: but being gradually more and more frequently denied, the prophets had recourse to the superstitious observances of divination and judicial astrology. And as idolatry, in its downward course, at length lost sight of the Creator, and worshipped only the creatures, so the prophetic office degenerated into the arts by which impostors preyed upon the superstition of the ignorant.

I have now finished the view which I proposed to take of the Religion of the Indians. I am sensible that it is very imperfect; but enough has been said, I hope, to show the analogy which it bears to the religion of the patriarchal ages, and its wonderful uniformity, when considered as prevailing among nations so remote and unconnected. It

* Numb. xxiv. 1.

† Ibid. v. 9.

has already been observed, however, that their religious system can afford no clue by which to trace them to any particular nation of the old world. On a subject so obscure as the origin of nations, there is great danger of expatiating in conjectures. In fact, the view here taken, in some measure cuts off these conjectures, by tracing the Aborigines of America to a higher source than has usually been assigned to them. If the opinion I have advanced be true, it will, I think, appear rational to believe, that the Indians are a primitive people;—that, like the Chinese, they must have been among the earliest emigrants of the descendants of Noah;—that, like that singular nation, they advanced so far beyond the circle of human society, as to become entirely separated from all other men;—and that, in this way, they preserved a more distinct and homogeneous character than is to be found in any other portion of the globe. Whether they came immediately to this western continent, or whether they arrived here by gradual progression, can never be ascertained, and is, in fact, an inquiry of little moment. It is probable, however, that like the northern hordes who descended upon Europe, and who constituted the basis of its present population, their numbers were great; and that from one vast reservoir they flowed onward in successive surges, wave impelling wave, till they had covered the whole extent of this vast continent. At least, this hypothesis may account for the uniform character of their religion, and for the singular fact which has lately been illustrated by a learned member of the American Philosophical Society*, that their languages form a separate class in human speech, and that, in their plans of thought, the same system extends from the coasts of Labrador to the extremity of Cape Horn.

But, turning from speculations which are rendered sublime by their shadowy form, and immeasurable magnitude, I shall conclude a discourse which, I fear, has become already tedious, by remarks of a more practical, and, I would hope, of a more useful nature. We have seen that, like all other nations unblest with the light of Christianity, the Indians are idolators; but their idolatry is of the mildest character, and has departed less than among any other people from the form of primeval truth. Their belief in a future state is clear and distinct, debased only by those corporeal associations which proceed from the constitutional operations of

* Mr. Duponceau.

our nature, and from which even Christians, therefore, are not totally exempt.—They retain among them the great principle of expiation for sin, without which all religion would be unavailing; and they acknowledge, in all the common occurrences of life, and even in their very superstitions, the overruling power of Divine Providence, to which they are accustomed to look up with an implicit confidence, which might often put to shame the disciples of a purer faith. Provided, then, that their suspicions respecting every gift bestowed by the hands of white men, can be overcome, the comparative purity of their religion renders it so much the easier to propagate among them the Gospel of Salvation. In this view, is it possible for the benevolent heart to restrain the rising wish, that the scanty remnant of this unfortunate race may be brought within the verge of civilized life, and made to feel the influence, the cheering and benign influence, of Christianity? Is it not to be wished, that the God whom they ignorantly worship, may be declared to them, and that, together with the practices they have so long preserved, may be united that doctrine which alone can illuminate what is obscure, and unravel what is intricate? If this be desirable, it must be done quickly, or the opportunity will be for ever lost. Should our prejudices prevent it, we must remember that their faults will be obscured, and their virtues brightened, by the tints of time. Posterity will think of them, more in pity than in anger, and will blame us for the little regard which has been paid to their welfare. Hapless nations! Like the mists which are exhaled by the scorching radiance of your summer's sun, ye are fast disappearing from the earth. But there is a Great Spirit above, who, though for wise purposes he causes you to disappear from the earth, still extends his protecting care to you, as well as to the rest of his creatures.—There is a country of souls, a happier, and better country, which will be opened, we may charitably hope, to you, as well as to the other children of Adam. There is the atoning blood of the Redeemer, which was shed for you, as well as to the rest of mankind; the efficacy of which, you have unwittingly continued to plead; and which may be extended, in its salutary influence, even to those who have never called on, because they have never heard, THE NAME OF THE SON OF GOD.

REVIEW.

Of Population. An Inquiry concerning the Powers of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind; being an Answer to Mr. Malthus's Essay on that Subject. By William Godwin. 8vo. London. Longman, Hurst, and Co. 1820. pp. 626, price 18s.

THAT new conclusion, upon whatever subject, which at once, and palpably contradicts our past *knowledge*, may be safely held to be false: and the accuracy of experiment, the truth of history, and the authority of revelation, furnish much of such knowledge. Where it lurks we may not know; but a fallacy there is lurking somewhere in the argument: we may be certain of the existence of that fallacy from its effects, before we can trace its well-concealed spring;—and there is no consideration that more strikingly shows the value of first principles, in science, as well as in morals.

Though not subject to the modern mania for political economy, which would exalt it above all other studies in point of practical usefulness, we confess we are amongst those who rejoice at its more frequent discussion of late—particularly in those middle classes of society, that bear the heat and burden of all the errors of their rulers, on this subject. It is thus brought down from the clouds, of abstraction and hypothesis, into that region of real life, where the parties most interested will exercise their thoughts and plans upon it; and where, though for a while it may be treated roughly, it will fare well at last. We must also confess, however, that we differ widely from some of the popular notions, both of the rights of the rich and the wrongs of the poor: and as widely from the system of that modern writer on one important branch of political economy, who has done more toward arousing the whole British public to its importance, as a science, than any of his contemporaries. For Mr. Malthus's conclusions on the subject of population, were such as could not be true. With him, contrary to all the

sayings of the wise,

In ancient and in modern books enrolled,

an increase of population was not only 'an evil,' but '*the principle of population*' was described as a misery, lord paramount of the earth;—an evil genius, threatening hard to devour the luxuries of the rich, the comforts of the middle

classes, and the very subsistence of the poor. " In all ages of the world, ' population had been pressing hard against subsistence,' he told us; the monster had been stalking through the earth, and had been, in point of fact, equally peremptory in his demands, equally loud in his threats, as at the present time; but, until the date of the Essay on Population, no human being had heard his voice, no one had ever suspected his designs, or even, as Mr. Malthus describes it—his being. The world had been partially peopled from one pair; human life, and by consequence, the duration and produce of marriages, had been proportionably extended in the patriarchal ages, to accomplish its being peopled to a considerable degree; then, *a fact never alluded to by our divine*, the Omniscient Governor of the world was pleased to limit the duration of life, and by consequence, its connexions, to about their present standard length; but He had never reversed His high behest on the first marriage—' Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it;' for never had the command it includes been fully obeyed, and never, therefore, had the predicted result, the subjugation of the earth to the wants of man, been fully realized. We submit thus prominently, to every sincere believer in Revelation, that, in the sententious manner of Scripture, this divine homily on marriage contains a strong assurance, that when the earth is "replenished" with inhabitants, it shall be efficiently subject to the wants, and supply in plenitude all the comforts of man.

Mr. Malthus could not be correct in his conclusions. Scripture forbade it, common sense forbade it; the deductions of philosophy, the experience and recorded wisdom of the statesmen of all ages, and the voice of all history, forbade it also. Yet, with so plausible an air did this writer bring forward his theory, and supported his celebrated ratios of population and subsistence with such apparent matters of fact; the argument seemed so palpable, and the evidence—from across the Atlantic—so irresistible, that the El Dorado of Queen Elizabeth's reign did not more largely attract European notice and belief: and all England rings with the triumph of his principles. Whatever errors the system of this gentleman may contain, it has decidedly borne down its opponents for the last twenty years. It savours a little too much, therefore, of the partisan, for Mr. Godwin to denominate it at once "a house of cards*;"

* Godwin, p. 2.

and to tell us, that he "who should read the first chapter, and no more, of Mr. Malthus's Essay, would be in possession of every thing in the book that is solid and compressed, or that bears so much as the air of science." Mr. Malthus has certainly constructed an important theory on grounds by far too slight, and, as we think, utterly untenable; but the writer who has prevailed to influence the calculations of the merchant, the exhortations of the divine, the plans of the statesman, and the decisions of a British Parliament, for nearly a whole generation, at this enlightened period of the world, is not to be so unceremoniously dismissed. There was great originality, great ingenuity, and great perseverance in his advances, while he performed for the public the important service of breaking up much new ground in science, and stimulating others to follow him. If it be founded on the ruins of his own system, he will have been the means of founding, as we have intimated, a new school of political economy in Great Britain; and, that branch of the science which he originally selected for discussion, was neither ill-chosen, nor overrated in its importance. It has occupied no small share of the public attention ever since the first appearance of his Essay.

From that early period, the name of Mr. Godwin stands connected with the subject of population. In his Inquiry concerning Political Justice, he had the merit, or demerit, it seems, to connect an Utopian scheme of equality with a *Malthusian* calculation respecting the possible increase of mankind: and, although he then spoke, (after the occult manner of his future opponent) of there "being a *principle* in human society, by which population is perpetually kept down to the level of the means of subsistence*," he anticipated the period when "the spirit of oppression, the spirit of servility, and the spirit of fraud," with their attendant vices, being banished from amongst men, a full development would be given to the principle of population, and a large accession of human happiness result from it. To show the fallacy of expecting such a state of society on earth, and that, were it realized, it could not continue for a single generation, Mr. Malthus was first induced to write his Essay on Population. The result, he contended, of a law to enforce the best-constructed system of equality, would be, that the claimants on the future means of the society would be so prodigiously augmented, as quickly to introduce the old liabilities to labour, poverty and want,

* Godwin's Political Justice, p. 460.

with their attendant crimes and miseries; and hence, to compel a speedy return to the old systems of providing for, and restraining them. Mr. Godwin, according to correct legal practice, we believe, now claims a right of reply. He was an advocate for the lower classes of society, as plaintiffs against its great political institutions, for whom Mr. Malthus appeared, and made out, as the learned opener of the cause insists, a defence almost entirely fictitious. But the latter gentleman, we are happy to find, does not attempt to sustain all the points of his opening speech. He was originally the champion of infidelity as well as of equality; and some of the most important moral and religious bonds of mankind, were objects of his animadversion and reprobation: in defence of this system he no longer appears; he challenges his bitterest enemy to find in his present publication, the peculiarities of the Author of the Inquiry concerning Political Justice*, and confines himself strictly to the theory of Mr. Malthus on population, and the manner in which its advances affect, and are affected by, the means of subsistence.

The creed of this writer and his disciples is, "That population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence†;" —That "It may safely be pronounced that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio‡;" —while, "considering the present average state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio§."

"The necessary effect of these two rates of increase, when brought together," says Mr. Malthus, "will be very striking. Let us call the population of this island eleven millions; and suppose the present produce equal to the easy support of such a number. In the first twenty-five years the population would be twenty-two millions; and the food being also doubled, the means of subsistence would be equal to the increase. In the next twenty-five years, the population would be forty-four millions, and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of thirty-three millions. In the next period, the population would be eighty-eight millions, and the means of subsistence just equal to the support of half that number. And, at the conclusion of the first century, the population would be a hundred and seventy-six millions, and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of fifty-five millions, leaving a population of a hundred and twenty-one millions totally unprovided for.

* Godwin, Preface, p. x. † Essay on Population, 5th edit. vol. i. p. 5.

‡ Ibid. p. 9.

§ Ibid. p. 14.

Taking the whole earth, instead of this island, emigration would of course be excluded; and, supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions, the human species would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries, the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries, as 4096 to 13; and in two thousand years, the difference would be almost incalculable*."

Such is what may be called the fashionable theory of population, and its consequences. The *authorities* on which Mr. Malthus principally rests†, may be briefly detailed.— They are, 1. Dr. Franklin, who, in "Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind," written in 1731, has said, "There is no bound to the prolific nature of plants and animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence. Were the face of the earth vacant of other plants, it might be gradually sowed and overspread with one kind only, as, for instance, with fennel: and were it empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages be replenished from one nation only, as, for instance, with Englishmen‡." 2. Dr. Price, who, in his *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, republishes a letter he had formerly written to Dr. Franklin, containing this remark, "A doubling of population in eighty-four years, is, as you, Sir, well know, a very slow increase, compared with that which takes place among our colonies in America§," and referring at the bottom of a page to a Sermon of a Dr. E. Styles, (printed in 1761) as stating the population of Rhode Island to double as a whole in twenty-five years, and, "within land," in twenty and fifteen years. 3. Euler; who "calculates on a mortality of one in thirty-six, that if the births be to the deaths in the proportion of three to one, the period of doubling will be only twelve years and four-fifths||." And 4. Sir William Petty; who "supposes a doubling in so short a time as ten years¶." It is remarkable that no part of Mr. Malthus's printed works refers to *Tables* establishing the actual increase of population, even in America, at the ratio he assumes.

The *reasoning* of this gentleman upon his data is sufficiently remarkable. Having stretched the reader's imagination on the rack of the geometrical ratio, he comes to

* Essay on Population, 5th edit. vol. i. pp. 15, 16,

† See his own Letter, stating them, in Mr. Godwin's book, p. 122, and pp. 3, 7, 8, of the Essay, vol. i.

‡ Franklin's *Miscell. Works*, p. 9.

§ Price's *Observations*, vol. ii. p. 49.

|| Essay, vol. i. p. 8.

¶ Ibid.

consider the checks to this fearful multiplication of mankind: or, *what it is*, in point of fact, that has preserved these propagating and eating animals from—eating one another! For it must not be forgotten, that Mr. Malthus's whole system rests on the "natural tendency" of mankind thus to multiply, and requires, in all cases, the presence of counteracting powers or circumstances, to account for the result being otherwise in point of fact. The "checks" enumerated in his first edition, were entirely embraced under the fearful names of "vice" and "misery;" in the subsequent edition of his work, he has added a third, "moral restraint;" which, however, he characterizes as having "operated with very inconsiderable force in past ages," and declares that he can anticipate nothing much better from it in time to come. More particularly his checks are, "unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, war, plague, and famine*."

But the *policy* recommended on this singular basis, the practice to which the rulers of the world, and particularly those of our own country, are exhorted by a Christian moralist on the ground of these doctrines, is yet more novel and original. A denial of *any right* in the poor to the maintenance they cannot earn, should first be promulgated. Secondly, the poor-laws should be "gradually abolished;" or a law be enacted, "declaring that no child born from any marriage taking place after the expiration of a year from the date of the law, and no illegitimate child born two years from the same date, *should ever* be entitled to parish assistance†." Thirdly; to try the efficacy of moral restraint as far as possible, it should seem, every clergyman, after the publication of the banns of marriage, should be instructed to read a homily to the poor, on the duty of supporting their children, the immorality of marrying without "a prospect" of doing this; the evils which had resulted from former attempts to assist them, and the absolute necessity which their richer neighbours had discovered, of abandoning those attempts. We must extract from Mr. Malthus's quarto edition of the Essay, (1803) the celebrated passage in which the climax of his theory appears; for, though it has since been expunged from the work, the spirit of it still pervades the whole:—

"A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot

* Essay, vol. i. p. 22.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 179.

get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business where he is. At nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone; and will quickly execute her own orders, if he do not work upon the compassion of some of the guests. If these guests get up and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear, demanding the same favour. The report of a provision for all that come, fills the hall with numerous claimants; the order and harmony of the feast is disturbed; the plenty that before reigned is changed into scarcity; and the happiness of the guests is destroyed by the spectacle of misery and dependence in every part of the hall; and by the clamorous importunity of those, who are justly enraged at not finding the provision they were taught to expect. The guests learn too late their error, in counteracting those strict orders against all intruders, issued by the great mistress of the feast, who wishing that her guests should have plenty, and knowing that she could not provide for unlimited numbers, humanely refused to admit fresh comers, when her table was already full*."

The foregoing we believe to be a fair view of his opponent's case, when Mr. Godwin resumed his pen†. And

* Essay, 4to. edit. 1803, p. 531.

† In the anecdotes of Bishop Watson's Life, published by his son, we are presented with an able application to that prelate, on the part of a clergyman, to answer Mr. Malthus, and the bishop's reply. The former characterizes the Essay on Population, as "a book which endeavours to establish a code of morality in opposition to the morality of the gospel." "To me," says the writer, "it appears the most insidious attack ever made on Christianity, though the author pretends to be a Christian divine. As your Lordship has answered those writers who have endeavoured to undermine the doctrines of Christianity, perhaps you will show the same zeal in defending its moral precepts. The design of the present letter is to prevail on your Lordship to answer Mr. Malthus. If my sentiments should not happen to meet with your Lordship's approbation; if you should think favourably of Mr. Malthus, it would give me infinite satisfaction to hear the grounds on which your Lordship thinks his Essay can be justified, and on which it can be reconciled to the spirit of Christianity; for to me they appear so much at variance, that I am compelled to give up either the one or the other."

The Bishop says, "Though I have not read this book, I have looked into it: but perceiving that the author was endeavouring to show the utility of bringing down the population of the earth to the level of the subsistence requisite for the support of man, (a proposition [?] wanting no proof, since where there is no food men must die), I thought his time and talents would have been better employed in the investigation of the means of increasing the subsistence to the level of the population: and I laid the book aside. I thought myself justified in thus neglecting to peruse a book thwarting the strongest propensity of human nature, and contradicting the most express command of God, "increase and multiply;" especially as I was persuaded that the earth had not, in the course of six thousand years from the creation, ever been replenished with any thing like one half of the number of inhabitants it would sustain."—*Anecdotes of the Life of Bishop Watson*, 1830, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 325—329.

shall we say, that in sitting down to our critical labours, we feel a rising blush at the partial triumph of infidelity, which is involved in the present position of the combatants? It is, however, but a partial triumph. Mr. Malthus, a clergyman of the established church, assuming the attitude and language of Hamlet—

“ ’Tis not alone my inky cloak

Or suit of solemn black that best befits me”—

avoids drawing any portion either of his data or arguments from Revelation, and puts off the Christian, with regard to any peculiarity in his morals or views of human history, for the mere politician, and the moralist of expediency: while, practically, his eloquence is employed in teaching the comfortable doctrine of self-love to the rich; to all classes that have any thing to lose or give away, the easy art of keeping what they have; and to a large portion of the poorer class, that they really have “no business” in a world so much “possessed” as this! From the public and legal channels of benevolence, (for the poor-laws, however confused and imperfect, are nothing else) he proposes at once to drain off their shallow stream, and more than suggests the *danger* of the private exercise of that virtue. The guilt, in the poor, of having a large family “without a prospect,” is with him of such immediate and threatening evil to society, that the severest penalties of want and starvation should be immediately enacted against it, *in terrorem*, and in two short years inflicted—actual famine inflicted on the unhappy offspring of imprudent marriages, lest a famine *should* occur in other quarters, and among the more considerate of mankind. This writer’s exhausted “Nature,” has no room for them at her feast; and Christianity, as a system of benevolence above and beyond unenlightened nature; a system that multiplies her bread while it divides it, has slipped from his recollection. Not only “he that will not,” but he that *cannot* “work,” must not be suffered to eat, and in the face of all the wretched details of a Colquhoun on the Metropolis, and the Reports of the Magdalen and the Penitentiary, “it is better,” with him, “to burn than to marry.” Mr. Godwin, on the other hand, a recorded unbeliever, appears on the Christian side of this argument. His theory is not inconsistent with the annals of the Bible. The erroneous speculation (if such it be) which first exposed him to the animadversions of Mr. Malthus, was an excessive application of the principle of benevolence. He calls upon the rich to “consider the poor.”

He traces to the corrupt influence of their idle self-love, and to the unnatural state of opposition and envy in which merely human institutions often place man against man, much of the vice and misery which we see in the world ; — and Scripture so disposes of much of it. Above all, while cautiously avoiding to pledge himself for the truth, he derives from the precepts of Christianity his strongest and most successful opposition to the spirit and morals of Mr. Malthus's book.

Far as this is, with regard to these writers, very far from what we could have desired ; with regard to the systems of Infidelity and Christianity, in so much as they are concerned, it is exactly as we should expect it to be. The Christian writer enticed from his only proper ground, *Revelation as the standard of morals*, and of all *large views of man*, is soon led captive, particularly with regard to the morals of his work, by the Philistines ; and blind, and in fetters, makes sport for them ; while the unbelieving champion, finding no principles of self-denial and good-will to men equal to those of his neglected Bible ; no moralist like Christ ; nothing that can stand before the ark ; no God like the God of Israel — reasons as wisely and as practically as the “ priests and diviners ” of Philistia, in a certain memorable case of old *, and, contrary to his nature, comes lowing down “ the straight way to Bethshemesh,” actually supporting the ark of the Lord !

Our author, somewhat inconsistently with his metaphor of finding only “ a house of cards ” to demolish, expresses his surprise, in the Preface of his work, that Mr. Malthus's book should have been twenty years before the public unanswered in its main principle ; and adds, “ It is in *reality* the complexity and thorniness of the question that have had the effect of silencing Mr. Malthus's adversaries respecting it †.” Like a wise traveller in such a region, he keeps, therefore, to certain main points in his progress.

In Book I. he endeavours to ascertain “ The population of Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America, in ancient and modern times.” With Mr. Malthus our author rejects all the data of Revelation on the subject of the original peopling of the world. “ I have undertaken,” he says, “ to write a refutation of *his* theories. He has chosen his ground ; and I follow him to the contest. He had [has] made no allusion to Adam and Eve, and has written just as any speculator in

* 1 Samuel, vi. 3, &c.

† Godwin, Preface, p. vii.

political economy might have done, to whom the records of the Bible were unknown. If there is any thing irreverend in this, to Mr. Malthus, and not to me, the blame is to be imputed. He has constructed his arguments upon certain *data*, and I have attempted nothing more than the demolishing of these arguments." He accordingly resorts to profane history, which, as he observes, extends our knowledge of the population of Europe and Asia, backward, some few thousand years. America has been discovered about three centuries, but no stable colonies, keeping tables and population, have been established there more than 100 years. Of Africa we know to this day little or nothing to our purpose. The inquiry then naturally recurs, how stands the question of population in regard to the old world? Of its changes and habits, its revolutions and emigrations, we have authentic and long-continued history.

Mr. Godwin proposes to begin with the population of *China*; a subject to which his opponent has also devoted considerable attention, that country being supposed to be more fully peopled than any other part of the globe. Now this is precisely a country in which the system of Mr. Malthus, if correct, would have been brought into full development. Preserving, in common with all the eastern nations, a remarkable permanency of manners and economy, its institutions afford the greatest encouragement to marrying early; celibacy is universally regarded as a disgrace; and the women are remarkably fruitful. "As an encouragement to marriage," says Lord Macartney, "every male child may be provided for, and receive a stipend from the moment of his birth, by his name being enrolled in the military list." Yet Du Halde and Sir George Staunton, the one writing at the beginning, and the other at the end of the last century, demonstrate that in this portion of the old world, at least, population has been at a stand for the last 100 years; and Mr. Malthus concurs in the statement. What, then, has retarded the progress of this mighty empire toward all the evils of the geometrical ratio? Sometimes Mr. Malthus seems evidently to suppose that the various "checks" he enumerates cut off a given number of children in countries, where, from whatever cause, marriage is freely encouraged; which keeps them from rising into an overwhelming population. China has been said to number 333,000,000 of souls within its confines. On the system of an invariable tendency in population to double itself "by procreation only" in twenty-five years, 999,000,000 infants, at least, must have been born and

destroyed (or three times the number of the existing population) within the last century, over and above the usual average of mortality in other countries. But where are the records or indications of such mighty havoc? It involves an *increased* mortality of 13,320,000 children annually; a number more than equal to the whole population of Great Britain. We have no reason to believe in the recurrence of any of Mr. Malthus's eleven "checks" in such an increased proportion in that country; the testimony of travellers, and the statements of that author himself, go to prove a considerable exemption from many of them—why then *has not* the population of China doubled, quadrupled; and then doubled and quadrupled again, within the century? We almost want regular denominations of figures to tell us what it ought to have been, on his showing; at the conclusion of that period.

In the fruitful parts of *India* we have a similar abundance of population. While the average number of persons subsisting on a square mile in England is not more than 200; in the district of Burdwan, Bengal, according to a recent statistical statement*, 600 persons subsist on every square mile; and with the same pertinacious ignorance, all the great legislators of this part of the world have for ages, as in China, encouraged population, and found no alarming symptoms of increase. According to the ordinances of Menu, one of the first duties of a citizen is to beget a son for his country; and early marriages are here accordingly, as Mr. Malthus admits, "almost universal." Here then, again, we should have found the redoubling, or the redoubled and incredible destruction of children which his system assumes. But we cannot pass over quite so slightly as Mr. Godwin does, some of the reasoning and allusions of his opponent on the subject of "Indostan and Tibet." One proposed object of the *Essay on Population* was to ascertain the checks to population in different parts of the world, and to *recommend* certain methods of preventing or remedying its excess. In the chapter in question he instances the customs of the Nays with regard to marriage, and the measures of the government of Tibet, as operating in this direction. He tells us of the practice of one Naye woman having attached to her "two males, or four, or perhaps more;" that in Tibet, "perhaps the only country where to repress rather than to encourage population is a public object," the Bootea is recommended to distinction by his celibacy; and the higher orders, wholly engrossed by political or ecclesiastical duties, leave to the

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xii. No. 13.

husbandman and labourer "the exclusive charge of propagating the species." Notwithstanding these "excessive checks," however, Mr. Malthus very gravely says, "Population is kept up to the level of subsistence, and this is confirmed by the number of beggars in Lestoo Loomboo*." So that moral and immoral cohabitation, celibacy and marriage, early marriage and late, go alike to demonstrate the truth of this writer's theory. Let him imagine so, if he will; but we stoutly protest against some of the worst vices of our species being thus exhibited, as productive of any kind of political good, which is assuredly the air they assume in the narrative before us.

South America next attracts Mr. Godwin's attention. All the original discoverers speak of the swarms of human beings that were found crowding the shores of Mexico and Peru, when on those fine countries was first inflicted the curse of an European visit. Peru, in particular, presented the most extraordinary union of an extended civilization and population which any speculator on these topics could desire to examine. The soil was divided into three equal portions, one of which was devoted to the maintenance of religion, one to the service of the government, and the remaining third to the wants of the people. The public authority regulated the quantity of land that was always to be kept in cultivation; the government was at once rigid in its outlines, and mild in its administration; and the picture drawn by Robertson, and all the historians of this part of the globe, of the inhabitants proceeding to their occupations with music and songs, will ever retain its mournful interest on the philanthropic mind.

Las Casas has asserted, that in fifty years the inhabitants of Hispaniola were reduced from 3,000,000 to 200! Then, indeed, according to Robertson, the Spanish court awoke to the necessity of a total change in her administration of the affairs of these colonies; lest, "instead of possessing countries peopled to such a degree as to be susceptible of progressive improvement, Spain should soon remain proprietor only of a vast uninhabited desert." A code of laws was accordingly formed, in which the security, preservation, and happiness of the original inhabitants were very deeply considered; hospitals were erected in all the large towns of the coast; and it was expressly ordered, that no male native should be suffered to remain unmarried after the age of

* Essay, vol. i. pp. 283—289.

fifteen, and no female after thirteen. These laws have now been in force upwards of two centuries and a half; but the native races are well known to be everywhere declining. Such is the difficulty of *keeping up* a population, even in the most favoured countries, for purposes that never originated with Providence. The history of Paraguay confirms this remark. The Jesuits endeavoured in every way to reinvigorate the native races of that country from 1610 to 1767, and the observations of the Abbé Raynal on their measures, are strictly within the line of our investigation.

"It might be expected that mankind would have most extraordinarily multiplied themselves, under a government where no individual was idle, and none were destroyed by excessive labour; where the nourishment was wholesome, abundant, and equally distributed to all; where all were fully supplied with necessary clothing; where old men, widows, orphans, and the sick, were tended with a care unknown to the rest of the world; where every one married of choice, and without motives of interest; where a numerous family of children was a consolation, without the possibility of being a burden; where a debauchery inseparable from idleness, and which assails equally the rich and poor, never hastened the approach of infirmities or old age; where nothing occurred to excite the artificial passions, or to oppose those which are conformable to nature and reason; where the advantages of commerce were reaped, without bringing in their train the vices of luxury; where abundant magazines and succours mutually communicated from tribe to tribe, insured them against famine and the inconstancy of the seasons; where the administrators of justice between man and man, were never reduced to the sad necessity of condemning one individual to death, to disgrace, or to any punishment but what was momentary; where taxes and law-suits, two of the greatest sources of affliction to the human race, were utterly unknown: such a country, I say, might have been expected to prove the most populous on the face of the earth. It was not so*."

To turn to the ancient world, *Sparta* perished, according to Aristotle (*De Polit. lib. ii. c. 7.*), not by any single and particular calamity, but "through the diminution of its numbers." Here then is another case worthy the attentive consideration of the disciples of the Essay. Was marriage encouraged here? Yes. To neglect it, according to Plutarch, was rendered infamous by law. Was poverty stigmatized, or any class of citizens discouraged from having a family? On the contrary, all children were regarded as the offspring of the state, and the land we know was distributed,

* *Hist. des Deux Indes*, liv. viii.

and the laws provided for its being kept in an equal distribution to all families. With a view to encourage population, even the females of his country were subject to particular regulations by its great legislator. "First of all," says Plutarch, "Lycurgus willed that the maidens should harden their bodies with exercise of running, wrestling, throwing the lance, and casting the dart; to the end that the fruits wherewith they might be afterwards conceived, taking nourishment of a strong and lustie body, should shoot out and spreede the better; and that they, by gathering strength thus by exercises, should more easily away with the paines of child-bearing."—(*North's Translation.*) The institutions by which Lycurgus thus established his name and country were in being for five centuries; and his biographer attributes the ruin of the city to a departure from them, and the introduction of "Athenian gold and silver."

The history of *Rome* presents us with the first series of documents in the shape of population tables; and though some doubt will always, perhaps, be entertained as to what class of citizens the numbers represent, the various and progressive changes in the population of the "eternal city," will be established by them. Beginning with the first census made by Servius Tullius, Mr. Godwin gleans the following lustrations from Livy:—

A. U.	Lustrum.	Population.
219	1	80,000
288	9	124,215
294	10	132,409
459	30	262,322
464	31	273,000
473	32	278,222
478	33	271,224
501	37	297,797
506	38	251,221
533	43	270,213
544	44	137,107
549	45	214,000
559	47	143,074
564	48	258,308
579	51	259,015
584	52	327,022
599	55	324,000
611	57	328,342
617	58	323,000
622	59	313,823
628	60	390,736

A. U.	Lustrum.	Population.
638	62	394,336
683	68	450,000
707	72	150,000

Here again marriage was to the utmost degree encouraged; the citizen who had thus connected himself had certain privileges above the unmarried man; he who had offspring still more; and he who had the greatest number of children was most eligible to public offices, and attained a priority in the exercise of them. Yet never did senate, or sage, dream of the gross error upon which, according to Mr. Malthus, they were acting; for in no respect could they have felt alarmed on the score of increase, by the figures of the foregoing table; and it is to be remembered, that we have no equally *extended* table of population in the history of the world.

These facts occupy the attention of Mr. Godwin to the end of the eleventh chapter of his first book. In the twelfth he offers a few considerations on the multiplication of inferior animals; and suggests, that we have no reason to suppose the animal world more numerous than it was 3000, or (putting revelation out of the question, and supposing the world to have subsisted so long) 30,000 years ago. On the other hand, we know certain species of animals to have perished. "We read of the unicorn, the leviathan, the behemoth, the mammoth, and many others; and of some of these, skeletons, in whole or in part, subsist to this day. What animal," inquires our author, "was to prey on the mammoth, or to keep down the enormous multiplication of his species, by making use of him for food? If Mr. Malthus's system were true, the earth, long ere this, ought to have been a habitation for mammoths only." [p. 95.] We imagine that this hint respecting the multiplication of the inferior animals, is worth pursuing to a considerable extent. *Their* instincts are, at any rate, as unrestrained by "moral" considerations, as those of man. Few of them are so long in arriving at maturity as the human female—so long in gestation, or breed so few of their kind. How, then, is the nicely-balanced order of the great and the minute, the numbers of those that serve for food, and of those who are fed, kept up amongst them? The question bears upon the doctrine of human subsistence, too, in this way. Those animals that constitute a large supply of human food, the sheep, the goat, and the ox, for instance, multiply so exceedingly fast in comparison with

man, that were a single pair of breeders, of each sort, to be set apart, and the progress of the numbers produced from them marked, from the birth of a child to his maturity, he would be surrounded by flocks and herds of no small size and account; and surely the abstract calculation of the *possible* multiplication of human beings, by procreation, may be fairly met by the consideration of a similar possibility with regard to these important supplies.

The thirteenth chapter presents us with those "Views of Man and Society," which the author conceives to result from the foregoing facts. At the head of these he places the beautiful language of the sacred Penman in the viii. and cxxxix. Psalms; and afterwards quotes, in the same spirit, the cxxvii. and cxxxviii. Psalms; the language of Augustus, that it was "the men of Rome who constituted the city;" and Sir Richard Steele's fine picture of the father of a large family, in the *Spectator*—"more proud of having been the occasion of ten such glorious productions, than if he had built a pyramid at his own expense."

"How refreshing is this!" exclaims Mr. Godwin; "it is a return to nature and human feelings: it is in the nature of a letter of license, permitting man to be man, allowing him to enlarge himself, and to spread into all the ramifications of social existence. Let not the system of the universe be calumniated! There is a sublime harmony between man as an individual, and man, collectively considered. Private and public feelings, our love of ourselves, and of all that is nearest to us, and our love of our country and our species, all operate to the same end. The interests of the one and of the other, through the whole extent of their great outline, coincide. For twenty years the heart of man, in this land, has been hardening, through the theories of Mr. Malthus. What permanent effect this may have upon the English character, I know not: but I am sure it is high time it should be stopped. We were learning—to look askance, and, with a suspicious eye, upon a human being, particularly on a little child. A woman walking the streets in a state of pregnancy, was an unavoidable subject of alarm. A man who was the father of a numerous family, if in the lower orders of society, was the object of our anger. We could not look at a human being with the eye of a painter, as a delicious object of contemplation;—with the eye of a moral philosopher, as a machine capable of adorning the earth with magnificence and beauty;—or with the eye of a divine, as a creature with a soul to be saved, and destined to the happiness of an immortal existence." [pp. 110, 111.]

Mr. Godwin's second book proposes to enter more scientifically into the law of our nature respecting the increase

of the species, or otherwise, so far as it can be inferred from statistical tables, and other documents of modern times. He details the authorities of Mr. Malthus, to which we have before alluded; and inserts a short correspondence between that gentleman and himself, just previous to his going to press. This turns upon the single point of Mr. Malthus's authority for saying, that "In the northern states of America the population had been found to double itself for above a century and a half successively in less than twenty-five years"—for which Mr. Godwin asks in writing; and Mr. Malthus replies by referring him to Dr. Price's Observations, and the pamphlet of Dr. Styles, as the authorities in which he "principally rests." But since the publication of his quarto edition, he adds, "the late Statistical View of America, by T. Pitkin; in which are contained the three regular censuses of 1790, 1800, and 1810; together with an estimation in 1749, more than confirms what was there stated."

It has long been clear to us, that Mr. Malthus's system was all hypothesis. Dr. Franklin supposes, that *if* the earth were empty of other inhabitants, it might in a few ages be replenished with Englishmen—leaping at once to the point of a tendency to indefinite increase in the numbers of mankind, the very thing to be proved. The assertion of Dr. Styles, in an occasional sermon about the increased numbers of a single district, some sixty years ago, is certainly not to be dwelt upon. Sir William Petty, again, *supposes* that 600 persons yield, on an average, 180 breeding women; that these women bear, upon an average, a child every other year; and that they continue to bear children from 15 to 44 years of age, or produce on the whole *fourteen* children and a fraction each—"and so the said 600 people may double in ten years." But whoever heard or read of such prolific mothers? The name of Euler is introduced into this controversy, only by his becoming a calculator on an *hypothesis* presented to him by a brother academician. Our author professes to found his *principles* respecting the numbers of mankind, on the facts of the average duration of life; the average number of years which precede maturity; the period of time during which we retain full vigour and manhood; and the years that belong to decrepitude and decay. With regard to women, the most prominent and important integer in our calculations upon this subject, these periods are marked with much more precision than in the case of men. By a

settled rule of nature, it appears that the human female has completed her interesting task of bringing children into the world at forty-five years of age; and the interval between twenty years of age, and this period, may safely be taken as the utmost ordinary length of the season of child-bearing. Where, as in Persia, and other eastern countries, women marry earlier, they cease to bear children at a proportionably earlier age.

Unhappily for any extended reasoning on these principles, we have no tables of population which supply the requisite data, or that distinguish the *sex* and *ages* of the inhabitants of any country for a considerable period, but the accounts which have been kept of the population of Sweden. Of the people of that country full and well arranged lists have been published—from 1751 to 1775, every three years; and from that period to the present time, at intervals of five years. We subjoin a general table, abridged from the whole of these interesting papers; “the only documents,” says Mr. Godwin, “which prove, from actual observation, and in the compass of ordinary history, that there is a power of numerical increase in the human species:”—

General View of the Population of Sweden, from the Years 1751 to 1815.

Years.	Population.	Interval.	Increase.	Proportion.
1751	2,229,611			
1757	2,323,195	6 years.	93,534	$\frac{1}{24}$
1760	2,367,598	3 years.	44,403	$\frac{1}{52}$
1763	2,446,397	3 years.	78,796	$\frac{1}{30}$
1775	2,630,992	12 years.	184,598	$\frac{1}{13}$
1780	2,782,168	5 years.	151,176	$\frac{1}{16}$
1795	3,043,731	15 years.	261,563	$\frac{1}{10}$
1800	3,182,132	5 years.	138,401	$\frac{1}{12}$
1805	3,320,647	5 years.	138,515	$\frac{1}{23}$
Or without Finland.				
1805	2,424,874			
1810	2,377,851	5 years.	diminution.	
1815	2,465,066	5 years.	87,215	$\frac{1}{27}$

Total increase in 54 years 1,091,16, or nearly one half.

Irregular as the advance seems to be, here is unquestionably a progress in the population of one of the old and settled countries of Europe, amounting, on the whole, to a tendency to double itself in little more than a century.

The Swedish tables afford us other valuable details respecting the possible increase of mankind. By distinguishing the sex and ages of the inhabitants of Sweden, they exhibit the same sort of progress in the number of child-bearing women, as appears upon the gross result of the population. Thus, in 1757, the total number of women between the ages of 20 and 45 is 486,542; in 1760, 444,092; in 1763, 458,236; which numbers, compared with those of the whole population, in three years, give one effective child-bearing woman to $5\frac{1}{2}$ inhabitants. In the same years, it is remarkable from these tables, that every five child-bearing women give, on an average, something more than one child to the state. The proportion of one child-bearing woman being annually yielded by five marriages, seems thus to be established; and is recognised by all the principal writers on the continent, as well as by Mr. Malthus. Now, if the period of natural fruitfulness be taken (as before stated) at 25 years, this calculation would give exactly five children to each marriage; if at 20 years, four children: and when we consider that nearly one year must elapse before the first child can be born, and the diminished fruitfulness of the later period of marriage, a calculation between the two, on the average, of $4\frac{1}{2}$ children to each marriage, would seem very near the truth. This conclusion is capable of further proof. In 1757, the women that actually arrived at the marriageable age of 20 years, in Sweden, were 20,974; the births, 81,878: in 1760, the females arriving at 20 years of age, 20,723; the births, 90,635: in 1763, females arriving at twenty, 21,023; births, 90,152: the three instances affording respectively the averages of $3\frac{9}{10}$, $4\frac{3}{8}$, and $4\frac{7}{8}$ births to a marriage. Again, taking the total births, from 1749 to 1763, in Sweden, we have 1,229,290, as the result; and the number of marriages, during the same period, 315,482, or $4\frac{1}{8}$ births to each marriage. Mr. Godwin deduces (in substance) the following conclusions from the whole of those documents: 1. That the marriageable women of a settled community do not exceed one-fifth of the population. 2. That they do not increase from generation to generation, or increase in a very inconsiderable proportion. 3. That the number of children born is pretty accurately in the proportion of one child to five marriages. 4. That the number of children born annually is nearly in the same proportion to the child-bearing women in the state. 5. That the number of births to a marriage does not exceed the proportion of four to one.

6. That the women who live to reach the child-bearing age are found generally to marry, and that early in life. 7. That extreme early marriages do not increase population, for in proportion as women bear children before the age of twenty, they cease to be mothers before that of forty-five. Our author, in an appendix to chap. iv. v. and vi., suggests some good reasons for supposing, that the average of births, and the progressive increase of the population of Sweden, have been taken rather too high than too low.

The comparison of these results with all that we know of the population of other parts of Europe, affords no reason to fear any tendency to a rapid increase of its inhabitants. Dr. Price, with a view to the valuation of lives, has calculated, on the basis of the Swedish tables, that out of 10,000 women born, 5,800 reach the marriageable period of twenty years of age. Now, in 1810, the registered births in England and Wales were 298,852; taking one-half of whom as females, we should expect from this proportion of births, 86,667 breeding women; and the marriages of the same year were 84,470. Other comparisons are instituted by Mr. Godwin, which throw considerable light on the interests of our native country on this question. Dr. Price calculates, that according to the probabilities of life at Norwich, out of 1,185 births, 467 reach the age of twenty, and 311 that of forty-five years, giving an average of 389; now taking half of these to be females, we have 195 child-bearing women, or *one-sixth* of the births. Another calculation on the probabilities of life in London, gives to every 1000 births 360 persons who reach the age of twenty; and 192 that of forty-five years of age, leaving a mean number of 276; taking half of whom as females, we have but 138, or not quite *one-seventh* of the entire number. In Holland and France, the same kind of calculation gives one marriageable female to four births. Dr. Price, it is to be remembered, for purposes totally different to this question, and on mercantile grounds, that have since been admirably sustained, felt the great superiority of the Swedish tables, and erected some of his most important calculations upon them. The table of proportions between baptisms and marriages in England, prefixed by Mr. Rickman to the Abstract of Returns to the Population Act of 1811, may here be quoted, as confirmatory of the foregoing calculations:—

Years.	Baptisms.	Marriages.
1760	366	to 100

Years.	Baptisms.	Marriages.
1770	361	100
1780	356	100
1785	366	100
1790	359	100
1795	353	100
1800	340	100
1805	350	100
1810	360	100

In which it is remarkable that we have *no* increase from the beginning to the end of the period, and only an average of thirty-five births to ten marriages.

Opposed alike to these facts, and this reasoning, is the hypothesis of Mr. Malthus founded on—the American, and other data, to which we have adverted more than once; and in measure, apparently, confirmed by the population returns of 1801 and 1811, with regard to England and Wales. These returns stand thus:—

Total number of inhabitants in 1801	9,108,000.
Ditto	in 181110,488,000.

Increase in 10 years 1,320,000.

Now, upon the supposition of the utmost accuracy in these enumerations, they constitute together but *one step* of comparison with regard to any increase in the population of this country. They are not to be compared with the frequently recurring enumerations of the Swedish government; and surprising to add, they descend into none of the details, which the memorable example of that government might have suggested. We have nothing but a gross return of all sexes and ages confounded together; when a proper classification, as Mr. Godwin remarks, would have given the most unexceptionable authority to the enumerations. If, for instance, the population had been divided into ages only, so as to distinguish every five or ten years' difference, as the American as well as Swedish tables do, we should instantly have seen whether there were an increase by procreation equal to the amount now quoted; for in the columns of five or six years it must have appeared. Mr. Godwin suggests another reason for esteeming the comparison between these tables as of little account. In 1801, the whole affair of enumerating our population was new to the inhabitants of this country; we look with jealousy on such measures as these being, for the first time,

undertaken: we have heard of poll-taxes, hearth-money, the pressing of seamen, and the drawings for the militia; and the recollection of such measures would make many an honest Englishman answer shyly to a question, respecting all the inhabitants of his household. In 1811, the business would sit more easy on the public mind; it would have been found to be harmless in its results: and this writer, therefore, thinks it very conceivable that there was not one human creature more in the country in 1811 than in 1801. Most surprising is it, however, that the very calculations which preceding writers have made to prove the supposed increase of our population, in confirmation of the returns of 1801 and 1811, should be grossly inconsistent with these returns; and prove, as far as contradiction can, that we have *no* scientific data on the subject. Mr. Rickman, for instance, constructs a table of the population of England and Wales throughout the last century, on a comparison of the baptisms and population of 1801. His problem is: "If 263,409, the average number for the five years preceding 1801, were produced from a population of 9,168,000, from what population were 157,307, the baptisms of 1700, produced?" and the registered baptisms furnish, on this calculation, the following—

Table of the Population of England and Wales throughout the last Century.

In the Year	Population.
1700....	5,475,000
1710....	5,240,000
1720....	5,565,000
1730....	5,796,000
1740....	6,064,000
1750....	6,467,000
1760....	6,736,000
1770....	7,428,000
1780....	7,953,000
1785....	8,016,000
1790....	8,675,000
1795....	9,055,000
1801....	9,168,000
1805-6..	9,828,000
1811....	10,488,000

But this same writer has shown us, by the actual register of *marriages* and *births* compared, in the last table, that during

nearly one half of this supposed period of doubling our population, the births, in their proportion to marriages, were actually stationary. It is remarkable also, that the burials, during twenty-one years of the same period, namely, from 1780 to 1800 inclusive, were also stationary, or averaged from first to last about 192,000 per annum; and that for five years out of the last ten of the supposed increase, i. e. from 1805 to 1810, they were but 196,000*. The calculation of the past numbers of our countrymen, by the hearth-books, in like manner contradicts the above table. According to the latter, in 1700, England and Wales contained but 5,475,000 inhabitants; but, in 1690, we have an account of 1,319,215 houses; and the houses of 1811 were 1,848,524, giving, on the comparison of houses and population, in 1690, 7,475,000 inhabitants.

Book III., of Mr. Godwin's work, inquires into the causes by which the amount of the numbers of mankind is reduced or restrained; or what his opponent has called the "checks" upon population. Mankind are kept down, we were almost about to say, *infinitely* within the limits of Mr. Malthus's calculations. That writer boldly assumes, that nature, "the laws of nature," impel population forward to that extreme pressure against the means of subsistence, of which vice and misery are the only efficient restraints. We have already noticed his checks in detail. Our author having first put the fact of population having been kept down, in all countries with which we are acquainted, below the only known example of increase, in Sweden, proposes the two questions, "How is it kept down?" and, "Is it necessary for the common good, that any special attention should be given by governments and national councils, in the way of taking care that it should be kept down, or that the increase of mankind should not be encouraged?" He admits that vice, and the visitation of calamity, have their share in keeping down the numbers of mankind; ranking war, as every considerate man must, amongst the most conspicuous of the one class of checks; and pestilence and famine, as the most obvious ones amongst the other. But he totally rejects Mr. Malthus's "vice and misery in their obscure details," because we have no knowledge of their greater prevalence in the countries of Europe, where, according to that writer, they commit such enormous havoc, than in the United States of America, where his

* See the Population Abstract, edited by Mr. Rickman.

favourite geometrical ratio prevails. The proper and ultimate appeal, as he observes, is to bills of mortality; and until these furnish the data of such havoc, we think the negative argument of Mr. Godwin is irresistible. They are *not* the prodigious checks upon population, which his opponent would make them; for it is not to be forgotten, that they must be such *comparatively* to establish Mr. Malthus's system: they must exist in such palpable proportions in Europe, when compared with America, as to confine that which is proceeding upon a geometrical, within an arithmetical ratio. But where is the evidence of this?

Secondly, Mr. Godwin asks, Does population require to be kept down? It is wholly contrary to the spirit of ancient legislation to suppose so—wholly absurd, he insists, in reason; since the first element of civilization lies in this truth, that every human creature, except in cases of extraordinary imbecility, is endowed by nature with the power of producing a much greater quantity of that which nourishes human life than is necessary for his individual subsistence—and wholly opposed to ancient and modern experience on the point: those countries, on the whole, having been uniformly found the happiest, where the increase of mankind has been most encouraged; and those most miserable, in which a tendency to depopulation has been displayed.

It is amongst the paradoxes involved in Mr. Malthus's system, "That the proportion of births to marriages in a country forms no criterion by which to judge of the increase or decrease of its numbers"—taking marriage (as all these writers very properly do) for the only "true source of human offspring." If the proportion of births to marriages do not increase, our author asks, in what way can population be increased? We imagine that Mr. Malthus must intend to speak of the permanent increase of mankind—that being born on a geometrical ratio, they die off into other proportions of increase or decrease, as his supposed checks are found to operate; and that hence the mere numbers of the born will not decide the question. Of the details furnished by experience against this system, there is not a more important fact than Mr. Godwin produces, respecting the calculation of annuities, and the value of life. These proceed upon the negative, *in limine*, of Mr. Malthus's conclusions; and have been in the most successful operation throughout the civilized world, during the

very periods of his wonder-working increase, "by procreation only," in America and Great Britain. The merchants and financiers of all countries refer to our Price and Morgan, on these subjects; and in America, where the value of life, particularly in young persons, must be DOUBLE, according to Mr. Malthus, such a circumstance is not suspected: though were it indeed the fact, certain ruin would attend all extensive assurances effected on the basis of the European tables.

Book IV. is devoted to the consideration of the important case of America. Mr. Godwin, perhaps, a little anticipates the point he has to establish, when he says, that he has "already sufficiently proved, so far as can be inferred from all the documents that have yet been collected respecting the supposed increase of mankind, that the augmentation of numbers in the United States of America, to whatever it may amount, *cannot* have arisen from their own proper resources in the way of procreation." But he endeavours, not unsuccessfully, to show how it has arisen. He reminds us of the topography and political condition of the United States—their facilities for receiving, sustaining, and making happy (!) the discontented and the destitute; and traces the history of those extensive emigrations thither, to which he principally attributes the surprising increase in their population. Proceeding to the tables and figures of the subject, we find that Pitkin's Statistical View of the United States gives us the following sketch of the progress of their population:—

In 1749.....	1,046,000
In 1790.....	3,929,326
In 1810.....	7,239,903

On Mr. Godwin's hypothesis, 165,000 emigrants must have passed over annually from Europe to America, during the twenty years which elapsed between 1790 and 1810, with one important limitation. Emigrants, according to this writer, consist generally of families in the flower of their lives, of those who have past the dangerous period of childhood; and of whom, instead of reckoning, as in other cases, that out of four children born we can only expect one child-bearing female; we may, in this case, expect the proportion of two to four. Hence he infers that the annual number of emigrants necessary, according to his principles, to increase the numbers of the United States' population, as they have been reported to increase, for the twenty years specified, is only from 80 to 90,000. Now there is

on record an account of 21,200 British subjects having passed from Great Britain to New England alone, between the years 1630 and 1640; a period in which the tonnage of our merchant ships did not exceed 142,900 tons. "The fever of emigration," as Johnson called it, has certainly spread on every side of us, and over an increased population since: moreover, our state physicians have prescribed for the malady, and pointed out those portions of the body politic on which it may beneficially operate:—our merchant tonnage now is 3,072,409, yielding, according to the ancient ratio, an emigration of 43,000 persons from Great Britain only. When to these are added the large numbers of emigrants that are known to have proceeded from Ireland and other parts of Europe, Mr. Godwin insists, that we shall have, in the whole, as great a number as any hypothesis on the subject can require*.

Mr. Godwin goes to the core of the matter, as far as he has data, when he comes to the consideration of the amount of *births*, the periods of marriage, and the diseases prevalent in the United States. In a paper communicated to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, he traces an arithmetical error (oh! the stubbornness of figures†) the rectification of which singularly corroborates the general or European calculation of the proportion of births to marriages, i. e. an average of from 4 to 4½. But he supplies two valuable fragments of calculations, (we call them so in proportion to the magnitude of the question they are brought forward to illustrate, and in our own anxious desire to see more of such documents given to the world,) of which he must give his own account:—

"Since writing the above, I have had transmitted to me by my valued friend, Mr. Joseph Valence Bevan, of Georgia, reports of the marriages and births in Portsmouth, the capital of New Hampshire, for six years, from 1804 to 1809, drawn up and published on the spot by Dr. Lyman Spalding. These are the more important, as they relate to those northern states of America.

* Since this article has been in progress through the press, we have had the pleasure of seeing a schedule, under a new population act, in circulation in the neighbourhood of London. It requires the sex, ages (by gradations, of five years) and occupations of the inhabitants to be distinguished, with the returning housekeeper's name.

† A Mr. Barton tells us of the United States possessing, in "a superior degree, an inherent, radical, and lasting source of national vigour and greatness;" "since in no other part of the world is the progress of population so rapid;" and quotes, as a proof of it, the birth of 2,247 children from 521 marriages, which, he says, "gives a proportion of six and a quarter births to a marriage."

upon the increase of population, in which, by procreation only, Mr. Malthus has thought proper to lay his principal stress. They are as follow : —

Years.	Marriages.	Births.		Total.
		Males.	Females.	
1804	64	163	130	293
1805	67	138	157	295
1806	63	128	128	256
1807	62	151	133	284
1808	56	141	134	275
1809	69	146	153	299

“ Now in those reports, if I take the latest year, it will give me something less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ births to a marriage: and, if I add the whole ten years together, the proportion will be found to be $4\frac{11}{100}$ to one.

“ My friend at the same time transmitted to me a paper of these heads; for the city and suburbs of Philadelphia, but this is only for the one year, 1818, and does not distinguish the sexes of the born: the result is ‘Marriages (as far as obtained) 792; baptisms, 2221:’ yielding a quotient of fewer than three births to a marriage. It is somewhat remarkable, that this return concludes with a memorandum, that ‘the baptisms of this year were decreased by 282, and the burials increased by 64.’ Thus the further we inquire into the subject, we find the progress of numbers of mankind in the United States, conforming itself to the model of Europe.” [p. 424.]

On the subject of the period at which marriages are formed in the United States, this author only establishes, what our readers will ere this have expected, that “there is nothing new under the sun.” There is an ordinary age and power of fruitfulness in the human female; no one feature of the power of habits of mankind is more uniform, on a large scale; if this period is anticipated, and women marry at a very early age, as we have before noticed, and as the most common observation will teach, their fruitfulness is rather diminished than increased, and they exhibit a premature decay. Franklin boasted of the early marriages of America; but, first, the fact of their prevalence on a national scale wants establishing; and, secondly, if it were established, it is nothing to the purpose. “Too early and too late marriages,” says Sussmilch, “are both of them injurious to population.” The average powers of the female are not proved to be greater in America than in Europe, nor the ordinary marriageable age different. In Sweden, as we have seen, almost all females arriving at twenty years of age marry.

Respecting the diseases of the United States, Mr. Godwin has also some original information. He notices the prevalence of consumption, dysentery, and the yellow fever; the general impression which American writers seek to remove, "that the United States are unhealthy;" and the testimony of Volney to the appalling frequency of intermittent autumnal fevers and agues. We confess, however, that the information he has derived from certain "very respectable" ladies, concerning the rareness of large families, the number of children dying under three years of age, the sallowness of the native American complexion, &c. seems to us rather vague. This chapter, upon the whole, is very unequal to what we should have expected from a writer who is generally scrupulous in his data; and the materials for a fuller statement of the diseases of America, are, we apprehend, by no means difficult to obtain.

Mr. Godwin finally establishes, as "the most important piece of information, relatively to our subject, that can be conceived," that the free white inhabitants of the United States, under and above sixteen years of age, are as nearly as possible upon an equality in point of numbers*; and infers that it hence inevitably follows, "that throughout the Union the population, so far as depends on procreation, is at a stand." "It is altogether as satisfactory," he insists, "as if we had a table of births and marriages, for every state of the Union, as particular as Sussmilch's tables for the German dominions of the king of Prussia." "If it were true that the population of the United States had been found to double itself, for above a century and a half successively, in less than twenty-five years, and that this had been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only; it is absolutely certain, that in that country the children would outnumber the grown persons, two or three times over." [pp. 441, 2. †]

* See the census for 1810, &c.

† The absurdities into which an implicit reliance on Mr. Malthus's assertions have led some of the most respectable of our contemporaries, cannot be better illustrated than by the following sentences from the *Quarterly Review* for November, 1817, which gravely says, "The American race is but a branch of the European stock; and had it remained on its parent soil, would have partaken of the same gradual increase, doubling itself in a century at the quickest; but the same branch, when rooted in transatlantic ground, doubles in twenty-five years. Take any given number, say 10,000; these persons remaining in England, or France, would, in 100 years, have increased to 20,000; but transplanted to America, in a hundred years they become 160,000!"

The means which the earth affords for the subsistence of man, occupy the fifth book of this interesting work. We feel disposed to complain of the very insufficient space that is thus assigned, to at least one half of our author's subject; and that which enters into the very pith of his opponent's theory: but we can only concern ourselves with Mr. Godwin's *data* here. The warm-hearted speculations of the writer enliven his book; still they are but speculations—we want to see the facts of this science more fully brought out, and lucidly arranged.

China has been considered as the most populous of civilized countries; it occupies 1,300,000 out of the 39,000,000 of habitable square miles, which the globe is computed to contain: and here, according to the lowest calculation, 300,000,000 of inhabitants find the means of subsistence. On this scale, the habitable parts of the globe would supply *nine thousand*, instead of its present computed number of *six hundred*, millions of inhabitants.

In England and Wales we have, according to the surveys of the Board of Agriculture*:—

Of cultivated land.....	39,100,000
Common and waste land	7,816,000
	<hr/>
Total	46,916,000

The former being thus distributed:—

In bread, the produce of	5,000,000
In liquids	1,250,000
In animal food	20,000,000
Roots and green fruit	1,250,000
The food of 1,200,000 horses	4,800,000
Surplus produce	6,800,000
	<hr/>
	39,100,000

For the same writers rate the *individual* consumption of food in this way:—

Food per head annually consumed.	Acres.
In bread, the produce of.....†	$\frac{1}{2}$
In liquids	$\frac{1}{8}$
In animal food	2
In roots and green fruit	$\frac{1}{8}$
	<hr/>
Total	2 $\frac{3}{4}$

† See particularly Middleton's Survey of Middlesex.

Now, the item of surplus produce, divided by 23, would yield food already provided for 2,054,380 persons, to say nothing of improvements and the cultivation of waste lands. We advert, with pleasure, after Mr. Godwin, to the striking illustration of this branch of the subject afforded by Mr. Coke's Holkham estate. Forty years ago, when this gentleman came into possession of the property, the land of his farms was regarded as some of the worst in the country, and let at three shillings per acre: his entire rental was £2,200. At this time, according to a recent publication*, the land lets at from thirty to forty shillings, and produces triple the quantity of wheat per acre, that other and some of the most naturally fertile counties yield; the population has tripled, the poor-house has entirely disappeared, and the rental has increased tenfold.

But we feel, with our author, the great ambiguity that lurks under the term "means of subsistence." It may either intend what is actually produced, or what might be produced from the earth; and it may involve, or it may not involve, the consideration of the mode whereby those means are obtained, or become accessible to particular classes of men. That what is actually produced, as the food of man, in England, might be largely increased, has never been questioned, and is an agricultural problem of the highest interest and importance to keep before the world. That it might be more equally, and for all classes more comfortably distributed, will be doubted by none but those who believe our political institutions, or rather our actual political situation, incapable of improvement. Upon this latter topic, however, there is some language in our author's book that is much too unmeasured for our taste and times. We neither think with his opponent, that the child of the poor man is born into the world without rights, or into "a world where every thing is appropriated;" nor, with Mr. Godwin, that "he has only to lift up his eyes and survey our heaths and forests, our *parks*, and our *pleasure grounds*, to see that the world is not appropriated as the simple laws of nature direct us to appropriate it." We neither believe, that at Nature's mighty feast there is no room for the new claimant because he is poor, nor that he has a right to usurp the place and rank of any that are already seated there: we hold it to be a sacred and imperative duty to *make room* for him, and are persuaded that this may be accomplished

* Rigby, Holkham, and its Agriculture.

without violence, and without making any individual a judge in his own cause. On the whole, as between these controversialists, Mr. Godwin sums up the ultimate question of difference, by stating his conviction, that population is not kept down in the different countries of Europe, provided it has a tendency to increase, by a want of the means of subsistence, but by the positive institutions of society. "I claim," says he, "to reverse the celebrated maxim of Mr. Malthus, and to say that 'human institutions, if erroneous and oppressive, are the mighty and tremendous sources of mischief to mankind, while the progress of population is, in the comparison, light and superficial, a mere feather that floats upon the surface' of the essay on Population, and hardly worth serious consideration any where else." His sixth and concluding book is a general summary of objections to the spirit of the Essay on Population.

That the topic of these writers, the real tendencies and limits of the principle of population, only presents itself to discussion at a very advanced stage of civilization, will be obvious, both from the fact that Mr. Malthus's was the first English book that entered fully into it, and the lamentable want of data which his system every where discloses. Even the industry of his opponent, aided by the hard-headed calculations of his friend, Mr. David Booth, (see the Dissertation on the Ratios of Increase on Population, &c., at the close of book II.) has added little to the established *facts* that belong to this branch of science, if such it may be called: and we owe too much to the experimental philosophy, we rejoice too much in the modern tendency of all true science, to break up from its former moorings to this hypothesis and the other, and take the direction to which experiment leads, to be willing to reason much on such a subject, without better data. A desultory remark or two, in conclusion, is all upon which we shall venture.

The whole subject presents an argument for the higher views of man. In the early stages of society, great precariousness in the actual supplies of food procured, is found to subsist with an inexhaustible abundance of resources. The wandering tribes, that on the discovery of America were found scattered along its shores, and that haunt at this time the borders of its civilized portions, once possessed (and but a few centuries back) the same fertile soil which now feeds the millions of the Union, and which frequently sup-

plies to exhausted Europe a surplus quota of the necessities of life. Until man, with his inherent thirst for some "enduring substance," sits down to appropriate for himself a place and a sphere on earth, attends to its peculiarities, marks the seasons that pass over it, and applies himself steadily to its cultivation, age after age, he is found wholly ignorant of its riches — and then — he is as certainly taught that this is no undisturbed resting place for him. Through want of forethought he at first neglects to husband his resources; and to prepare in a more plentiful for a less prosperous season: then, compacted in nations, his extreme anxiety teaches him to appropriate, and make permanent possessions of all he can; different human institutions arise, and large classes of men have to meet the precariousness, and almost the inconveniencies of savage life.

But what are really the evidences of a redundant population in any country, we have yet to learn. Distress in any one of the numerous, or even of the greater classes of the people, is not evidence of this kind. This may be but a partial evil working out a general benefit, or quickly to be remedied by directing the attention of that class to other and less exhausted pursuits than their old ones. We were lately much struck with a contrivance adjoining some of the locks of the Regent's Canal, north of London, whereby the overflow of one of its branches is deposited by the side of the works until it may be wanted at a future period, or by another. Now when the arts of peace can be fully and soberly cultivated amongst men, is it too much to hope, that the governors of the earth will see the necessity of providing similar contrivances in civil life, and in relation to the pursuits of the lower orders in particular? The classes most interested in a prudential foresight of the general tendency, and entire result of their pursuits, are the very classes least likely to exercise that foresight. They are by duty and necessity too much occupied in providing the day's bread as the day passes. One of the first acts of benevolence in the higher orders, then, as well as one of the first duties of a state, is, we hold, to think broadly and kindly for them. To anticipate the certain momentary evil that this excellent invention will bring on that class of manufacturers, and the absolute extinction of that branch of human labour, which the admirable application of the mere force of the elements will involve in another direction; — to reckon up before-hand the want of some few thousands, that will thus become idle through necessity, and to

prepare that fraction of the aid for them, by way of prevention of their misery, which you must otherwise afford them in the shape of cure.

Nor should the sound of *complaint* in particular classes of the community mislead us. All classes have a greater opportunity of making their complaints heard, than in former times. Even the poorest are becoming, thank heaven, an educated class; they can read, if not so much as we could wish, much of what they will read relates to their own interests and affairs, the fluctuation of prices, the different markets that are to be found for their labour, the origin and descent of every kind of property, &c. The class immediately above the poorest, can pretty generally read and write, and, alas! they can *speak*! and the influence of their speeches and writings cannot, at last, be circumscribed by act of Parliament. These classes have felt themselves, in measure, men; and their richer neighbours, to govern them, must remember we are all but men. The influence of false representations must be met by truth; of partial and misleading, and, therefore, mischievous knowledge, by the diffusion of more complete knowledge, and well-grounded, well-directed principle. The country is *rising*, as a whole, into the possession of new appetites, new propensities—a new and irresistible thirst of knowledge, ever accompanied by a new power to reason, and a new pride of intellect. You *must meet* these desires,—we would say to the better informed classes,—you must govern this infant reasoning by better reasoning, you must convert this pride into a useful ambition of real and becoming excellence. But you need not, in the interim, mistake the greater sound of calamity for proof of its greater existence. The poor and some of their would-be friends, have ascended into a whispering-gallery of late years; they have neither any new powers of voice, nor any essentially new topic of complaint. We do not believe that they have had, in our time, any degree of calamity to compare with the days of the plagues, famine, and pestilence, known to our forefathers; but a whisper spreads and circulates in their present region, like a set speech of former times, and an ordinary shout like thunder.

On the other hand, those who “*possess* the world,” as Mr. Malthus phrases it, the mercantile and privileged orders of society, can complain with greater effect than formerly, and like men, they do so. An indefinite number of new channels of information, must afford indefinite scope for

complaint. The manufacturer can tell his neighbours how impossible it is for him to live, if the working hand is also to live, in the county paper; mercantile men can advocate the honour of their country, in the necessity of supporting credit, and of the regular payment of the dividend, in the House of Commons; and in the Upper House of Parliament, richer though he be in blood, and linked with names that constitute all the pride of his country's history, what noble does not feel that he is no longer speaking to his prince and his equals, but to the people? We infer that the sound of modern distress is, on the whole, much greater than the reality;—that the real distress of an enlightened country, like England, will always be heard travelling from class to class, now-a-days, and, therefore, at last, be much more likely to be traced to its true causes, than in former times; but above all that the bounty of the God of nature, though we have, as a people, learned systematically to under-rate and despise it, is yet equal to the wants of his intelligent creatures—and that the old-fashioned language of praise and penitence will, even in these times, more decidedly become us, in all classes of society, than that of complaint.

Two Sermons, preached in the Parish Church of Saint Chadd, Shrewsbury, May 28, 1820, in Aid of the Funds of the Boys and Girls' Sunday Schools, and School of Industry, established in that Parish. By the Rev. Sam. Lee, A. M. Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, 8vo. pp. 31. Shrewsbury, Howell.

FROM the time when Dr. Eachard wrote his "Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion," to the present, and indeed long before, the preparatory studies of candidates for holy orders have excited general notice, not to say occupied the profound attention of judicious and sober men. Still, however, there are persons who, by indulging prejudice, believe that no one can be qualified for the Christian ministry, unless educated at Eton or Westminster, Rugby or St. Paul's. Nor are others wanting, who, having their eyes directed only to the revenues of the church, regardless of the demands of the public, and the claims of a parish, look at a benefice as the only worthy object, without respect to piety or learning, or even to the decencies of exterior accomplishments. Hence, too frequent, alas! has been the occurrence—that,

if the young collegian could demonstrate a mathematical problem, or entertain a jovial circle with a quotation from Catullus or Anacreon, or even refer to years spent in a public school, and the regular routine of Oxford or Cambridge, he has been advanced to the cure of souls, with no other helps than can be supplied by Euclid, or the productions of heathen poets. "Now, what a champion for truth is such a thing likely to be? What an huge blaze he makes in the church! What a raiser of doctrines, what a confounder of heresies, what an able interpreter of hard places, what a resolver of cases of conscience, and what a prudent guide must he needs be to all his parish*!"

Such a course, though sadly common, happily is not universal. The grossness of the error has in itself a tendency to counteraction. Hence, of late years especially, the more enlightened friends, as well as ablest supporters of the hierarchy, have directed their energies to check the fearful evil, and, by classing theology with university studies, have done something towards its removal. Besides, men have been sought out and patronized, who possess minds well stored with knowledge, who exhibit, in the view of Christian charity, proofs of vital godliness, and who, from love to the Saviour, dedicate all their acquirements, and all their influence, to his service. Such only, we conceive, are the persons who should receive ordination. Then would the ministry not be blamed.

As friends of a learned priesthood, we delight to see the union of piety and literature:—religion will invariably sanctify human learning, and thus the beauties and force of divine truth will be exhibited and urged, with pre-eminent advantage. We think, with Bishop Horsley, that for any to "allege the apostles as instances of illiterate preachers, is of all fallacies the grossest. Originally, perhaps, they were men of little learning—fishermen, tent-makers, excisemen; but when they began to preach, they were no longer illiterate; they were rendered learned in an instant, without previous study of their own, by a miracle†." The champions of the reformation, let it be remembered, were men of extensive attainments, as well as distinguished piety, skilled in the learned languages, well read in ecclesiastical history, and masters of solid reason and argument. The British churches are now reaping the benefit of their disinterested and zealous exertions, both as scholars and divines; and,

* Eachard, p. 21. ed. 1672.

† Sermons, Disc. xiv.

while all their success is attributable to the blessing of God, it would be insensibility not to venerate their studious diligence, their gigantic intellect. They transferred to religion all that was known, all that was valuable in literature. When, therefore, men of science united with piety, whether their knowledge has been acquired in a public school, or obtained by unassisted plodding, are brought forward in the service of the Gospel, we greatly rejoice, and, without regarding their early associations, we predict the furtherance of truth, the accelerated progress of all that is captivating in genuine devotion. In this view we recognise the reverend author of the sermons now before us; and the introduction of his discourses to our readers, presents an opportunity of recording the history, the energies, and the success of one of the most remarkable personages of ancient, or modern history.

Longnor, a small village near Shrewsbury, has the honour of being the birth-place of Professor Lee: destitute of the early advantages of education, while working as a carpenter* for daily subsistence, he toiled in the pursuit of knowledge, and, with unassisted and silent perseverance, he studied, from the age, we believe, of seventeen, the Latin tongue. This application originated in his inability to understand that language, as quoted in the English authors. Poverty obstructed his progress, but did not prevent it. A thirst for information created economy; and out of the scanty pittance of his weekly earnings, he purchased, at a book stall, a volume which, when read, was exchanged for another; and so, by degrees, he advanced in wisdom. As his wages increased, and, thereby, his ability to make larger purchases, he attended to the Greek, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, and the Syriac tongues. The loss by fire of the very tools of his trade, blasted his earthly prospects in that direction, and led him to consider how far his literary acquirements might be employed for the support of himself, and the partner he had recently married. His situation being made known to the Reverend Archdeacon Corbett, that liberal and enlightened clergyman afforded him, not

* It has been remarked by a judicious writer, that "A person's original, his business and circumstances in life, often occasion prejudices against him. Thus the Jews were prejudiced against Christ. They were astonished that one who had worked among them as a common mechanic, should set up to be a public teacher." In connexion with the above remark, such prejudices are, by the same writer, shown to be "very absurd, unreasonable, and mischievous." See a Sermon entitled "Reflections on Christ's working as a Carpenter."—*Job Orton's Discourses*, vol. i. p. 65, &c. ed. 1776.

only immediate aid, but a happier introduction to his favourite pursuits. The result has been his present advancement.

In delineating the talents and vast acquirements of Professor Lee, we willingly avail ourselves of the worthy archdeacon's ingenious speech, as delivered at the annual meeting of the Shropshire Auxiliary Bible Society, in the year 1818, and are persuaded, that in that speech, after making every allowance for partiality, he uttered only the words of 'truth and soberness.'

"The only education Mr. Lee received among us, was that of a village school, where nothing more was taught than reading, writing, and arithmetic: and he left this school at twelve years of age, to learn the trade of a carpenter and builder, under his ingenious and respectable relative; Mr. Alderman Lee, of this town. It was not till years after this, that he conceived the idea of acquiring foreign languages; and then it was with such singleness of heart that he pursued his object, that he neither sought nor accepted opportunities of communicating it. And it was not till after an interval of six years, and then by chance, that I found out that he had in that space taught himself to read and to write in Latin, in Greek, and in Hebrew. He had taught himself the Chaldee, the Syriac, and the Samaritan languages — and all this unaided by any instructor; uncheered by any literary companion; uninfluenced by the hope, either of profit or of praise. And here let me pause at this very singular feature in the portrait I am endeavouring to delineate: for where shall we meet with a devotion to letters so solitary, or so pure? I know, indeed, that instances are not unfrequent, where the mind has arisen superior to its original destination, or where eminence has been attained under circumstances adverse and unfavourable. But we more generally find, that a foundation has been laid; and that those who have distinguished themselves as scholars, have gone through the regular routine of classical education, or have been assisted by masters of superior ability. Such was the case with Mr. James Crichton, of Clunie, in Scotland, better known by the name of '*the admirable Crichton*,' in the list of whose tutors we find the name even of Buchanan. And having introduced the mention of this extraordinary person, this '*Phoenix of Literature*,' as he is designated by one of his biographers, I would willingly run some parallel between him and Mr. Lee; for, though comparisons are justly said to be odious, yet, if I take my example from the 16th century, I shall scarcely be accused of sinning against the spirit of this wholesome proverb, more especially as my object is merely that of elucidation: nor is it necessary for my purpose, to endeavour to depreciate the panegyrics of Sir Thomas Urquhart, or of the authorities he quotes, by the more sober criticism of Dr. Kippis; for I know not that the

warmest admirers of the admirable Crichton have advanced any thing concerning him, a few hyperbolical expressions excepted, superior to what Mr. Lee either has done, or may well be supposed capable of doing, if he thought right and fit so to do. Mr. Crichton, then, was the son of a gentleman of ancient family and hereditary fortune; and, therefore, we may presume that, in addition to the living assistance I have mentioned, he was amply supplied with the usual helps and incitements to learning, and that at an age when the mind is most ductile and open to such pursuits: whilst, on the other hand, we find Mr. Lee oppressed with the cares and labours of life; without any living assistant whatsoever; without the stimulus either of hope or of fear; seeking concealment rather than the smile of approbation, and very scantily supplied with the necessary materials: for Mr. Lee's earnings at this time were barely sufficient to the poorest maintenance: yet he spared from this pittance, to purchase such a grammar as could be met with upon the book stalls of this town; and when he had read through a volume procured in a similar manner, he was forced to pay it away again, as part of the price of the next book he wished to purchase. Here, then, is a string of difficulties surmounted by Mr. Lee, which Mr. Crichton had not to combat. Again, it is said that Mr. Crichton's learning, however stupendous, was not acquired by the sacrifice of any of those pleasures in which youth usually indulges, or by the omission of any of those accomplishments in which it becomes a gentleman to excel. Now so far as this marks out the interruptions given to Mr. Crichton's severer studies, we shall find those of Mr. Lee at least equally broken in upon, and that from causes much more imperative. Mr. Lee had not to balance between reading and relaxation; he had to pass from bodily fatigue to mental exertion; for he omitted, during the six years I have mentioned, none of the hours usually appropriated to manual labour; he retired regularly to rest at ten o'clock at night; he suffered during this time, from a complaint in his eyes; and of the inadequate leisure thus left him, part even of that was dedicated to what may be deemed accomplishment: so that it does not appear that Mr. Crichton either read or remembered with greater rapidity than Mr. Lee has done. And when Mr. Lee exchanged his trade for the superintendence of a charity school, his hours were not much more at his own disposal. It was at this time that that well-known and much respected oriental scholar, Dr. Jonathan Scott, while Persian secretary to Mr. Hastings in India, furnished Mr. Lee with an Arabic Grammar, and he had then, for the first time in his life, the pleasure of conversing upon the study in which he was engaged; and it is to this auspicious circumstance, improved, as it was, by the wonderful proficiency of Mr. Lee on the one hand, (for in a few months he was capable of reading, writing, and composing in both Arabic and Persian), and to the unremitting kindness of Dr. Scott on the other, that we may attribute Mr. Lee's subse-

quent engagement with the Church Missionary Society, his admission at Queen's College, Cambridge, and his ordination as a minister of the established church. But in defence of what I have ventured to assert, I must endeavour to draw this parallel somewhat closer. One of the admirable Crichton's historians asks, whether it does not surpass comprehension, that in his 21st year he should be master of ten different languages, and perfectly well seen in philosophy, the mathematics, theology, the belles lettres, and other sciences? Now I will endeavour to take these attributes in the order in which I have quoted. And, first, as to languages: if Mr. Crichton began his grammar at six years of age, a supposition by no means improbable, considering the aptness of the scholar, his station in life, and the practice of the times, we shall then find that the high degree of knowledge we have stated, was acquired in about fourteen years; and it is now about fourteen years since Mr. Lee first opened a Latin Grammar, and he has in that time taught himself seventeen different languages. It is further said, that Mr. Crichton offered to dispute in the twelve following languages:—

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|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Hebrew. | 7. French. |
| 2. Syriac. | 8. Italian. |
| 3. Arabic. | 9. English. |
| 4. Greek. | 10. Dutch. |
| 5. Latin. | 11. Flemish, |
| 6. Spanish. | 12. Sclavonian. |

“Those Mr. Lee has taught himself are the following:—

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Latin. | 10. French, |
| 2. Greek. | 11. German. |
| 3. Hebrew. | 12. Italian. |
| 4. Chaldee. | 13. Ethiopic. |
| 5. Syriac. | 14. Coptic. |
| 6. Samaritan. | 15. Malay. |
| 7. Arabic. | 16. Sanscrit. |
| 8. Persic. | 17. Bengalee, |
| 9. Hindostanee. | |

“To which if we add the English, included in Mr. Crichton's list of 12, it makes 18, or an excess of one third.

“As to philosophy, the term, when it stands by itself, is of extensive, if not indefinite meaning. The skill with which Mr. Crichton disputed with philosophers, and upon philosophical subjects, is much insisted upon; but the only precise idea given us, is his challenge to the university of Padua, offering to prove several errors in the philosophy of Aristotle. The extent of Mr. Lee's reading upon such subjects I am unacquainted with; but I happen to know that, during the six years I have mentioned, he was conversant with the works of Plato, made translations in English blank verse from those of Boethius, and went through the Golden Verses

bearing the name of Pythagoras. And though the triumphant publicity with which Mr. Crichton exhibited himself as an intellectual gladiator upon the stage of Europe, is contrary to modern, and the very reverse of Mr. Lee's retired and unassuming manners; yet, to show the same convertible genius in both, I need only mention, that Mr. Lee was no sooner in holy orders, than he accepted invitations to preach to the largest congregations—that he ascended the pulpit with the ease and self-possession of one long used to the station; and that he delivered his discourses with a freedom and eloquence equal to that of the best practical preacher.

“ In mathematics, we are told, Mr. Crichton was perfectly ‘ well seen,’ and that he offered to dispute upon mathematical subjects. Of Mr. Lee I have something much more definite to relate. When he entered at Cambridge, he was unacquainted with the mathematics; but in one fortnight he qualified himself to attend a class which had gone through several books in Euclid; and he soon after discovered an error, not indeed in Euclid, but in a Treatise on Spherical Trigonometry, usually bound up with Simpson's Euclid, the 14th proposition of which Mr. Lee disproved. Now as Simpson's edition of Euclid may be looked upon as a text-book at either university; as it is the one usually put in the hands of students, and to which the lectures of the tutors apply, it is most wonderful if a mistake should have been pointed out in such a work, and for the first time, as it should seem, by a student of not many weeks standing in that science. And as the highest honours are given at Cambridge to mathematical learners, Mr. Lee must have anticipated a safe and easy road to those honours. But he considered this point, as he does all others, with that sobriety of mind with which he is so eminently gifted; and he contented himself with a competent knowledge of mathematics, lest further attention to that seducing science should interfere with those studies in which the highest interests of mankind were concerned; and this decision speaks volumes as to Mr. Lee's theological views. Mr. Crichton, no doubt, was well read in the school divinity of his day; but I know not that any of his polemical victories have been handed down to us; but of Mr. Lee it may be said, if he has an ambition, it is to know the word of God himself, and to impart that word to others; though whether he shall be honoured upon earth as the instrument of the good he has done, or may do, is, I believe, a very inferior consideration with him, or rather no consideration at all. His exertions in this behalf are more than I can trust my memory with, but I have taken some pains to procure a note of them:” (and which the archdeacon then read as follows):—

“ 1. The Syriac New Testament, edited by Mr. Lee, and published, is not a continuation of that begun by Dr. Buchanan; but an entire new work, for which Mr. Lee collated three ancient

Syrian MSS., the Syrian commentary of Syrius, and the texts of Ridley, Jones, and Wetstein.

" 2. An edition of the Malay New Testament, from the Dutch edition of 1733, and the Old Testament, is now in the press.

" 3. An enlarged and corrected edition of Mr. Martyn's Hindostanee Prayer-Book, in conjunction with Mr. Corrie.

" 4. A Tract, translated into Persian and Arabic, and printed, entitled, 'The way of Truth and Life,' for the use of Mahometans.

" 5. A Malay Tract, for the London Missionary Society; and some Tracts in Hindostanee, for the Society for instructing the Lascars.

" 6. A Tract in Arabic, on the new System of Education, written by Dr. Bell, and first translated by Michael Sabag, for Baron de Sacy, oriental interpreter to the King of France.

" 7. Dr. Scott having translated the service for Christmas-day, from the Prayer-Book of the Church of England, into Persic, Mr. Lee has added to it the rest of the Liturgy.

" 8. Mr. Lee has under hand a new translation of the Old Testament into Persian, in conjunction with Mirza Khaleel.

" 9. Mr. Lee is printing an Hindostanee New Testament.

" 10. He is preparing for an Ethiopic Bible, and other works.

" 11. Mr. Lee has, moreover, made a new fount of letter for Hindostanee and Persian printing; and a new fount for an edition of the Syriac Old Testament, and for which he has collated nine ancient MSS., and one ancient Commentary. Some of these were collated for the London Polyglott; but Mr. Lee looks upon those collations both as incorrect and deficient. He hopes to restore many omissions both in the London and Paris Polyglotts."

The Archdeacon proceeded to observe—

" That the next article was the Belles Lettres. Much had been said of the facility with which Mr. Crichton composed in verse and prose, of his extemporary recitations, and that he had written a comedy, many of the characters in which he acted in his own person. When I first had the pleasure of conversing with Mr. Lee upon books, I found he had read the Latin poets usually introduced into schools, as Ovid, Virgil, Horace, &c.: that he had read part of the Odyssey, as well as the Iliad of Homer, some of the Greek minor poets, and some of the plays of Sophocles. Before we parted I lent him the Memoirs of that interesting and extraordinary young man, Mr. Kirke White, then lately printed. Mr. Lee returned it to me very shortly, with a Latin poem in praise of Kirke White, a dialogue in Greek on the Christian religion, and a pious effusion in Hebrew; all compiled by himself when, as I believe, he had not any access to books, for he was during that time upon permanent duty at Ludlow, as a member of the South Local Militia for this county: and, I believe, the first prose com-

position of any length Mr. Lee turned his attention to, was the History of the Syrian Churches in India, a memoir which would do credit to the pen of any historian. High commendations are given to Mr. Crichton's skill in fencing, dancing, singing, music, and drawing. To some of these we may have no immediate parallel to produce on the part of Mr. Lee; but it should be observed, that the skill, the neatness, and the ingenuity of Mr. Lee's mechanical performances evince the same quickness of eye, and the same steadiness of hand, that must have been the ground-work of Mr. Crichton's gayer achievements. As to music, Mr. Lee's powers are not problematical: he taught himself to play upon the flute, from an accidental circumstance, with almost intuitive readiness; and when the Shrewsbury volunteers were raised, he qualified himself with equal readiness to be one of their military band. All this time he was a member of a ringing society, and gave private lectures in Gothic architecture. But, if Mr. Lee is thus great in what he possesses, he is not less great in what he does not possess. If he appears inferior to no one in extent or variety of genius, he is without any of those eccentricities with which genius is so often concomitant. When Mr. Crichton gave a public challenge to disputation to the literati of Paris, to one of his advertisements stuck up on the Sorbonne, the following pasquinade was added: 'If any one wants to see this monster of perfection, let them inquire at the tavern, or the stews;' but the whole of Mr. Lee's life has been sober, moral, and consistent. He bears his faculties most meekly. The resources of his mind are unapparent till called forth. He sought not polished society; but he mingled in it, when invited, without effort, and without embarrassment; and, without losing any of his humility, he sustains his place in it with ease, and independence. Mr. Lee's learning is without any tincture of pedantry; and his religion is as far from enthusiasm on the one hand, as it is from lukewarmness on the other. Let us bless God then that such talents are so directed. Let us bless God that they are directed in an especial manner to the interests of the Bible Society; and, perhaps, after all the grandeur and simplicity so apparent in the plan of the Bible Society, are the two adjuncts that best exemplify the mind thus devoted to its service."

On the resignation, about two years since, of the Rev. J. Palmer, Mr. Lee was elected professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, and not having been at college the usual time for taking the degree requisite to standing for the chair, a grace passed the senate to supplicate for a mandamus, which was graciously granted by his present Majesty. The documents on which this favour was bestowed were of no ordinary character—they furnished ample proof of extraordinary attainments, viz. a list of the various oriental works which had been completed by Mr. Lee, or

on which he was then engaged, with copies of attestations from the Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth, Dr. Wilkins, of the East India House Library; from the oriental professor (Shakspeare); from Dr. Jonathan Scott, (of Shrewsbury); from Mahommed Shawlik, of Sheeraz, a Persian gentleman, in England; from Alexander Nicol, A.M., Bodleian Librarian, Oxford; and from Mirzah Khaleel, teacher of the oriental languages at the Honourable East India Company's college, at Haylebury; also from the Syrian Archbishop of Jerusalem, then in London, as to the Arabic and Syriac tongues.

The present occupations of Professor Lee still bear upon the great cause of missions, and his eminent oriental acquirements are devoted, we believe, almost exclusively to the diffusion of knowledge among the heathen. He is now preparing, in Persian and English, the whole controversy of Mr. Martyn with the literati of Persia, with considerable additions of his own, to establish the truth of the Scriptures against the sophisms of the Mahomedans. We ardently hope that a life so valuable will long be spared as an honour to science, an enduring excitement to persevering industry, an ornament to the religion of Christ, and a blessing to the world, commensurate with the highest expectations cherished by the observers of Providence, and the best friends of the human race.

But, it is time to notice the Sermons themselves. Abating some expressions wearing an aspect too mysterious, they have our approbation. Perhaps, considered in the abstract, they were not important enough to print; but, as a specimen of the first published efforts of a mighty genius in theological composition, we esteem them worthy of notice.

Mr. Lee, in the first discourse, answers the most trite and plausible objections against the utility of charity schools; particularly, that instruction is unnecessary for the discharge of the duties of the poor; — that the instructions themselves are dangerous, from which, connected with some observations on the character of the human mind in general as depraved, he infers not only the necessity of instruction, but the impossibility of social existence in its absence.

“ Let the fairest specimen be taken, which is usually that of childhood. It is true a great deal of innocence will appear; and a general want of that hypocrisy and design, which are found only in the progressive iniquity of riper years. But if this proves any thing, it only proves that the subject under consideration is desti-

tute of those vices with which he is unacquainted: that he has made no progress in those sins, of which he knows nothing; and which the circumstances of the case make it impossible can be otherwise; that the innocency of mind which he evinces is nothing more than the absence of that knowledge of the world, which, when exerted, marks the presence of hypocrisy and design. On the other hand, though such a subject is not in possession of the iniquity which prevails in the world, yet he is in possession of dispositions fitted to receive it as soon as it may be presented to him: and unless some powerful antidote be administered, either by God or man, it is likely he will receive it in all its plenitude of mischief and ruin.

“ Now if it be asked, What are the dispositions thus evinced? it may be answered, self-will, — fretfulness, — dissatisfaction; — with a disposition to cruelty and tyranny; which, when suffered to grow up to maturity, are nothing more than the sources of the misery and distress which are found to harass and disturb society.

“ Now if this be true, it will follow that discipline and instruction are absolutely necessary for every class of society; and for none more so than the labouring classes; for in the upper circles the force of example, and a regard to reputation, are often sufficient to check many evil propensities; but in the lower classes, one or both of these checks may not exist: on the contrary, the force of example may act in a different direction; and if to this you add the presence of positive temptations, either from the pressure of circumstances, or some other cause, the consideration becomes doubly important; and the result will naturally be, that without such a system of discipline, the expectations of having good citizens, servants, or subjects, does not fall within the range of human probability.” [pp. 6—8.]

Proceeding to the important situation occupied in society by the lower classes, and noticing the manner in which knowledge is inculcated in our charity schools, the religious truth impressed, and the habit of attending public ordinances, he infers, and we think correctly, the utility of the system. He then combats the opinion that the ability to read has contributed to political disaffection. He contends, that because the practice in the disaffected districts has been for one to read to many, the illiterate have received more poison, because possessed of less skill than the better informed, and he presses the danger which would, probably, arise from any check imposed by the higher orders upon the progress of improvement.

“ If such persons ground their reasons on the practice of former times, in which the untaught catholic or heathen was a loyal and dutiful subject, they should reflect that those times of ignorance

and superstition are now passed away. That the claims of infallibility in the priesthood are now no more acknowledged; and the plenary penalties and indulgencies of Rome have lost their charm; that laws and legislators no longer boast their immediate descent from heaven; and that even the name of power itself has ceased to be terrible; so that any attempt to bring back days of this description, or to expect a blind obedience from the people, would not fail to be construed as a consummate stretch of tyranny; and would, no doubt, be made cause for dissatisfaction and rebellion, where no such cause previously existed: and thus, instead of being subservient to the restoration of order, would be the most likely means of accelerating confusion and ruin." [p. 11.]

The stale objection, that the spread of disaffection, with every evil work, has increased since the general establishment of schools, is then considered; and our author wisely contends, that this has been only in *appearance*. The cause is of another nature—the results of war, called forth by the stagnation of trade. The fact, he justly observes, is—that “the evil would really have presented itself, had there not one charity school existed during that period; and, if I am not mistaken, would have existed in a far greater degree.”—Were it needful, we might here make many remarks in confirmation of this opinion, in contradiction to Mandeville and his sapient followers; and prove that the more a man reads the less is he likely to fall into error, the sounder will be his morality, and the better, therefore, will he act in every social capacity. It is only necessary to examine the instances of criminality as it respects the open violation of the laws, to perceive that knowledge is incalculably important; whilst the evils resulting from the daily press, and the insidious practices of the disaffected, are increased, tenfold, by the ignorance of the lower classes. Mr. Raikes had three thousand children educated under his auspices, and, on the most diligent search, could find but one name in the calendars. Joseph Lancaster failed in his inquiries for even one in four thousand. Let the supposition of an increased regard to religion, and, especially, its transforming influence, be added to this argument, and its force will be mightily augmented. “Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.” There is consistency in the objection from papists, but in the mouths of protestants how great is the absurdity!

But to proceed; Professor Lee, yielding to the sentiment—that although much has been done for the better education of the poor, the added number of schools has not kept

pace with the increase of population—derives thence an argument in favour of the cause for which he pleads.

“What is to be expected from this surplus of the population? are we to suppose, that without either precept, or example, they will choose the good, and refuse the evil? Is it not more reasonable to expect, that from the influence of the precept and example which now prevail, they will choose the evil, and refuse the good? I will not say it is merely probable; but it is morally certain they will. The fear of punishment seldom acts upon an incipient sinner, because, in his beginnings, his crimes are generally small; and in an inveterate one, punishment comes too late.” [p. 13.]

He does not hesitate to account for public demoralization, in the great number of children annually brought up in manufactories. His remarks, though very brief, convince us that the sentiments lately advanced in our *Journal** accord with his views, and deserve the most impartial and watchful attention of Christian philanthropy. From the foregoing considerations, the desirableness of instructing the lower orders is inferred; and, noticing the bounty of superiors manifested in acts of condescension and pecuniary aid, Mr. Lee presses into his service the consequent reactions of gratitude—the utility of scholarship, as it respects accuracy, ability, and the inducing of confidence—the force of early habits—the knowledge of the one thing needful in some measure implanted; “and an ability to search the oracles of God, whereby alone men can be made wise unto salvation.” [pp. 14, 15.]

We wish this last topic had been more prominently exhibited. It is too important to be the subject of merely a single sentence—it is too closely allied to the avowed business of a Gospel minister to admit surmise that political zeal has eclipsed the impressions of eternity, and the worth of souls—that it *can* outrival loyalty to the King of Saints, against whom all sinners unpardoned, and unreclaimed, are in a state of open and alarming rebellion. The introduction of the poor to an acquaintance with the records of eternal life appears to us the prime excellence of these institutions; and we feel assured, that the more this great object, as connected with the immortal interests of the young, is recognized, the more operative will be the energy employed, and the more confident may be the anticipation of success. In truth, spiritual necessities are the main principles upon

* See Observations on Mr. Owen's Plan for Bettering the Condition of the Labouring Classes, by Dr. Jarrold. *INVESTIGATOR*, No. II. p. 304, &c.

which these charities proceed. They imply a fallen condition—a proneness to go astray. Thus they should give prominence to every interesting truth, and call into action the supplications, as well as the labours of their advocates. They, therefore, connect themselves with divine influence; and as a conviction of the importance of this is felt, the best effects may be expected. When men become partakers of that good and perfect gift which cometh from above, they will be found truly conscientious; and will acquit themselves as good subjects, and as blessings to society. Let this apprehension be clear and operative, and fervent prayer will ascend to the Father of mercies—that the work may prosper; and an answer to the prayers of faith is certain.

In his second discourse, the professor illustrates the Christian's course as connected with opponents. "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient in meekness, instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth."

In noticing the permission of opposition, he exhibits the wisdom of the proceedings of the Deity in connexion with the probationary circumstances of his creatures; and alluding to the short duration of hostility, the state of lamentation, mourning, and woe, which is to follow, and a consciousness of favours received from God, together with the example of the Redeemer, he summons to his service the most enlightened, and best regulated faculties of the mind. Those who are engaged in the work of instruction, whose business it is to combat the ignorance, the frivolity, and, in too many instances, the perverseness of the youthful pupil, as well as to encounter the frowns of hoary infants, will do well to review their charge, in connexion with similar sentiments:—

"In exhibiting, then, to the world a proof of our faith, let us," says the preacher, "rise in earnest to the work before us; we see our enemies in earnest, both in profession and practice—we see them trampling upon the Bible, reviling our liturgy, and pressing into their service, by every possible means, all who have neither virtue, nor knowledge enough, to stand by their God, their church, and their king. And, I ask, have we only received a name? are we like the apocalyptical churches whose candlesticks were removed, because of lukewarmth? shall we surrender the active faith of our reformers for the new diabolical creeds of those who have assumed their name, without one atom of pretension to their honesty, virtue, learning, or piety? May we not hope that the zeal of our

reformed church will again break forth in all the beauty and lustre of her real excellency, and that she will not cease to lengthen her cords, and strengthen her stakes, till one universal glow of light and warmth shall have comprehended within her ample pale, not only the outcasts of this land, but the whole family of intelligent creation? and that even her enemies shall come bending before her, and hailing the brightness of her rising? when men shall seek their true rights; an inheritance that fadeth not away, eternal in the heavens!

“But in the prosecution of these good objects, it might not be amiss to anticipate some opposition, on a smaller scale than hitherto noticed.

“The poor, for whom these benefits were principally intended, cannot always be persuaded that they shall be gainers in the end. The love which nature has implanted in the human breast for its own offspring, is not always kept within its due bounds; and there are innumerable instances in which parents would rather see their children without instruction, than submit them to that wholesome regimen, without which every effort to instruct would be in vain.

“There is also another consideration that may operate for some time, which is this—the parents themselves have not, in too many instances, received this instruction themselves; which makes it impossible they can duly appreciate the reception of it in their children. In these, and innumerable other instances that will occur, there is abundant necessity for the meekness and patience recommended in our text; and which, by the blessing of God, I trust we shall all be enabled to exhibit.” [pp. 30, 31.]

We cannot help regretting, prejudiced as we are in favour of the Arabic professor, that there is in the composition of these discourses an air of logical dryness unfavourable to the unction which should pervade pulpit exercises. Nor are we without concern that there should be any seeming hesitation to exhibit, with distinctness, certain doctrines of revelation, which, however calculated to clash with human pride, are of the utmost possible importance. We are far from desiring to see in every sermon an epitomized body of divinity, but, at the same time, we do wish to see, on whatever occasion the pulpit is occupied, an exhibition of redeeming mercy in its adaptation to the state of sinners—a glow, if we may so speak, of that love which distinguished all the sayings of the Saviour in his addresses to dying men. It is with the most serious regard to the interests of religion, and our highly favoured country at large, that we urge the importance of ministrations decidedly evangelical. These are usually attended with a heavenly sanction, and

they always operate to the destruction of mere cold morality and empty speculation. The progress of charity-schools renders such a course peculiarly needful. The very system of education now so generally adopted, and we wish it universal, so brings into view the wants of mankind, as to give prominence to their real condition—as sinners, “ignorant, and out of the way.” It has a tendency also, by the circulation of the Bible, and an ability to read it, to excite anxieties, to infix convictions, which nothing but the clearest and plainest exhibition of the atoning sacrifice of the Redeemer can satisfy.

Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq., composed from his own Manuscripts, and other Authentic Documents, in the Possession of his Family, and the African Institution. By Prince Hoare. *With Observations on Mr. Sharp's Biblical Criticisms.* By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. David's. London, 1820. Colburn. 4to. pp. 524.

If a life devoted to the great and *one* purpose of public utility—a life of ever varied and ever extending exertion, comprising all the essential elements of benevolence, ardent love to the species, and compassionate regard to the individual, an exalted inconsideration of personal convenience, or personal distinction, and unwearied assiduity in the pursuit of universal good, the means of promoting which were as vigilantly sought as laboriously used—a life which was as virtuous and amiable in private, as it was beneficial in public; and which was not spotted and speckled, at least, with any very obvious deviations from the predominating principle, but every moment attested the sincerity of the mind which originated, and ardently, yet modestly, undertook and determinately completed works of beneficence and mercy—if such a life were to excite the admiration it merited, then would the name of GRANVILLE SHARP be transmitted with the loud acclamations of mankind to the most distant posterity.

The life of a *moral hero* is not, however, precisely that which is adapted to procure the greatest celebrity in the existing condition of society; because whatever respect may be paid to such eminent virtues by individuals quick to discern, and ready to acknowledge their pre-eminent value, the mighty majority will form a very different estimate, and award their approbation to more splendid and dazzling achievements. The historian may record, and the patriot

may celebrate, and the orator may eulogize, and the poet, may sing its attractions; but the historian, the patriot, the orator, and the poet, will be equally disappointed if they should fancy that the sentiments of society at large will, at present, be essentially influenced by their representations. It is true they may acquire, on the part of the person they honour, a general concession of respect to the *name*; but they are not as yet likely to produce a proportionate impression with regard to the *character* in question: for it will be long ere the world in general are persuaded that moral excellence is to be admired more than military glory, or religious principle more than splendid achievements. It is not the *kind* of excellence attractive to the multitude, but is most obviously overlooked altogether, or excessively undervalued. A rational and permanent esteem is only to be produced by a thorough knowledge of the nature of real goodness, and by the existence of corresponding principles in the minds of those whose veneration is demanded: and, consequently, the world must be itself better, ere the higher order of moral conduct can be duly appreciated.

We have expectations, however, of the daily improvement of society in this respect; and think that the age in which we live may be fairly congratulated upon the decided manifestations of a different order of sentiment. Public *feeling*, which is progressively, but rapidly, becoming moral and pure, is evidently influencing, in a more extensive manner than hitherto, public *opinion*: and it is in the progress of the one that we are anticipating the ameliorated state of the other. The formation of those valuable institutions which Granville Sharp so promptly and so powerfully patronized, and which have ever since been diffusing so extensive an influence over the world; has proved conducive, in no common degree, to the advancement of moral feeling, and the consequent improvement of opinion. They have attracted the notice, and secured the co-operation of so many persons of superior rank and talent, who, in numberless instances, have not only afforded a fashionable aid, but, in giving their support, have been led even by the very effort to do good, to consider the necessity of being themselves under the power of principles they have assisted to implant in the minds of others; and have, thus been, as it were, incidentally induced to cherish the noblest sentiments, and practise the most self-denying virtues—that the vulgar scorn which was once lavished upon every thing that bore the impress of religion, has become more and more

unseasonable and unwelcome; and is, in fact, decidedly discountenanced in those very circles in which it had almost seemed to have acquired a kind of hereditary right, and an undisputed dominion. This is a most happy "sign of the times," and justifies our anticipations, that the period is hastening when Christianity shall attain her predestined dominion, and every other system and principle its merited and eternal abasement.

The birth-place of Granville Sharp was Durham, the day of his birth the 10th of November, 1735, O. S. In 1750, he was apprenticed to a linen-draper in London, who, dying three years afterwards, left him under the same indentures to serve Henry Willoughby, Esq., the executor, a presbyterian, and a justice of peace. In 1755, he was transferred into the employment of Bourke and Co., Irish factors, and catholics. At a subsequent period he engaged himself to another linen factory, but afterwards relinquished it, as upon too contracted a scale for his anticipations and wishes. The seeds of that liberality of sentiment which distinguished him, appear to have been early sown by the different classes of religious profession he had witnessed; his father being a clergyman, his first master a Quaker, his second a presbyterian, and his third a catholic. Adverting to these remarkable circumstances in his juvenile experience, he states that they taught him "to make a proper distinction between the *opinions* of men and their *persons*;" which, if others had made it as well as himself, it would have prevented rivers of tears, and seas of blood.

Religious controversy with a Socinian and a Jew, inmates of his master's house, induced him to apply first to the study of the Greek, and then of the Hebrew language; both these controversialists having charged him with error, arising from his ignorance of original documents.

In 1757, he took up his freedom of the city of London; and, in June, 1758, obtained a subordinate appointment in the Ordnance Office; from which period he applied himself with increased diligence to his classical and Hebraical studies. In 1764, he was made a clerk in ordinary, and removed to the minuting branch; and, in the following year, some of his peculiarities of character began to develop themselves, in consequence of his controversy with Dr. Kennicott; but more especially from what his biographer calls a chance, but which we have no hesitation in terming a providential direction of his benevolent feelings to the condition of that suffering race, in whose cause he so long,

so honourably, and so successfully exerted his talents. Mr. Sharp has himself given a detailed account of the proceedings in question, which is very properly inserted in the work before us. It traces the history of his efforts to effect the freedom of Jonathan Strong, an African, who had been a slave of David Lisle's, a lawyer of Barbadoes, whose inhumanity of conduct had reduced him to utter helplessness, and turned him adrift in the streets, in 1765. He was restored to health by the care of Mr. Sharp and his brother William, who was of the medical profession; and was afterwards placed in the service of Mr. Brown, a respectable apothecary. While in this situation he was recognized by his former master, who used his best exertions to regain possession of what he deemed his *improved property*. After a severe conflict, Mr. Sharp triumphed over the persecution which both himself and his African *protégée* had to encounter; and availing himself of the occasion to pursue the study of the *law* of the case, he produced a tract "On the Injustice and Dangerous Tendency of Tolerating Slavery" in England, which he submitted to the perusal of Dr. Blackstone; and which evinces the indefatigable character of his mind, the acuteness of his research, the sublimity of his patriotism, and the illimitable ardour of his humanity. Besides this, he engaged in re-editing a publication printed in America, in 1762, containing "An Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes, and of the Slave Trade," superadding a "Conclusion," calculated to awaken the slumbering sympathies of mankind on the subject; and addressing a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, which is perhaps justly represented as having "broken the first ground, in England, on the general subject of the slave trade."

In 1767, Mr. Sharp was solicited to enter into holy orders by his uncle, who offered to resign a living of more than £300. per annum in his favour; but this, though repeatedly urged upon his attention, he respectfully, but firmly, declined; stating not only his consciousness of inability, but disinclination to the office: and intimating a conviction, that he might be of more service as a layman than as a clergyman, particularly in religious controversies. This is worthy of notice, and may afford salutary instruction to the mercenary hunters after official dignity, as well as to those whose zeal sometimes surpasses their discretion, by prompting them to lay hands on "skulls that cannot teach, and will not learn."

While the suit with Lisle was pending, another case occurred, in which, by the influence of our philanthropist, one Hylas was enabled to prosecute with success the aggressor who had kidnapped his wife, and sent her to be sold in the West Indies for a slave; and some time after, the arguments which he had advanced produced a powerful effect in the courts of law, on occasion of a trial in defence of another negro, whom he, at the request and expense of Mrs. Banks, released, by writ of habeas corpus, from on board a ship then under sail in the Downs. This was a case of considerable importance to the negro cause, and Mr. Dunning, the leading counsel for the prosecutors, holding up Mr. Sharp's tract in his hand, declared before lord Mansfield and the court, that he was prepared to maintain before any of the courts in Britain, that "no man can be legally detained as a slave in this country." Some other cases of a patriotic nature stimulated his active and judicious interference, and though, in one instance, his interest as a dependant opposed his efforts as a philanthropist and patriot, he did not hesitate to avow in terms which are too honourable to the writer not to be transcribed:—

"Although I am a placeman, and indeed of a very inferior rank, yet I look on myself to be perfectly independent, because I have never yet been afraid to do and avow whatever I thought just and right, without the consideration of consequences to myself; for, indeed, I think it unworthy of a *man* to be afraid of the world; and it is a point with me never to conceal my sentiments on any subject whatever, not even from my superiors in office, *when there is a probability of answering any good purpose by it.*" [p. 67.]

Notwithstanding the benevolent and persevering exertions of Mr. Sharp in the great cause of African liberation, and the success of particular cases, the essential point remained still undetermined; and the rapacity of slave dealers, and slave holders, was not yet countervailed. The question, whether England had a constitutional right to emancipate every resident, of whatever climate or country, was not decided till the case of James Somerset arose, which had been selected, it is said, by the mutual desire of lord Mansfield and Mr. Sharp. Somerset had been brought to England, in November 1769, by his master, Charles Stewart; and, in process of time, left him. The master seized him unawares, and conveyed him on board the *Ann and Mary*, that he might be taken to Jamaica, and sold for a slave. The case was argued at great length, and the general ques-

tion discussed at four sittings of the Court of King's Bench; after which lord Mansfield's judgment, contrary to his original feeling, established the axiom proposed by Sergeant Davy, that "as soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground he becomes free." This decision in favour of negroes was received by the people with the most obvious demonstrations of grateful joy, and Granville Sharp was regarded with an affection worthy of the cause in which he had so laboriously engaged, and so eminently succeeded. It proved also the means of awakening an intense interest on the subject, and producing a more combined and powerful operation among the philanthropists of North America. The facts in question, and the decisions of our courts of justice, together with the publication of Mr. Sharp on the Injustice of Slavery, had traversed the Atlantic; and a correspondence was soon established between him and Anthony Benezet, a highly respectable and most benevolent Quaker, who had founded a free-school at Philadelphia, for the education of black people. Benezet, and other important individuals belonging to the Society of Friends, devoted the most strenuous exertions to the cause; and distributed great numbers of Mr. Sharp's tract during the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772: several of the colonial assemblies were also induced to wish and solicit the extirpation of slavery, as well as the slave trade:—

"The correspondence with Benezet, if it did not inspire, at least confirmed and enlarged Mr. Sharp's desire of inquiry respecting the general subject of the African slave trade. It conducted his view to an examination of the *source of the evil*, and he conceived the vast design of extending his endeavours gradually, and of augmenting and strengthening his means, until he should obtain an entire abolition of the infamous traffic carried on by Great Britain and her colonies. In justice, then, and no less in honour, to the memory of the pious but humble Benezet, let it be remembered, that, although his zealous labours failed to eradicate from his native soil the evil which he deplored, they contributed to strengthen the arm of the great champion of his favourite cause, and finally to wipe away no small portion of human disgrace." [p. 115.]

In 1774, Mr. Sharp was advanced a degree in official eminence, by succeeding to the place of assistant to Mr. Boddington, the secretary of the Ordnance Office: but, ultimately, he resigned his situation, in consequence of his objections to the public measures respecting America—a resignation which placed him in circumstances of great dependance, the difficulties likely to ensue from which were,

however, precluded, by the truly fraternal conduct of his more prosperous brothers. He accepted their offer to reside with them, and was domesticated in their household for several years; during which period he sedulously pursued that literary course to which he had evinced very early predilections—in which he made such important acquisitions, and issued from the press so many valuable and highly estimated publications. His writings and public activity procured him the friendship of Dr. Franklin, and afterwards of general Oglethorpe; with the latter of whom he exerted himself very benevolently in the cause of seamen, supporting the views of the general on the illegality of their impressment. In his manuscripts he records an interview with Dr. Johnson on the subject, who remarked, with his usual severity of manner, “it was a condition necessarily attending that way of life; and when they entered into it, they must take it with all its circumstances; and knowing this, it must be considered as voluntary service,—like an innkeeper, who knows himself liable to have soldiers quartered upon him.” Sharp was incapable of opposing with any success his sturdy adversary in an extemporaneous debate, but his benevolent mind assisted him in the hour of reflection to unravel the sophistry which had at first perplexed his judgment, and he thus expresses his views to a friend:—

“I am far from being ready at giving an immediate answer to subtle arguments, so that I may seem to be easily baffled; indeed, even when I am by no means convinced that they have the least weight. If this doctrine were really true, that men choosing a sea-faring life do thereby forfeit their natural rights and privileges as Englishmen, and lose the protection of the law, some immediate remedy ought to be applied, to remove so unjust a *premunire* from an honest and necessary calling. For whatever takes away the protection of the law, and common rights, from any man, or set of men, is, to all intents and purposes, a *premunire*, which, if we except judgment of death, is the severest prohibition that is known in the English laws; and, therefore, it is unjust and iniquitous, as well as impolitic in the highest degree, that the honest mariner's condition and employment should be loaded with such a baneful contingency, which must be considered as the most effectual discouragement to the increase of British seamen in this maritime island (though the defence of it depends upon their help), that could possibly have been devised.

“‘But we see,’ says an advocate for power, ‘that it *does not* discourage; men are still bred up to a sea-faring life, and in times of peace multitudes are allured by the merchants’ service to choose

that condition, whereby they are subjected to the impress.' True it is, that the necessities of poor labouring men compel them to earn their bread in any way that they can get it; and when a war is over, the discouragement of pressing is, in a great measure, forgot, and the number of seamen of course is again increased. But this makes no difference with respect to the injustice and *illegality* of the oppression itself; for if the poor man is not protected in an honest calling (which is his estate and most valuable dependence), as well as the rich man in his estate, the law, or rather the administrators of it, are unjust and partial; having respect of persons, which the law itself abhors, and which religion strictly forbids. And, therefore, if we can form any precise definition of iniquity, this partiality, of which I complain, comes fairly within the meaning of that term." [pp. 170, 171.]

During the commencing era of American independence, the opinions of Mr. Sharp were highly appreciated, and his personal influence distinctly sought. In 1774, Dr. Franklin sent to America 250 copies of his "Declaration of the Rights of the People to a Share in the Legislature," which were circulated in the different principal towns, and the work was frequently reprinted there. The object of his most anxious solicitude was, however, the reconciliation of England with her American colonies, previous to a confirmation of their independence by foreign powers. After holding some conversation with two gentlemen, whose connexions with the Americans by relationship, and mercantile correspondence, rendered them perfectly acquainted with American affairs, on the 14th of March, 1777, he waited on the secretary of state, and conferred with him on the expediency of making peace with America; and of giving such a proof of the sincerity of our government, in treating on the subject, as would effectually promote an attempt to bring that country back to its allegiance to the crown of Great Britain. During the conference, it became evident that the proof demanded must have included such an alteration in our House of Commons, as would ensure to the Americans as fair and equal rights as those enjoyed by the several counties of England. The mode of effecting this measure was then investigated, and several days were devoted by Mr. Sharp to the search and examination of precedents. He published on the subject; and tendered to the duke of Richmond his personal services in support of his propositions. General Oglethorpe aided his views, and considerable discussion ensued among the existing ministers, on his plan having been submitted to them; but it was overruled: and the

failure of his efforts for the suspension of that sanguinary conflict, reverted his thoughts to the subject of African slavery. For some years he incessantly pursued the great object of the emancipation of the enslaved negroes, and entering into the enlarged views of the Pennsylvanian Association in America, which had been formed in 1774, under the auspices of Dr. Rush, of James Pemberton, and other Quakers of eminence, he made personal applications to the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom. He very early experienced the co-operation of the bishop of Ely, and the following memorandum is so truly honourable to the persons concerned, that we cannot refrain from copying it into our Journal:—

“ 1779. Memorandum.—This spring I have, at different times, had the honour of conversing with twenty-two out of the twenty-six archbishops and bishops, on the subject of the slave trade, during the time that the African affairs were under the consideration of a committee of the House of Commons; and I met with none that did not concur with my sentiments on the subject. A very great majority of them gave me reason to hope that they would publicly oppose any further encouragement of the slave trade, had it come before them in the House of Lords. This was the more agreeable to me, because I found they did not oppose, nor take amiss, my appeal to them, in my tract ‘On the Law of Retribution,’ sent to each of them more than two years before. Both the archbishops, and the bishops of Durham, London, Oxford, Lichfield, Bristol, Norwich, Llandaff, Ely, Bangor, Worcester, St. Asaph, and Lincoln, expressed themselves very handsomely on the occasion, and seemed very desirous to put a stop to the evil. The bishop of St. David’s (Dr. York) was particularly polite, as well as earnest in the business; and afterwards wrote me a letter, signifying his desire to join most heartily with any person who would propose an effectual and proper mode of opposing the slave trade; and the bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Hinchcliff) took a great deal of pains to make himself master of the subject, that he might be ready to exert himself to the utmost, when the business should have passed the House of Commons. But, while the matter was before the committee, accounts being received of the capture of our African settlements, the chief seat and source of all the iniquities and enormities which I opposed, the committee, it seems, had directions from the ministry not to proceed in their report.” [pp. 186, 187.]

Coeval with these exertions were others to promote the great object of peace with America, and in order to this parliamentary reformation at home; both which he conceived to be connected with each other, and with the object

of his more immediate pursuits. As usual, he rendered the press tributary to his purposes, by issuing a pamphlet entitled "Equitable Representation Necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and Good Government;" and maintained a correspondence with a considerable number of committees, formed in different counties, for the promotion of this great object: nor did he relax his assiduous efforts, with regard to other cases of domestic and public importance. It appears from documents preserved in this volume, that Mr. Sharp's co-operation with the American philanthropists for African freedom, resulted in another extraordinary and collateral effect—the establishment of episcopacy on that continent. He wrote and conversed on the subject, both with Americans, and with dignitaries of the church at home; and, in consequence of repeated assurances which he was authorised to communicate to the convention of the episcopal clergy at Philadelphia, of the readiness of the English church to consecrate proper persons, two were elected, came to England, and received consecration as bishops at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, and immediately returned to their charge. Three years afterwards a third was similarly appointed, when the number became sufficient to consecrate without further application to England. In addition to his other efforts in this cause, Mr. Sharp made considerable presents of books to the libraries of different states.

In 1783, other efforts were required from him in behalf of African slaves. The master of a slave ship, the *Zong*, trading from Africa to Jamaica, having 440 slaves on board, on pretence that he might be distressed on his voyage from want of water, threw overboard 132 of the most sickly of the slaves, to lessen its consumption. The underwriters in England resisted the claim of the owners for the full value of these slaves, and the contest brought to light a scene of extraordinary brutality. A trial took place, which was decided in favour of the owners and the captain; but a rule for a new trial was granted, and Mr. Sharp stepped forward, and sent immediately an attested account of the whole transaction to the lords of the admiralty, and the first lord of the treasury. He failed, however, to bring the perpetrators of this horrid crime to their proper punishment; but feeling stimulated, as well by the injustice of the particular proceeding, and the revolting character of the decision, as by the importance of the general question, he gave every possible degree of publicity

to the whole; and coupled the statements with remarks of his own calculated more and more to excite the public attention to the subject. Nor was his active interference wanting in other cases of the same nature, and of most revolting atrocity.

In September, 1786, the College of Providence, Rhode Island, (called Brown's University), admitted him to the degree of doctor of laws; and this example was followed by the University of Cambridge, in Massachusetts; and of Williamsburg, in Virginia.

The circumstances in which the negroes were placed; who were brought to England, and had no masters to support them, and no parish which they could call their own, in consequence of which they were reduced to a state of destitution and mendicity, induced Mr. Sharp, about 1786, to devise a scheme for their permanent support, by sending them to some spot in Africa, where they might provide for themselves, by the proper application of industry, and be restored under happy auspices to the land of their ancestors. This originated the plan of a free settlement at Sierra Leone. He drew up some regulations for such a proposed colony, and Mr. Smeathman was to conduct the black poor to the destined spot; in the meantime, our philanthropist distributed a weekly allowance from his own purse to the intended settlers. But Mr. Smeathman dying; after a short illness, the preparations were suspended, and Mr. Sharp was involved in an exposure to great expenses. Government, however, interfered; provision was made, both for transporting the settlers, and supplying them with necessaries, during the first six or eight months of their residence in Africa; and captain Thompson was appointed to accompany them in the *Nautilus* sloop of war, which sailed on the 8th of April, 1787. The number sent out amounted to somewhat more than 400, to which were added about 60 Europeans, chiefly women: and, upon their arrival, a grant of land, of considerable extent, was obtained for their use from a neighbouring chief. Over this settlement Granville Sharp watched with parental solicitude, maintaining a correspondence, which afforded him perpetually the means of correct information as to the proceedings on the spot; and exerting his influence at home, whenever it appeared requisite to promote its interests. A company was formed for the trade of Sierra Leone, and a charter at length obtained. The particulars of the settlement there are detailed in the work

before us, in an interesting, but, considering that work simply as a biographical one, in rather too elaborate a form. The various letters which passed between Mr. Sharp and distinguished individuals, should, as it appears to us in this and in other instances, have been digested into the form of regular and concise narrative, rather than have been thrown together in such a mass, in the volume. However interesting in themselves at the time, and however interesting too even to the present hour, considering from whom, and under what circumstances many of them proceeded, documents of this nature are always calculated to interrupt the narrative, which ought *always* to flow along with smooth and unobstructed course. They are properly preserved in appendices or notes, but should rather be given in substance in the work itself.

The efforts of Mr. Sharp, in combination with those of other exlightened individuals, both in England and America, at length led to the formation of a society for the abolition of the slave trade, which may be viewed as the first grand step towards the accomplishment of that important end. The subject is introduced by our biographer in the following manner:—

“The mischiefs which had befallen, and the danger of entire destruction which had more than once menaced, the infant colony of freedom in Africa, were, in great part, to be ascribed to the unshaken vigour in which the detestable slave trade still continued to flourish. A free settlement, supported by industry and national commerce, seemed likely gradually to undermine and eventually destroy the sordid traffic, by opening the eyes of the African chiefs to their own superior interests, and showing them that the produce of social labour was a far greater source of wealth to their revenues, than the captivity and sale of their subjects. What wonder, then, if the slave-traders set every engine to work, to irritate the natives of Africa against the new colonists, to undermine them in their turn, and to pervert the ends of benevolence?

‘—— Out of good still to find means of ill,’

But Providence, in its mercy, was now about to cut the thread of long-suffered iniquity, and to comfort and strengthen those whom it had chosen to be advocates on earth for their fellow-creatures. After numerous and unwearied endeavours on the part of the Quakers in America, and of the zealous Clarkson and Granville Sharp in England, in behalf of the wretched, and till of late unpitied, victims of men who degraded humanity; the time had arrived, when it appeared to be within the bounds of hope, that an association of benevolent persons, protected by a congenial move-

ment in the British Parliament, might lead to a retrieval of the human character from the ignominy of the slave trade. Endeavours were therefore used to collect, and unite in one body, the various parties who had severally, and almost independently of one another, begun to make exertions of a similar nature; and in the spring of 1787, especial meetings were convened of a few men of eminent character, all of whom were friendly to the cause. One of their meetings was held almost in the same month in which the little fleet set sail, which carried the first banner of English liberty to the coast of Africa; and it was at this meeting that an event took place, which gave preponderance to the scale of African freedom. Mr. Wilberforce was there solicited to take the lead in a parliamentary effort for the abolition of the cruel traffic in our species; and, in that communion of benevolent minds, the corresponding impulse of his heart prompted him to yield a ready assent to an engagement of no common magnitude.

"The first important point being happily secured, the next step was to arrange measures for prosecuting the scheme in such a manner as should be most conducive to the great end in view. Many days did not elapse before the design was carried into execution. On the 22d of May, a committee was chosen, consisting of twelve members, whose declared duty and purpose it was to promote, by every means in their power, an abolition of the traffic in the human race. Granville Sharp was included in the committee.

"The incipient labours of the association were cheered by an important coincidence, which occurred at this time. The efforts of the humane Anthony Benezet, and other American Quakers, had, by gradual advances, at length effected a general manumission of slaves among the whole body of men of their persuasion; and the year 1787, in which the committee was appointed in England for promoting the abolition of the trade, was the first year distinguished in America by the gratifying circumstance of *there not remaining a single slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker*. The superstition of ancient times would have hailed this coincidence as an auspicious omen; the sensibility of modern ones perceived its influence." [pp. 394—396.]

The committee for accomplishing an abolition of the slave trade was formed in 1787, and, upon dispersing its circulars, received from the Quakers and General Baptists intimations of their co-operation, and a correspondence was opened with the American societies. The merits of Mr. Sharp's preparatory labours were justly appreciated, and although his modesty induced him to decline the occupation of the chair at their meetings, they persisted in drawing up a resolution, by which he received that honourable appointment as "*Father of the Cause in England*." But, notwithstanding this extraordinary respect, and though he felt

it his duty to give his signature as chairman to every paper handed to him, he was never once *seated in the chair*, during the period of twenty years.

The views announced by the society in the title which they assumed did not correspond with his more extended range of thought and amplitude of benevolence; and he expressed himself with considerable warmth in the committee on the *criminal* forbearance of all who declined to engage in associating for the abolition of slavery, as well as of the slave trade. But he stood alone, owing to a conviction in the committee that if both these objects were attempted, neither of them would be carried. Mr. Sharp, however, continued zealously to support the project, though it did not comprehend all his wishes, and used all his influence to promote it with the dignitaries of the English church, and with the national revolutionists of France. He also held a conference with Mr. Pitt, to whom he more fully explained the wishes of the society; and from whom he received assurances of cordial co-operation in its desires; but it is a remarkable fact, that while all his speeches and votes were in favour of the abolition, the party who usually supported him, and over whom he possessed an almost unlimited control, as uniformly voted on the opposite side of the question.

“ On the final success of the advocates for the abolition, when the welcome tidings were brought to Mr. Sharp, he is said to have immediately fallen on his knees, in devotion and gratitude to his Creator. On this record it is fit to add the comment of one who was best qualified to judge of the emotions of his heart, and of the action to which it is probable that they gave birth: ‘I do not doubt that he did so, but it must have been in the *deepest retirement*.’” [p. 428.]

The activity and diffusive charity of Mr. Sharp evinced themselves in his various exertions in the Bible Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, the African Institution, and the Protestant Union: and these zealous exertions were continued to the latest period of his life, exhibiting the attractive spectacle of an old age, overspread with the beautiful verdure of an ever vigorous benevolence.

Nor was this distinguished individual illustrious only for his public labours; his *private character*, though less obvious to general view, was equally admirable. He was not charitable and kind abroad, and despotic or cold at

home—there was, on the contrary, a pleasing uniformity of conduct, evincing that he was influenced in all his deportment by principles which have a deeper root than the desire of popular applause, and which are capable of flourishing in all their luxuriance and fruitfulness, independently of the sunshine of human favour. In nothing was he more remarkable than for the constant cheerfulness of his disposition, a cheerfulness which diffused a radiance over the domestic circle, and shone with peculiar benignity upon the children of his brothers' families. He easily dismissed from his mind the cares of business, joined in their little amusements, and employed his pipe, or his pencil, to animate the jocund train. Whenever sickness invaded their families, he was the first and foremost to administer assistance, or to offer condolence, and displayed, at once, the man of feeling and the man of piety, amidst those afflictive family bereavements with which it pleased God to visit him. In 1783 he lost his brother James; in 1792 his brother John, archdeacon of Northumberland; besides two other brothers and two sisters. The severest of these dispensations occurred, however, in the death of brother William; and sister Prowse, of Wicken Park, 1810; and two years afterwards his affliction was renewed by the decease of one of his nieces. Having continued unmarried, his brothers' houses were, during several years, his usual places of residence; but in 1792 he took chambers in the Temple, in order that he might possess greater facilities for the discharge of the numerous important duties in which he was engaged. In this situation a feeble old woman was his only attendant.

In religion he was eminently devotional. In addition to the regular perusal of the Scripture, and attendance on domestic and public worship, he was in the habit of observing all the fasts and festivals of the established church; but the unobtrusive and unostentatious peculiarity of his character was sufficiently apparent. The same spirit pervaded all his charities; and it is stated that he appears never to have refused or neglected any application of a charitable nature. He became at length a prey to the intreaties, importunities, and almost to the menaces of hundreds, who pleaded poverty as a ground of right to almost every thing he possessed. The doors of his chambers in the Temple were perpetually besieged by a restless multitude of the penniless and of the idle; and there is reason to believe that in the course of his latter visits to his chambers, he deprived

himself of every article of value that could in any way be useful to these numerous mendicant applicants.

After passing through a short period of rapidly increasing decrepitude, both of his mental and corporeal faculties, he expired on the 6th of July, 1813; an event which instantly drew forth testimonials of the highest respect from the public bodies with which he had stood connected. He was buried in the family vault at Fulham, on the 13th of July; "leaving behind him," as his epitaph expresses, "a name that will be cherished with affection and gratitude as long as any homage shall be paid to those principles of justice, humanity, and religion, which, for nearly half a century, he promoted by his exertions, and adorned by his example." A monument has been erected to his memory in that part of Westminster Abbey which is known by the name of the Poets' Corner. The work is executed by Chantry, representing, in the centre, a medallion of Mr. Sharp; on one side, in bas-relief, a lion and lamb lying down together, and on the other an African, in the act of supplication, taken from the seal of the African Institution.

Although Mr. Sharp cultivated literature to a considerable extent, and wrote several pieces relating to subjects of biblical criticism, which were very highly appreciated by eminent individuals, yet his *pre-eminence* must, we apprehend, be derived from the expansive benevolence that animated his bosom, and characterized all his public actions. At the same time, we are by no means indisposed to join in the eulogium pronounced by his biographer:—

"If the circumstances of Mr. Sharp's education be taken into view; if it be considered that he was removed from school before he had learned the rudiments of the dead languages; that he passed his early youth in apprenticeship to trade, and his manhood in the Ordnance Office; that he, by his own study, unassisted by regular instruction, became so accurately informed in the English laws, as to be able to overset the decisions of an attorney and solicitor general, and even to alter the opinions of lord Mansfield himself, then sitting in judgment; that he so deeply investigated the Greek language, as to be able to discover and correct errors in the translation of our New Testament, which had escaped the learned of this country for centuries; and that his corrections in those points were admitted and publicly approved by men of eminent critical knowledge; that he became so profound a critic in the Hebrew tongue as to induce one of the most learned Hebraists of our age to propose that his rules should be adopted in the grammar of our public schools; and, finally, that these several acquisitions were made without any desire of reputation for learning,

but merely for the prosecution of purposes which he held sacred and necessary to the performance of his duty to God and his fellow-creatures;—if to these we join the consideration of the several important objects attained by his active endeavours in the cause of freedom and of religion (which have furnished the materials of these Memoirs);—if all these circumstances be weighed, it is difficult to regard him without sensations of reverential awe, not wholly dissimilar to the feelings with which we reflect on the illustrious characters recorded in the Scriptures, as the peculiar instruments of Heaven's high and holy purposes.

“When to his arduous attainments and exertions, are added the child-like mildness, simplicity, and humility of his character, and the unceasing benevolence of his disposition, he must be ranked among those who have most zealously revered the ‘example left to us’ by our Divine Instructor, and have most diligently ‘followed his steps.’” [pp. 523, 4.]

With the above extract we had proposed to close the present article, and had actually despatched it to the press, influenced by a feeling the most kind and benevolent towards Mr. Hoare, and most sincerely desirous that he might stand a chance of acquiring all the reputation which his work could be likely to confer; but upon reconsideration, we think ourselves somewhat pledged to our readers, not only to furnish them with a general analysis of a publication, but to put them in possession of the *opinion* which we may have formed, after giving it a deliberate perusal. If they wish then to obtain a considerable quantity of authentic information respecting Granville Sharp, particularly as it regards his public efforts, this is unquestionably a book, if they are not frightened at its magnitude and price, whence their curiosity may be gratified; but if they are desirous not only of becoming acquainted with the principal facts of his eventful life, but of studying a piece of biography* well digested and ingeniously arranged, combining an extensive view of human nature, with a skill to detect the peculiarities of character, and to give them their due prominence and proportion in the general estimate, and containing, as a whole, a highly finished portrait that bespeaks, not the copyist or the mere mannerist, but the mighty master who can impress his living touches upon the almost breathing and speaking canvass;—why then, we must in truth and honesty prognosticate a little disappointment. For what is biography? It is not surely the record of a few dates or events in a man's life; the selection of a few of the letters, written *by* him or *to* him, on subjects however interesting or important, or the detail of some of his more splendid actions, or the actions

of others, with which he had either a chief or incidental connexion; but it is an exhibition of the man as he was, in his individual character, and in the degree of his comparative distinction. Mr. Hoare's representation is that of an excellence too faultless—and such as human nature does not attain, and he somewhere (in the introduction, if we are not mistaken,) expresses an opinion respecting his actions which others had occasionally criticised, amounting to this too partial and friendly vindication. Let us see men as they really are, that we may not be discouraged. Mr. Sharp was certainly not a *great man*, in the proper sense of the word, though his biographer is rather displeased with some person for having said so, and may, perhaps, be angry with us for repeating it. Still, *fiat justitia*; we do repeat it, he was not a *great man*, but he was eminently *good*. And let no one imagine that we have the slightest intention to disparage his memory, or to disparage *goodness* by seeming to place it in contrast with *greatness*. We do not mean to contend that intellectual superiority is the *best* distinction; it has often proved the *worst*; and we cannot countenance statements which tend to detach our affections from moral excellence, or diminish the estimate which is to be formed of its real worth, by appearing to imply that it is not of *itself* adapted to produce a sublime impression, and an attractive effect upon the mind.

If Mr. Hoare will be kind enough to omit the extraneous matter, and to remodel some of the dry details of his work, thereby reducing the ponderous quarto to the moderate octavo, we are inclined to promise him another reading, if not another notice.

The Improvement of English Roads urged, during the existing Dearth of Employment for the Poor. London, 1820. Simpkin and Marshall. 8vo. pp. 61.

FOR its matter, and not for its manner, do we recommend this little tract to the attentive perusal of our readers. They cannot, we are persuaded, require any labour upon our parts to prove a fact of which no one can be ignorant, that great want of employment at present exists among the poor of England, and that such want has led to a most mischievous, and, if it be not speedily and effectually stopped, we are satisfied that it will prove a most ruinous abuse of the poor laws, by maintaining in idleness a vast proportion of our

population, who either cannot, or will not find work for themselves. The alarming increase of the poor's rates, the correspondent spread of pauperism, now no longer considered a disgrace, has, however, in many parts awoken, and in most others is awaking the rich from their slumber; and various expedients have been resorted to for the purpose of teaching to the poor this most important lesson of political economy, that no one, who is not past labour or incapacitated for it, can be permitted to eat the bread of idleness. In some parishes, where useful employment cannot be found for those who claim to be supported from its rates, we know that a plan has been adopted with considerable success, of setting the able bodied applicants for relief to work, in removing stones and other rubbish from one spot to another, and bringing them back again, rather than suffer them to do nothing. This is certainly infinitely preferable to the idle life which most of our paupers are permitted to lead in our work-houses, or as out-door pensioners upon the parochial rate; but where, we ask, can be the necessity for employing in useless and unproductive—those who might very easily be set upon beneficial and productive labour? Fully are we aware of the extreme difficulty and delicacy of employing the poor who cannot obtain work in the ordinary channels of trade, upon those branches of manufacture in which much private capital is embarked, and with which, we are perfectly satisfied, that no public establishment ought to compete. The attempt would be as fruitless as impolitic; but let us not hence, as too many do, set ourselves down satisfied that nothing can be done to remedy an evil, whose pressure every body can feel, every body can deplore; but few have attempted to remove. This latter circumstance has always struck us as a most extraordinary one, whilst so obvious an expedient remained untried as the amendment and alteration of our public roads—a field of labour unobjectionable, inasmuch as it does not interfere with any private capitalist, or merely substitute one description of workmen for another—beneficial to the community in a high degree, by giving an increased faculty to commercial and social intercourse, and almost exhaustless in its capabilities of improvement and extension. This is the plan which the pamphlet before us is intended to recommend to general adoption, though we only wonder that it has not been so repeatedly and effectually recommended before, as to render the labour of the present author, and of his reviewer, alike works of supererogation. We have not room to

enter into a minute detail of the mode in which he purposes to carry his plan into execution. Shortening—widening—levelling, are processes which most of our roads stand much in need of, whilst making them of better materials would essentially benefit them all. To this latter object in particular, Mr. M'Adam, surveyor of an important line of road in one of the western counties of England, has, for some years, most successfully directed his attention, and we are pleased to find that his ingenious method, approved of by the author before us as highly as by ourselves, has lately been adopted, under his own inspection, in many parts of the kingdom, especially in the north, where, as in the west, it has been very beneficial in giving employment to the poor. A perusal of the pamphlet before us, ill-written most undoubtedly, because evidently the work of a man unaccustomed to composition—yet containing much practical knowledge, will satisfy our readers that such employment may be found for them, without adding materially to the national burthens, while it will essentially promote the national prosperity, and very greatly diminish the enormous pressure of the poor's rates.

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND INTELLIGENCE.

THE pressure of more recent intelligence has compelled us but too long to delay our promised continuation of the Rev. Ward Stafford's most interesting Report to the "Female Missionary Society for the Poor of the City of New York and its Vicinity;" which we now gladly avail ourselves of a season of comparative leisure to resume, from the first Number of our work. We there left him commenting, with merited severity, on the evils of intemperance, and on the facility with which the lower orders of New York were enabled to indulge in this destructive habit, from the immense number of dram shops, opened under the authority of the laws and the express licence of government, in every part of that city—a practice prevailing to a ruinous extent in the metropolis, and in every town of the British empire. He thus goes on to advert to other sources of crime and misery, from which, though some of them present not themselves in quite such horrid features on this, as

on the other side of the Atlantic, England, and Englishmen, may learn an important lesson if they will:—

“[But there is another vice intimately connected with this, whose influence is still worse; a vice which completely disarms conscience of its sting, withers every generous feeling, and prostrates to the level of the brute the whole moral man: a vice which opens the flood-gates of all iniquity, and which has been a deeper source of corruption in our cities than any other single vice, I had almost said than all other vices together. It is not that we expect to rescue from present infamy and wretchedness, and from future and everlasting destruction, a few abandoned creatures, that we submit to the pain of alluding to this subject. We do it, that we may give a faithful representation of the moral condition of the more destitute parts of the city; that, by exposing iniquity, we may stop its progress; and, especially, that we may prevent the rising generation from going in that way which leads “down to the chambers of death.” It is a vice universally accompanied by a train of others more or less destructive, and when so openly practised as to leave no doubt of its existence, exerts an influence on the minds of those who are not immediately concerned, and gives a cast to society which is little suspected. It is supposed that there are in the city not less than 6,000 abandoned females. In passing a distance of thirty or forty rods, not less than twenty ball rooms have been counted, in which were assembled hundreds of this class of people, dancing to the sound of the viol*. That these people should assemble together, is no matter of astonishment; but it is matter of astonishment that they should be permitted to do it in this open manner, six nights out of seven, from week to week, from month to month, from year to year, and, we may add, from age to age. It is known, that there is a class of men who keep large numbers of these voluntary slaves for purposes of corruption and gain. They do not hesitate to own it, and speak of it with the most unblushing impudence. They are conscious that all who are acquainted with them *know* that this business is their only means of support, and of acquiring wealth. In some of the thickly populated parts of the city, there are a considerable number of hacks, which are known to be employed for no other purpose than that of transporting these miserable beings from one haunt of vice to another. Ten or twelve have often been counted standing in a row, where they are forbidden to stand by law, and where on almost every house is inscribed in glaring capitals: *The way to Hell!* And, what is painful to add, numbers of these hacks are thus employed on the Sabbath. It ought not to be concealed from the public, that many of these females are held by their masters in the most abject slavery, and,

* The ball rooms of which we speak are often fitted up in an expensive style, and universally furnished with a bar, or connected with a dram-shop.

to keep them in subjection, are at times scourged in the most cruel manner. Some, who, when wasting with the consumption, have fled from one place to another, where they supposed they should be better treated, have been seized by violence and carried back, and kept, by their old masters, till approaching death had destroyed all hope of further gain. The windows of at least one, and probably of many more of these slaughter-houses, are actually grated with bars of iron. It is known, also, that children, some their own illegitimate offspring, and some obtained by various arts of deception from the families of others, are trained up expressly for this polluted traffic, and engage in it at a very early period of life. Some of this description have been found whose age did not exceed eleven years.]

"On profanity, lying, theft, gambling, and many other vices, which are prevalent among those who are destitute of the means of grace, we cannot dwell on the present occasion. We have time to mention only one or two other facts, as indicative of the general state of morals. A respectable Female Association for the relief of the sick and afflicted, some time ago, resolved not to aid those who lived in certain streets, supposing that no person of decent character would live in such places, and that it would be unsafe for females to visit them. Since I have been employed in examining parts of the city, the observation has been made to me times almost without number: 'We presume you do not venture to go alone.' The caution has been a seasonable one. But what, let me ask, must be the state of society, when it is the general impression that it is unsafe for one to go alone for the purpose of distributing Bibles and Tracts; especially when it is found from observation and experience that the impression is correct? A respectable man, not long since, who was distributing Bibles, was attacked, knocked down, and had his clothes literally torn off, and was so beaten as to lose considerable blood; and such was the state of society, that after much inquiry and consultation, it was judged inexpedient to prosecute for this outrageous conduct, lest it should enrage a herd of such tigers, who would otherwise remain quiet, and cause them to league together, the more effectually to oppose these benevolent exertions. Let it not be supposed that all who reside in the parts of the city referred to are thus grossly vicious. There are some who are pious, and who preserve the rest from the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. There are many industrious people of good morals, who attend public worship. There are others, who, though feeling no particular interest in the subject, would attend, did not poverty or other circumstances prevent. There is also a large class who are partially corrupted, or are prepared, for want of proper religious instruction, to receive any impressions which men of superior cunning and wickedness are disposed to make. All these different classes of people live together, often in the same house,

and not unfrequently in the same room. We have sometimes discovered, since the great demand for houses, virtuous families compelled to live in places where they have blushed to be seen.

"What must be the effect of witnessing such scenes as the people in those parts of the city are, from their very situation, compelled to witness? Crimes which are committed in open day, without the disapprobation of the better part of the community, are readily believed to be of no very aggravated nature. Such scenes, by frequent exhibition, become familiar, and are witnessed without those feelings of horror which they once excited. They are soon winked at, and ultimately approved. It is surprising to see what effect this exhibition of depravity has on the minds even of Christians. What would once make them sigh, and weep, and pray, can now be seen with little feeling, with almost entire indifference. If such is the effect on the minds of Christians, what must it be on the minds of those who are unrestrained by the grace of God? What must be the effect upon the rising generation? Let it be remembered, that notwithstanding all that has been done, there are multitudes of children and youth whose education is entirely neglected, who are obliged to hear from the lips of their parents and others the most horrid oaths and blasphemies: to see them, under the influence of intoxicating liquors, and their own unhallowed passions, fight and abuse each other, wallow in their own pollution, and engage in other wickedness of which it is unlawful to speak. To our inquiry the experience of the world furnishes an answer. Considering the natural character of the human heart, we hesitate not to assert that it is impossible, without the special interposition of God, that children in such circumstances should not grow up to imitate the examples that are set before them, to become pests to society and heirs of perdition. Accordingly we find children practising every kind of iniquity of which their immature faculties are capable. By this means conscience is blunted before it is half formed; all sense of moral obligation, all dread of sin, all fear of God, all regard to the best interests of society, and their own present and everlasting welfare, is destroyed. Here, then, we have a great mass of people almost entirely beyond the restraints of religion, among whom are interspersed thousands who are grossly vicious. Multitudes are yet uncontaminated, especially of the rising generation; but vice is spreading like a contagion; the leaven of sin is extending to the whole mass, and, if unresisted, will reduce the whole to a mass of corruption. Let it not be imagined that the picture has been too highly coloured: I have barely stated a few facts — have given the outlines of a picture, which, if completed and held up to our view, must cover us all with shame and confusion of face. From a regard to my own feelings, and the feelings of others, I have cast a veil over many scenes, which in the discharge of my duty I have

been compelled to witness. Should any doubt the correctness of the representation which has been made, let me remind them that these people are not in some distant part of the world to which they can have no access, but in the city in which we dwell. Let me request, nay, let me urge and entreat them to examine for themselves—to go out and view the ravages of sin—to pass from one dark corner to another, from one habitation of cruelty to another, from one sink of pollution to another, till their ears shall be deaf with blasphemies, till their eyes shall be dim with scenes, which language cannot paint, till their hearts bleed and die within them. Could Christians be persuaded to examine for themselves, it is not too much to say that the work of reformation would be half accomplished. They would inquire, with deep concern, what must be done to stem this flood of iniquity, to raise the character, and save the souls of so many thousands of immortal beings.”

From this disgusting, yet most affecting, picture of vice and of wretchedness—from this powerful appeal to the Christian philanthropist to alleviate the distress, to endeavour to lessen the ill effects of the sin and misery, which he cannot but deplore, we turn with great satisfaction to the more pleasing part of the subject, the remedies proposed by Mr. Stafford for the evils he has pointed out:—

“It may be thought improper,” he observes, “by some, that one who has been a labourer in the vineyard for so short a period, should attempt to point out the means by which the temporal and eternal welfare of these people is to be promoted; that having in some measure exhibited their wretched moral condition, the methods of relief should be left to age and experience. This course would be more grateful to my own feelings, and would be pursued, were it not often remarked by persons advanced in life, and even by divines, that as we had established schools, provided Bibles, and erected churches and opened the doors, it was difficult to conceive what more could be done. There is another reason also why I ought not to be silent: having been upon the ground, and examined the state of the inhabitants; having visited and conversed with hundreds of families, it is not unreasonable to suppose that I have advantages for judging on this subject not in the possession of others. The hope of aiding in the execution of the measures already adopted, and exciting Christians to the adoption of others, and the pledge which I have given to some of the virtuous poor, both encourage and oblige me to proceed to mention some of the ways in which the moral state of the destitute may be improved:—

“1. So far as respects that class of people who are most ignorant, whether adults or children, it is evident that they must, in the first place, be taught to read, and have instilled into their

minds the first principles of religion. This, it is believed, can be done in no way so effectually, as by the establishment and support of Sabbath schools. To this institution some pious people, from the best of motives, have been opposed. As there are free schools for the purpose of instructing the children of the poor, it is supposed, that to instruct them on the Sabbath is an unnecessary profanation of that holy day. It has, however, been ascertained, as we all know, that, notwithstanding this generous provision, there are hundreds and thousands of poor children in our large cities, whose education is entirely neglected. It will be asked, perhaps, whether an effort might not be made to instruct them on other days? We believe that the efforts made at present are small, compared with what they might be; and we hope that the day is not distant, when to learn persons to read on the Sabbath will be neither a work of necessity nor mercy — that period, however, has not yet arrived. Could these children be collected on other days, where should we find persons to instruct them? Most of those who instruct children on the Sabbath are otherwise employed during the week. Most of the children, also, who are of a sufficient age, are employed either as servants, or in some other way, so that they could not be collected. As to adults, we know that they are obliged to labour for their own support, or the support of their families; and have, therefore, no time but the Sabbath to receive instruction. Experience has abundantly proved, that large numbers of children and adults, if not instructed on the Sabbath, will not be instructed at all; and will, consequently, be ignorant and generally vicious. There seems to have been some misapprehension as to the manner in which these schools are conducted. Many appear to regard them as schools of mere human learning, whereas the great object is to communicate religious instruction. It is true they are taught to read, but it is to read the Bible. The lessons which are used are selected from that sacred book. The Bible is read and explained to them; they commit portions of it to memory, together with religious hymns and catechisms. The schools are opened and closed with prayer, or some other religious exercise. The great business of the teachers, who are generally pious, is to instil, in various ways, into the minds of the learners important religious truths. In this manner they spend an hour or two previous to public worship in the morning and afternoon. They are then conducted in order to the house of God, and their teachers see that they behave with propriety during divine service. By means of this institution, multitudes of children, and others, who would be strolling about the streets, or spend the Sabbath in other ways equally injurious to themselves and to society, and offensive to God, are made to spend it in a most profitable manner: have their minds enriched with the treasures of divine knowledge; are placed under the sound of the Gospel; and, though neglected by their parents, are;

to some extent, trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Time will not permit me, were it necessary, to point out all the advantages to the teachers, to the scholars, to their parents and connexions, and to society at large, which result from the institution of Sabbath schools. We will only add, that many pious people who have been opposed to their establishment, have, after witnessing their operation, become their most cordial and active friends — that it is an institution which God has owned, by granting the influences of his holy Spirit — that by it thousands have been rescued from poverty, disgrace, and wretchedness, in this world, and from everlasting destruction in the world to come — have been made useful members of society and of the church, and prepared for mansions of glory in the heavens.

“ But Sabbath schools, however excellent and important, will not of themselves accomplish the object proposed. They are of modern invention; they are not the Gospel; and we believe, that in the Millennium they will be unknown, certainly in their present form. We believe, that they are among the means which are to hasten on that glorious day, that they now exert a most powerful and salutary influence. But by being unconnected with other means, their influence is half destroyed. In the Sunday School Teacher's Guide, there is an observation, though made for another purpose, which is full of meaning, and exactly in point. It is the following: ‘ A few hours on the Sabbath, with respect to most of them, (the scholars) is all the time, during which, through the whole week, they hear or see any thing like religion.’ Who does not see that the good impressions which may be made during these few hours, must be almost entirely effaced by being exposed, during the whole week, to all kinds of iniquity; iniquity practised by their parents and others, whom they are taught to love and obey. Many scholars who have been powerfully affected under the plain preaching of the Gospel on the Sabbath, and have retired from the school-room in tears, I have found the next day in places where it seemed impossible that serious thoughts should not be almost instantly banished from the mind. Did we not know, that with God all things are possible, we should have no hope that the seeds of grace, which are thus sown, would, in any instance, spring up and grow, and bring forth fruit. Let it not be forgotten, also, that many of the scholars, after leaving the school, mingle with the ignorant and vicious, and are beyond the reach of Christian influence. We take them and conduct them a short distance, and then leave them to wander. We know the depravity of the human heart, the power of bad example, and of the great adversary of souls too well, not to believe that most of them will wander in the by-paths of sin. It is asserted, and generally believed, ‘ that the most effectual mode of approaching the parent is through the medium of the child.’ That many parents have been successfully approached, through the medium of the child, will not be called in

question. But that this is the only or the best mode, cannot be known till others have been tried. Why, let me ask, cannot we approach them in other ways as well as in this? Suppose that a number of Christians should go forth to the destitute parts of the country, and set up Sabbath schools—would this be furnishing the inhabitants with those means of grace which God has appointed for their salvation? Besides, a considerable proportion of the destitute, in this city, are not within the reach of Sabbath schools—some have no children to send—some will not send them, because they are too proud, or too indifferent, or for some other reason. There are others, whose children go to school during the week, and do not, therefore, really need such an institution, provided they are not destitute of other means of obtaining religious knowledge. There is also a numerous class of boys and girls, whose age and habits forbid us to hope that they will, without exertions of another kind, ever become members of such schools. On the whole, highly as we think of this institution, we must reject the idea that it will of itself accomplish the great work of reformation, and effect the salvation of these perishing thousands. We proceed, therefore, to mention,

“ 2. The distribution of Bibles, and other religious publications. Upon those who have felt the sacred influence of the written Word; whose hearts have burned within them, while perusing the inspired volume; whose tongues, with involuntary rapture, have exclaimed, ‘How I love thy law! It is my meditation day and night; it is more precious than gold, yea, than much fine gold; it is sweeter to the taste than honey and the honey-comb;’ upon such we need not urge the importance of distributing the Bible to those individuals and families that are destitute. How dark must be that habitation where the light of God’s Word does not shine! How poor would Christians feel if deprived of this treasure! The fact that the destitute do not feel their need of such a treasure, does not render them the less poor without it. Equally unnecessary is it to urge the importance of distributing the Bible upon those whose eyes have been open to witness its influence upon the minds of men of every condition in every age. Who that has marked its progress, has not seen ignorance and superstition, vice and immorality, universally retiring at its approach? On the duty and importance, however, of putting into the hands of the destitute the Word of God, we need not enlarge. Concerning this subject, a spirit has been excited, which, it is believed, will not abate till every man, woman, and child, not only throughout this city, but throughout the world, shall possess this best, this richest of heaven’s gifts—a fire has been kindled, whose light and heat will extend throughout this valley of death. But on the *manner* in which those who are destitute are to be supplied, it may be well to make one or two remarks. It seems to be the opinion of many, that if Bible societies are formed, Bibles purchased and deposited

at some suitable place, and notice of the fact given in the public papers, nothing further is necessary to secure their universal circulation. But if we stop here, the work is but half done. Our efforts may, indeed, prove the existence of Christian principles in our own hearts; but they will not be the means of producing them, to any great extent, in the hearts of others. It will be said, that if people will not take the trouble to walk a short distance to obtain the Bible, it will be of no use for them to have it—that they will not read it, if put into their hands—that we cannot compel them to read, and to become religious. To such objections and remarks, which have sometimes been made even by professing Christians, I answer, *First*, that so far as my knowledge extends, (and I have visited hundreds of destitute families,) not one-half of those who are destitute, and who wish to receive the Bible, know that there is such an institution as the Bible Society in the world. This will appear strange to those who have not examined the subject, who meet reports of Bible societies, and find Bibles deposited in every book-store they enter, who see notices of them in almost every newspaper they read. But consider the character of these people: They are generally ignorant and poor; they rarely, if ever, enter a book-store, never see a report, or read a newspaper. They are not in the habit of reading any thing; most of them are entirely separated from the religious community, and know little more what that community is doing for the spread of the Gospel, than the inhabitants of Hindoostan.

“It is in my power to state, that hundreds in this city have received the Bible with emotions of joy and gratitude, who never heard of a Bible society. But we have a still more substantial answer to these objections. The Bible has not only been put into the hands of a considerable number of people of this description; but, so far as they have been called on for the purpose of ascertaining what use they have made of it, it has been discovered that they have preserved it with the most sacred care; that they have read it, and that it has been productive of the most happy effects. We have time to mention only one or two cases. A poor labouring man was called on about five weeks after a Bible had been given him, and was found to have read it through once, and commenced reading it a second time. His wife informed me, that he had frequently sat up to read till twelve and one o'clock at night; and that, since he had been reading it, he had generally accompanied her to church. From questions which were asked him, it was evident that he had read it with great care, and that it had made a deep impression on his mind. He observed, that he found in that book what he never knew before—he found that he was a sinner. He was left in tears. What the event will be in this, and other cases, where the Bible has been given, and made similar impressions, is known only to God. A Bible was given to a poor woman, soon after she was confined with a consumption, and who

had never learned to read. It was read to her daily. Her mind soon became deeply impressed—her sins appeared too great to be forgiven—her heart was broken—she believed in Jesus—she died in triumph. A friend, who witnessed her distress of mind, was awakened by it, and now gives satisfactory evidence of being ‘a new creature.’ Suppose that some will make either no use at all, or a bad use of the Bibles which are given them; shall this prevent the distribution? Who will venture to assert, that Bibles ought not to be given to such people, provided even one out of a hundred prove a blessing? In answer to these objections, permit me to state another fact, which is, that we have found apparently devoted, heavenly-minded Christians, who have wept, and sometimes cried aloud, and praised God, when we have informed them of the existence, and pointed out the object, of the Bible Society.

“*Secondly*, It may be observed, that if millions of Bibles were provided, and information given to the destitute, that they could be obtained by simply applying for them, the work of distributing the Bible, to that extent to which it is our duty to carry it, would not be accomplished. Many of these people do not know what the Bible is. It is no uncommon thing for persons, in answer to our inquiries, to assure us that they have a Bible; and, to prove the truth of the declaration, present us with some other book. Sometimes they will stare, and wonder what you mean. They never heard of such a thing as the Bible. Many who know what it is, and have been accustomed in early life to read it, have almost forgotten its contents, and are wholly unacquainted with its value. They see, indeed, that many people are intelligent, moral, respectable, pious, and happy; while others are of a totally different character—that the darkness of heathenism does not rest upon us as a people—that we are not, in every sense, idolators and savages; but never imagine that the Bible has made the difference. Such has been their education, and such are their habits, that many of them have no inclination to read any book whatever; and if they had, the Bible is not the one which they would naturally choose. Shall they be left in this state? Shall we make no effort to show them the importance, the value of the Bible, or to induce them to read? Shall we not so much as carry them the Bible, and ask them to read it? Nay, shall we not go to them again and again, and urge and entreat them to read that blessed book, in which alone ‘life and immortality are brought to light?’ Shall we not study day and night to invent arguments to persuade them to read? Shall we not pourtray, in lively colours, the misery of hell, and the happiness of heaven? Shall we not endeavour to give them some idea of the value of the soul, of the solemnities of eternity; if, by any means, we may induce them to read that book, which is able to save them from hell, and fit them for heaven, to make that soul happy, that eternity blessed? Upon the principle which some maintain, viz. that it will do no good to

give the Bible to those who are not sufficiently interested to make application for it, we should effectually bar from that sacred treasure the whole Heathen world; we should leave those millions to grope for ever in darkness. Suppose there were a newspaper, which circulated throughout China, and which was read by all its inhabitants; and that it should be published, that all who wished might have the Bible by applying for it, what effect would it have? How many would be supplied? The value of the Bible is discovered by experiment. We have made this discovery; and if we neglect to make it known to our fellow-men, 'how dwelleth the love of God in us?' Let it be remembered, that where the Bible is known and believed to be the word of God, it is often, and if its humbling truths come home with power to the conscience, is always, hated. It is the sun of the moral world. It is that light to which natural man will not come, 'lest their deeds should be reprov'd.' We must carry it to them; we must cause it to shine in their dark abodes. If they flee from it into a cavern more dark, we must follow them; till there shall be no place in the city, or in the world, to which they can retreat. When this is done, we shall have performed our duty, in relation to distributing Bibles; and we may then hope that God, by his Spirit, will open the eyes of the understanding, and purify the heart, so that men shall not only see but love that light, and rejoice in it*.

"The same reasons may be urged for the distribution of religious tracts. Their light is a borrowed and fainter light, but, generally, it is the true light, reflected from the word of God. By the distribution of such tracts, many sermons have been, and may still be, preached in places inaccessible to a minister of the Gospel. They may be thrown into haunts of vice, and produce the most happy effects. They have been thus distributed in New-York, and the vilest persons have been seen reading them with the most fixed attention.

"It is not to be supposed, that the Bible, in the present state of society, is to be given to all indiscriminately, and without any evidence that a proper use will be made of it. The following is substantially the mode, which I have thought it my duty to adopt. I have, generally in company with some Christian friend, visited all the families adjoining each other in a particular neighbourhood—have endeavoured to discover what families were destitute, and to ascertain, by conversing with them, and inquiring of others con-

* "The managers and members of the Female Bible Society, we rejoice to state, have actually commenced the work. Not satisfied with aiding, by their funds and approbation, the parent and other Bible institutions, nor with purchasing Bibles, and depositing them in the usual manner, they have entered the habitations of the poor—have sought out the destitute, and, with their own hands, have given them the word of life. We trust their truly Christian example will be extensively followed, not only in this, but in other places."

cerning them, whether they would make a good use of the Bible, if put into their hands. Those to whom it was thought best to give Bibles, have been noted, and informed, that we should call again and supply them. By this means, their minds have, in some measure, been prepared for the sacred deposit. Opportunity has been given, also, to address the other families on the subject of religion, and leave tracts in their possession. Soon after this the Bibles have been given, accompanied with such instructions and admonitions as the nature of the subject naturally suggested. They have been directed to keep them, frequently and prayerfully to peruse them, and to instruct their children in them. They have been reminded, that, receiving the Bible in this manner, they were under increased obligations to love, reverence, and obey its instructions; that it was the word of the living God, and would prove either 'a savour of life unto life, or of death unto death'—that it was the rule by which they would be tried at the last day, and that, if it did not prove a blessing, it would be a swift witness against them. Their names and places of residence have been recorded, and they have been informed, that our anxiety would probably lead us to call at a future time, that we might know whether the Bible had proved a blessing or not.

" In addition to giving Bibles and tracts in this manner, and forming Bible associations, which, we hope, will soon be done, many may be circulated, by exposing them for sale in parts of the city in which they are most needed. There are Christians who will esteem it a privilege to take charge of them, and sell them at the first cost. A show-bill should be hung out to give the information to those who pass. This plan has been suggested by finding many people destitute of the Bible, apparently because it had not come in their way. It has also had the test of experience. Bibles and tracts have been thus deposited, and several thousands of the latter, and a considerable number of the former, have actually been sold. Christians who are able and disposed to give them to their poor or vicious neighbours, may, by this means, be conveniently supplied. Bibles and tracts may be circulated, also, by employing suitable persons to go from house to house, for the express purpose of selling them, allowing a reasonable advance on what they dispose of. Several thousands of tracts have recently been circulated, in this way, in the destitute parts of the city. Pedlars about the markets and streets may be furnished with such books, instead of those of a corrupting nature, which they too often carry, and of which they too easily dispose.

" 3. The Gospel must be preached. After the holy Spirit has testified, that it is through the 'foolishness of preaching,' that God is pleased to 'save them that believe,' it will not be questioned—that the preaching of the Gospel is among the means by which the souls of men are to be redeemed from sin and death—that it is one of the great pillars by which the church is supported—that it

is an institution of God. But it is said, that you cannot preach the Gospel to these people; they will not attend public worship, provided they have the opportunity. In answer to this assertion, which has been reiterated till it is threadbare, we observe, that it cannot be known to be true till the attempt has been made. After labourers have been sent into the vineyard, houses of worship erected, the Gospel preached, and other appointed means employed, and after all have failed of success, this objection will be in point. It is the opinion of persons who are best acquainted with the character and condition of these people, that, if they had the opportunity, many of them would regularly attend upon the preaching of the Gospel. In the course of my visits, I have found many who have testified, that the only reason why they did not go to church was, that they had no seats, and were unable to procure them. On this account, many families, that have formerly been accustomed to attend public worship, have been absent so much that the desire and the habit of attending are lost. Will it be said, that the churches of some denominations are free, and, therefore, that such people could hear the Gospel if they were disposed? It is true that the Methodist churches are free, and I rejoice that it is in my power to state that they are not only free, but *full*. The Presbyterian, the Baptist, and the Episcopal churches, in that part of the city to which I refer, are also full. It is said, also, that in some of the churches, in the lower part of the city, there is room for hundreds of poor people, were they disposed to come. This objection has already been answered. It has been shown, that should there be pews which are unoccupied, the poor can neither purchase nor hire them. The objection, however, respects those pews which are owned by the more wealthy; and which, on account of the smallness of the family, or for a worse reason, are either empty, or but partially filled on the Sabbath. Should the poor be so much engaged as to come from the upper to the lower part of the city to hear the Gospel; should they so far overcome their natural diffidence, or, as some would say, be so impudent, as to enter these churches, clad in the manner in which they usually are, and necessarily must be, would the occupants of these pews rise and give them seats? Some who have made this objection, and to whom this question has been put, have already answered, so far as it respected themselves, in the negative. We are persuaded, that poor people might go into churches, might go through them, and go out again, before this class of objectors would give them a seat. Besides, the question is not concerning a few hundreds or a few thousands, but tens of thousands. It is said further, that if these people were properly interested, they would go and stand in the aisles, rather than not hear the Gospel. It is undoubtedly true that they would; and it is equally true, that they would climb up at the windows, and that the great inquiry about our streets would be, 'What must I do to be saved?' Were this

the case, there would be little need of further efforts; but who does not know, that one great object of preaching the Gospel is to arouse men from their stupidity, and to excite them to attend to their spiritual concerns? The fact that men are not properly interested in the subject of religion, proves the necessity of more vigorous efforts.

“ It is not enough, however, that we erect houses of worship, that we open the doors and proclaim, or cause to be proclaimed, the glad tidings of salvation. We must do more. As in distributing the Bible, so in preaching the Gospel, if people will not come to us, we must go to them—we must enter their dwellings—we must preach from house to house. For this mode of preaching we have the express command of Christ—‘ Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;’ ‘ Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in.’ God has in mercy adapted the means of grace to the character and condition of his creatures. Having wandered from the sheep-fold, having forsaken the ‘ fountain of living waters,’ he has appointed the means to follow them and bring them back. ‘ The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.’ In addition to the command, we have the example of Christ. Though the Jews, among whom he laboured, were religiously educated, and accustomed to attend public worship, he did not think it sufficient to preach to them in their synagogues. He went from place to place; he entered their dwellings; he met them in the street, in the garden, in the field, by the sea, on the mountain—wherever he found lost men, there was a pulpit, a sanctuary, a preacher. When he sent out his disciples, he intimated to them, that they were to preach in the same manner. They followed his instructions, they imitated his example. Even while among the Jews, ‘ daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ.’ Paul declares, that he taught not only ‘ publicly, but from house to house.’ We know, also, that this mode of preaching is often most effectual in our established congregations; that it is always practised in times of revival. In hardly any other situation is it possible to preach so directly to the conscience, to say with such effect, ‘ Thou art the man.’ If the Gospel is not to be preached to any except those who are disposed to hear it and to seek after it, when will it be preached to the thousands who are perishing in the destitute parts of our country? When will it be preached to the Heathen nations—‘ to every creature?’ If the people are visited and instructed in their own dwellings; if, in addition to this, they are assembled together in little circles for social worship; if they are followed from day to day, and week to week; if all is done in a manner so kind, so affectionate, so faithful, that they shall be convinced that you have no object in view but the glory of God, and their own best good, we cannot doubt that a powerful effect will be produced; that numbers will

be converted—that those who are not will be awakened from their stupidity—that they will wish to attend public worship. This leads me to observe,

“4. That houses of worship must be erected, and congregations and churches formed. If people are disposed to worship God, in a public manner, it requires no arguments to prove that they must have suitable places for their accommodation. That such places are needed at the present time, we have already shown. As to the kind of house, it seems indispensable, when we consider the natural pride of the human heart, in connexion with the fact that these people live in a city, and in the midst of other churches, that it should be a house built expressly for the purpose—that it should be a church. It is unreasonable to expect that people of this description should go to a school-house, or a private room, to worship on the Sabbath, unless particularly influenced by the Holy Spirit. Lectures have been sometimes appointed in such places, and because large numbers have not attended, it has been concluded that all further efforts would be in vain.

“Should such houses be provided, and other means which have been mentioned, used, we believe, that some will become pious, and therefore churches and congregations must be formed. That Christians may be zealous and active, and grow in grace, they must unite, they must be in such a situation that they can ‘speak often one to another, and enjoy the ordinances of the gospel.’ Christians resemble, in no small degree, coals of fire, which, scattered over a large surface, afford but little light and heat, and are liable to be extinguished; but if collected together, they immediately kindle into a flame, glow, and diffuse light and heat to all around them. Since employed by the Society, I have found many sad proofs of the importance of Christian intercourse, and of professors being constantly united to the visible church: I have found many professors from other places, who have lived here for years, and not united themselves to any church; and, in consequence of it, their first love has degenerated into lukewarmness, their zeal into a spirit of conformity to the world. It is important, that Christians should unite together, not only for their own benefit, but for the good of others. Their object is not only self-defence, but invasion; not only to retain what they have gained, but to extend the triumphs of the cross. Were they thus to unite, soon would they attach large numbers to their Divine Master.

“To commence the work, let suitable men be employed to labour as evangelists; let them be aided by private Christians: let houses of worship be erected. Were this method pursued, glorious conquests in the midst of these thousands would, with the blessing of God, soon be made; large churches and congregations would soon be formed. This general method of proceeding is sanctioned, not only by the authority of God, but by the example of the apostles and primitive Christians, and by the experience of the Church in

every age. We can only refer to the example of the great apostle of the Gentiles. After calling to mind his qualifications, both natural and supernatural, and his unexampled success, no one will doubt, that he selected the best means for the accomplishment of his object. Mark his progress. He goes out into the highways and hedges, or into the midst of the Heathen. He preaches from house to house, and in all other places where he can find any who will hear him. He does not stop here. Wherever God is pleased in any measure to bless his labours, or wherever there are a sufficient number of Christians, he forms a church, establishes the regular preaching of the gospel, and the administration of the ordinances. Without going back to past ages, we have abundant proof of the correctness of these remarks, from experience in this city. The houses of worship which have been built in the upper part of the city have not been built in vain. Large churches and congregations have been formed, and the state of society greatly improved. It is a fact worthy of notice, that the further you go from a church, both in the city and in the country, the more ignorant and vicious you find the people. I speak not of individual families, but of the great mass of the population. The very sight of a church will often cause those who are grossly vicious, to blush and reform, or retire from its view. It is a perpetual monitor, especially on the Sabbath, when people assemble together, and will exert a powerful influence on the surrounding neighbourhood. A brothel cannot exist by the side of a church, unless it have some secret communication with the theatre, that strong hold of Satan, from which its altars may be supplied with victims. Erect a church, and the moral atmosphere will be purified — the mists of darkness and death will vanish — the harsh gratings of discord and blasphemy will be changed into the sweet songs of Zion — the habitation of cruelty and vice into a Bethel — the sink of pollution into a fountain of life — the desert into the garden of God.

“Sufficient attention has not been paid, we believe, to the manner in which provision has hitherto been made for the poor, in many of our churches. It will not answer to have PARTICULAR SEATS DESIGNATED AS SEATS FOR THE POOR. The simple fact, that people are marked as poor, will effectually exclude from the sanctuary many who would otherwise attend. To remedy this evil, the churches may be so built, that the pews, or a part of them, shall be disposed of at a low rate. If a poor man wishes for a pew, and is not able to pay ten dollars, let him pay two, or one; or if he is not able to pay any thing, let him have one without paying for it. Let him, at all events, have a pew for his family; otherwise the whole house should be free.

“Let it not be forgotten, that the work to be performed is so great, that the energies of private Christians must be called into action. Though missionaries or evangelists, who shall be employed, are to take the lead, Christians must co-operate, not only

by their prayers and their property, but by their active exertions. We would not be understood, however, as intimating that nothing has been done. Individuals have done much to supply the spiritual wants of the poor; but the effect of their labours has been comparatively limited, for want of system and union. Though single efforts may be great in themselves, they will produce comparatively but little effect; whereas combined, well-directed, persevering efforts, will produce almost any thing. To call into action, to combine, and to direct the energies of Christians, it is proposed,

“ 5. To form associations in every ward, and in different sections of the same ward, throughout the city. The first object will be, to ascertain the moral state of the people; and the second, to improve it: *first*, to ascertain what families are destitute of the Bible; what families or individuals do not attend public worship; what adults and children need instruction; what vices are most prevalent: *secondly*, to distribute Bibles and tracts, to visit the sick and afflicted, to persuade old and young to attend public worship, Sabbath schools, and to assemble at other places where they may receive religious instructions; to prevent, by various means, Sabbath breaking, profaneness, intemperance, idleness, and vice of every description. It cannot be in the city, in every respect, as it is in the country, where the character and circumstances of every family are almost necessarily known. In the city there are, strictly speaking, no neighbourhoods; and were it desirable, we do not expect that all who live near each other should enter into habits of intimacy. But were those who are pious, and in comfortable circumstances, to become so much acquainted with those who live near them, as to ascertain their character and condition, both as it respects temporal and spiritual things, it would produce the most salutary effects. Such a system would directly promote the temporal, and in that way indirectly, the spiritual welfare of the poor. The respectable poor often suffer for the necessities of life. The reason why they will not make known their situation, is, that, as most persons who beg are vicious, they would endanger their character; and rather than do this, they will endure extreme sufferings, and sometimes even death itself. It is necessary not only to visit, but often to make an effort to ascertain the wants of this class of the poor. Many, both of the virtuous and vicious, suffer extremely in sickness; not because there are none to afford relief, for it is not uncommon for the benevolent to go from one extremity of the city to the other, to visit and relieve the sick; but because their situation is unknown. More may, sometimes, visit a sick person than is really beneficial, while at the very next door, there may be another, equally needy, and equally worthy of assistance, to whom no assistance is afforded. Such cases have often occurred.

“ It is known, that, during the late inclement season, a number of persons have perished in this city with hunger and cold. Had

there been such associations, their untimely death would most certainly have been prevented. It may be said, that this was a very unusual time, and cannot be expected to occur again. Be this as it may, Christians, we trust, feel no small degree of regret, that even a few immortal souls should, in this manner, be hurried into eternity. It is a fact, however, that people die at other times for want of attention. A respectable lady, a few weeks ago, went into the house of a poor neighbour, and found, to her great surprise, a woman lying sick, and in the cradle by her side, the remains of a lovely child. On inquiry she learned, that the woman had been reduced so low, that she could not go out to obtain relief, or make known her situation. The child had died with hunger, and would, doubtless, soon have been followed by its mother to the world of spirits, had it not been for this providential discovery. Those who are acquainted with the circumstances of the poor, know that occurrences of the same general nature are not uncommon. With such facts in view, who will pretend that some system, like the one proposed, is not indispensable? It would not only prevent the poor from suffering and dying for want of timely aid, but it would prevent the necessity of that aid. To manage their temporal concerns to advantage, many need information, advice, and direction, which, without the least difficulty, might be given by a kind and judicious neighbour. This remark is more especially applicable to strangers, who are unacquainted with the customs of the city. In consequence of disappointment or misfortune, many are disheartened, and settle down into a state of gloom and sloth, which are the precursors of personal and family vice, disgrace, and ruin. This might frequently be prevented, should some friend take them by the hand, assist them in finding employment, and encourage them to make an effort. Their characters being known, there would be no difficulty in obtaining employment, and other necessary aid, for the respectable poor. But, at present, they are mixed with the vicious, are regarded in the same light, and are treated in the same manner. Such associations would greatly aid the Sabbath schools. Those who are not immediately connected with that institution, can recommend it with a degree of influence which is not at the command of the teachers. Poor children might be supplied with clothes. That some assistance of this kind is necessary, will not be doubted. But experience has taught, that it is unwise to have it afforded by those to whom the immediate management of the schools is intrusted.

“ But such associations are principally important, on account of their more direct moral influence. Many people resort to our large cities, that they may live with less restraint, and still retain their standing in society. If a family, in a well-regulated country village, does not attend public worship, it is known, and the moral character of that family receives a wound. The same is true of

the neglect of other duties, or the practice of other sins. This operates as a strong motive to restrain those who are not under the influence of the Gospel, and to induce them to attend, at least, to the outward forms of religion. How different in the city! People may here neglect public worship for years, and, because it is unknown, may be as much respected by those who are not intimately acquainted with them, as if they strictly observed the Sabbath. Let every man's character and conduct be known to the moral and pious, and a change in the state of society will be effected; for there are but few who are insensible to the opinion of their fellow-men, however they may disregard the command of God. The very sight of the moral and pious is a check to the wicked. Should respectable persons simply pass through particular streets every day, and look at those who now exhibit in those streets all the degradation of their character, it would soon cause them to hide their heads. The voice of the pious awakes the internal monitor, and their presence encourages him to do his duty. Christians may greatly promote the spiritual welfare of the poor, by holding small meetings among them, for the purpose of prayer, and reading the Scriptures. The exertions of such associations would induce many to attend public worship, particularly those who are not grossly vicious, and strangers who have been accustomed to attend previous to their residence in the city. When they first come, they generally wander from place to place. Having no seat of their own, and being frequently unable to find one, it becomes unpleasant. They occasionally stay at home; it agrees with the practice of many around them; it gratifies the natural heart; and soon, instead of the old and good habit, a new and bad one is formed. This is not true merely of the poorer class of people, but also of a large class in comfortable circumstances. Professing Christians, who come into the city, and live here for a long time, without connecting themselves with any church or congregation, would, by this means, be discovered, and brought to the enjoyment of the ordinances of the Gospel. The number of such is not small; and what is still more surprising, pious people have been found, who have lived here for years, and have formed no religious acquaintance; not because they did not value Christian intercourse, but because they were strangers, modest strangers, whose views of propriety would not permit them to introduce themselves. They have pined and mourned in solitude, their graces have withered, and their usefulness has been comparatively limited. Tears have sometimes testified the joy they felt at being delivered from this unhappy state. Such associations would greatly encourage and aid our poor brethren who live in the midst of the most vicious, and who are 'vexed with their filthy conversation;' who like 'righteous Lot dwelling in the midst of them, and seeing and hearing, vex their righteous souls from day to day with their unlawful deeds.' Being on the same level with their

neighbours, as to worldly circumstances, and being alone, they can do little more than mourn and pray in secret. But if they could associate with people more respectable in the eyes of the world, they would, from their situation, be powerful auxiliaries in this holy warfare.

"Particular pains should be taken to approach the destitute, especially the vicious, in times of affliction. Places inaccessible to Christians at other times, are then approached with perfect ease. By afflictions, God prepares the way before his people: he opens the ears, restrains the passions, and softens the hearts of the most profligate and hardened. There is one other fact which must not be omitted. There is not the least doubt, that hundreds of people every year are sick and die, and are buried without the presence of a minister, and a large number without the presence of a private Christian. 'These things ought not so to be.' When we take into view the considerations which have been, and others which might be suggested, we cannot but hope that Christians will feel it their duty to unite together, to inquire into the state of the destitute, to 'go about doing good:' and that the efforts of this nature which have already been made, will soon be followed by others more systematic, vigorous, and successful*.

"These, it is believed, are among the means which are to be used for the instruction, the reformation, and the salvation of the destitute, who constantly reside in the city."

We regret that our limits will not allow us to give the remainder of this interesting article in our present Number, but we hope soon to resume, and to complete it.

Before, however, we conclude our American intelligence for the present quarter, it gives us great pleasure to inform our readers, that details of considerable interest have been received by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at New-York, relative to the progress of the missionaries sent by them to the Sandwich Isles, of which the following account has been communicated to us:—

"Since the death of king Tamahamaha, which occurred early in 1820, a general revolution has taken place in those islands. The priesthood has been abolished, the idols burnt, the Moreeahs destroyed, and the labours of the mission prove in all of them effective. Its members are much cherished by the inhabitants, and supported, in some instances, at the public expense. Schools

* "A considerable number of Christians have engaged, and appear much interested in this benevolent work. They see and feel its importance; are greatly encouraged, and determined to persevere. They meet together at stated times, and are much refreshed while they communicate intelligence, and with united hearts surround the throne of grace."

were erecting, and the study of the English language rapidly advancing. Among the pupils are the king and queen of Atooi, who have both addressed letters, dictated by themselves, to the friends of the missionaries in America."

The following are copies of those directed to the secretary of the board, and the mother-in-law of one of the missionaries; that of the king, who has for many years been able to speak broken English, having been written down from his own dictation, in a large plain hand, which he himself afterwards copied:—

" Tamoree, King of Atooi, to the Rev. Dr. Worcester.

" Atooi, July 28, 1820.

" DEAR FRIEND,

" I wish to write a few lines to you, to thank you for the good book you was so kind as to send by my son. I think it is a good book; one that God gave for us to read. I hope my people will soon read this and all other good books. I believe that my idols are good for nothing; and that your God is the only true God, the one that made all things. My gods I have hove away; they are no good; they fool me; they do me no good. I take good care of them. I give them cocoa nuts, plantains, hogs, and good many things, and they fool me at last. Now I throw them all away. I have none now. When your good people learn me, I worship your God. I feel glad your good people come to help us. We know nothing here. American people very good, kind—I love them. When they come here I take care of them; I give him eat; I give him clothes; I do every thing for him. I thank you for giving my son learning. I think my son dead. Some man tell me he no dead. I tell him he lie. I suppose he dead. I thank all American people. I feel glad to see you good folks here. Suppose you come, I take good care of them. I hope you take good care of my people in your country. Suppose you, do I feel glad? I must close.

" Accept this from your friend,

" KING TAMOREE."

" Samuel Worcester, D. D."

" The Queen of Atooi, to the Mother of Mrs. Ruggles.

" Atooi, July 28, 1820.

" DEAR FRIEND,

" I am glad your daughter come here. I shall be her mother now, and she be my daughter. I be good to her; give her tappa; give her mat; give her plenty eat. By and by your daughter speak Owhyee; then she learn me how to read and write, and sew; and talk of that Great Akooah, which the good people in America love. I begin spell little: read come very hard, like

stone. You very good, send your daughter great way to teach the heathen. I am very glad I can write you a short letter, and tell you that I be good to your daughter. I send you my *aloha*, and tell you I am

“ Your friend,

“ CHARLOTTE TAPOLEE, Queen of Atooi.”

In connexion with the same active transatlantic Missionary Society, we rejoice to be enabled to give the following interesting proof of the zeal with which our American fellow Christians are ready to follow out every work of benevolence suggested to them, either by the representations, or the examples, of our countrymen:—

“ At the united monthly concert in Boston, (an assembly very similar to our missionary prayer meetings), held on the first Monday evening in December last, part of a letter from the British chaplain at Smyrna to the Rev. Dr. Worcester was read; in which the writer urges, with great force and effect, the advantages which may be derived to the cause of the Gospel, from printing establishments in Western Asia. After the reading of the document, some observations were made in illustration and confirmation of the opinions there advanced, which made a deep impression on the minds of several gentlemen who were present; and they soon after thought it their duty to confer together, as to the most eligible manner of raising funds for the contemplated object. About the middle of January a private meeting was held, and a subscription paper was adopted. The terms of subscription are, in substance, as follows:—That the object is to provide and keep in operation a printing establishment, under the direction of the board, to be employed in printing the Holy Scriptures, and such tracts, school books, and periodical papers, as shall seem peculiarly calculated to diffuse religious knowledge.—That the first payment be made on the 4th day of July next, if the annual sum of 3,000 dollars (about £675.) be subscribed before that time; otherwise the subscription to be void.—That the money paid on this subscription be kept separate from the other funds of the board, not to be used, on any emergency whatever, except for the purpose above described: and,—That if, in the course of Divine Providence, the pecuniary circumstances of any subscriber should be so materially altered, that in his conscientious judgment he could not make the stipulated annual payment, consistently with his previous obligations, he shall not be considered as bound on this subscription, after giving written notice.

“ This paper was unanimously approved; and, out of thirteen persons who were present, seven subscribed *one hundred dollars* (about £22. 10s.) *each*, annually. Six other subscriptions, and we believe more, have since been made; all of the same sum: and several other gentlemen have declared their willingness to sub-

scribe 50 dollars (about £11. 5s.) each, annually; so that two-thirds of the sum required may be considered as already pledged; and there is little doubt, that the rest will soon be obtained. After this is done, several of the same gentlemen intend to subscribe an additional sum to defray the expense of the press, and founts of type, in different languages. A gentleman, not among the annual subscribers, has already sent a hundred dollars for this purpose. As the names of subscribers to this object are not published, it may be useful to say, that the subscription has not been made exclusively by gentlemen of wealth."

From such pleasing features of Christian benevolence, it is with deep regret that we turn to a subject of a very different description. Many of our readers will, no doubt, recollect the very melancholy picture of the present state of the American penitentiaries, given in the Review of Roscoe on Penal Jurisprudence, in our second Number. Something, it was evident, must be done for their amelioration; but we are much grieved to learn, that in some of the States they have hit upon the expedient of a very extended use of solitary confinement; the very worst, in our judgment, that could have been selected. Nor is it so in our judgment alone, for we learn, from the very best authority, that the enlightened philanthropist, whom we have just named, has sent over a strong and most animated remonstrance against so unnecessarily severe a measure. May that remonstrance have its due effect is our most earnest wish; and happy shall we esteem ourselves, if our protest can, in any measure, assist his efforts to induce the legislature of America, at least, to pause before they adopt a measure pregnant with such momentous consequences. We say no more, however, upon the subject now, fearing, as we do, that we shall speedily have occasion to revert to it, in noticing some works recently published, on the amelioration of our own criminal code, prison discipline, and police.

P O E T R Y.

THE DEATH OF MUNGO PARK.

By the Author of "Aonian Hours," "Julia Alpina," &c.

(Continued from vol. ii. p. 427.)

XXII.

Day wears apace; the glittering of the dew
Fades from the flower — that flower is withered too;

The mounting sun his high path journeyeth well,
 See! he hath won his noontide citadel.
 Before the burning brightness of his eye,
 All fast and far the hurrying waters fly —
 The unwearied bark yet walks its dizzy stream,
 How brooks her chief the fever of his beam?
 Alas! no cloud before his red orb swims
 To nerve the languor of his failing limbs:
 The wind is on the wave; but sultriness
 Rides on its wing, and mocks at his distress.
 Nor oozy rock, nor palm-grove longer grants
 The cool-fresh shadow that with morning slants.
 Each pulse that fits him for that feverish strife
 So feebly swells — it seems the knell of life:
 Sunk as in Nature's deepest lassitude,
 Can aught of Hope upon his soul intrude?
 O yes! though faint our being's frame, and frail,
 As shrubs that bow to every changing gale,
 The spirit, when the tempest loudest raves,
 Unbent by terror, oft that tempest braves
 With deeper tone of firmness than before
 Its wild — its trembling nerve had ever bore.

XXIII.

Already lit with Hope, his eye can bear
 No filming shade from sadness or despair;
 Still, still it burns; and warring with repose,
 Floats o'er those heavens afar whence morning rose.
 The farthest wave on that horizon gained,
 Again in silent trance its sight is strained
 To compass new horizons; o'er his face
 A flush of inward feeling you might trace;
 A seeming something that arose to bless
 The eternal woe of such abstractedness:
 It was a ray, from thought's bright fountain stole,
 A shape of joy, and warmed it into soul.
 "And O," he cried, "what plains yet intervene,
 What mountains rise, what deserts stretch between;
 How many feverish feelings must be mine,
 Ere bends thy votive pilgrim at thy shrine,
 Numidian Niger! ere 'tis mine to bless
 The girdling hills that hide thy last recess.
 Yet thus to ride thy yellow waves, the pride
 And marvel of a world, where nought beside
 Exists of wild or wonderful to me,
 And deem they lead me to some inland sea,
 Verdant with cocoa-groves in happy isles,
 Where, crown'd with flowers, eternal Summer smiles,

Some Eden of the wild — in whose blest vales
 No robber riots — nor the Moor prevails —
 Is ecstasy alone — nor heed I how
 The fiery climate bears upon my brow,
 So I may view thy glory, mixed with those
 Who worship where thy long, long current flows,
 The home of mountains where thou dost repose.
 How breaks upon their banks of odorous trees
 The glorious morn! their kingly palaces
 How shine they in the pomp of setting even,
 Pillared in earth, and turreted in heaven!
 O that the camel's fleetest foot could fling
 Its swiftness on thy waters—that the wing
 Of ostriches impelled this lingering sail,
 In its obsequious course by creek and vale,
 With their own vanishing speed, when void of fear,
 They laugh to scorn the hunter and his spear!"

XXIV.

So, when of old divine Columbus sought
 The world — the vision of his powerful thought;
 That world which, printed in his brain, became
 The idol of his hope; a glorious aim
 Of power to lure him from the safer shore,
 O'er circling seas which lengthened evermore:
 So when he trod their vast infinitude,
 Enamoured of the danger which he wooed;
 When hours, days, moons, rolled mournfully away,
 And with them brought no change but night and day,
 And the same azure pathlessness, a void
 Tranquil but sad; serene, but unenjoyed;
 When of his venturous band, the mightiest mind
 Or inly drooped, or silently declined,
 Pierced by the cankering worm of care, which fed
 Upon its blighted bloom, and nurst instead
 A desolate gloom — the chillness of the dead:
 If o'er his studious brow in swift career
 Passed transiently the hectic hues of fear,
 Soon lighter, livelier presages would come,
 Bright revelations of his future home;
 And his fond fancy, lingering, loved to dwell
 On golden streams, and bowers of asphodel,
 Peopled alone by beings in their prime
 Of bliss, all holy from the first of Time.
 Whilst on his midway passage, the hot sun
 Kindled the universe; and shadow none
 Fell from the mast, or on Atlantic seas
 The tempest lingered — images like these
 The heat could temper, and the storm appease.

XXV.

But lo! declining toward the fulgent west,
 The fiery-footed giant sinks to rest;
 But yet a moment will his lingering eye
 O'erlook the far-off peaks which pierce the sky,
 As though unwilling to resign to them
 The splendour of his rubied diadem.
 Still fronts the darkening east, as loth to leave
 The prostrate world that for his flight will grieve;
 Each caverned cliff, each islet-rock that braves
 The murmuring march of Niger's heaving waves,
 In solitary grandeur gives to glow
 Its beacon-turret, on whose beetling brow
 The living palm is whispering fond farewells
 To every azure billow as it swells.
 But to the northward of the river's bed,
 With different pomp is the wide landscape spread;
 There all is busy toil: high wood and hill
 Shake to the sound of mirth; there echo shrill
 Hangs on each sound, delighted to prolong
 The shout of revelry, and burst of song.
 There many a village pours its sons abroad,
 Some with winged feet imprint the elastic sward;
 And ever, as in air the dancer springs,
 Languish the fingered flutes, the tangtang rings:
 Swift move beside the Graces of the land,
 Roll the blithe eye, and yield the obsequious hand.
 Some shun the yet pervading sultriness,
 By gushing fountain in a wood's recess,
 Or in the river's crystal bosom lave,
 And gather life and freshness from his wave.

XXVI.

As his light-glancing sail dropt swiftly by,
 That festal pageant drew the gazer's sigh;
 Perchance at sunset, in a happier clime,
 When Summer triumph'd in her virgin prime,
 His was that buoyant step, that light caress,
 And trembling at the smile of loveliness;
 And he hath listened to a sweeter strain,
 Mid the dear hills he ne'er may view again,
 Where bright Renown hath hallowed every sod,
 By minstrels worshipped as by heroes trod.
 And wayward Fancy soothes his waking dream,
 In Niger's course he sees his native stream,
 Winding in many a sweep of fond delay
 By castled crag, brown heath, and bosky brae;

Savage, and stern, and wild, till it surrounds
 A lovelier waste; his farm's romantic bounds!
 He hears — ah! hears he not the torrents leap;
 In the calm silent loch, from mountain steep;
 And wreathing high o'er precipice and cave,
 Views crimson rowans glow, and tall pines wave?
 "Burns not the blush of eve on Cheviot yet?"
 The pilgrim cries, whilst memory and regret
 Heave at his heart: his gushing eye is wet.
 And hark! how tremulously on the wind,
 Flows forth the impassioned music of his mind! (14)

1.

" It is not in the summer hues
 That stain yon heaven's delicious calm,
 It is not in the starlight dews,
 Diffusing life, and breathing balm,
 So lightly o'er yon branching palm,
 And curtaining its sleep,
 To cast a shadow on delight,
 The budding bloom of hope to blight,
 And bid my spirit weep.

2.

" No! for there is a touch of joy
 In the bright blush of twilight hour;
 The bow that spans the autumnal sky
 Casts not more glory through its shower:
 The rich breath of the river-flower,
 Just bursting into birth;
 And laughing floods that round it shine,
 Might wake a colder heart than mine
 To gladness and to mirth.

3.

" But voices from a land afar
 To my believing ear are brought,
 Mournful as those dim visions are,
 Which haunt the slumbering lover's thought;
 Heart-twined, and with my being wrought,
 Friends of my bosom! through
 The deepening shadows of *your* skies,
 Breathe ye the fond soliloquies,
 Your exile wakes for you?"

4.

" With you I listened to the lore,
 The historic lore of ages gone;
 Turning the leaves of Empire o'er,
 The pride of helmed Caledon;
 Each gem that sparkled in her zone;

The mighty and the stern,
 Who thrilled her trumpet, burst her chains,
 And fell or triumphed on her plains,
 With Bruce at Bannockburn!

5.

“ With you I trembled at the tone
 Of the wild harp in Selma hung,
 And heard, in Ettrick’s forest lone,
 The lay our latest minstrel sung,
 And the loved lyre which Campbell strung,
 Omnipotent to bless;
 Still, brightest Pleiad of the Nine!
 Shed round my path thy gladness, — shine
 My beacon in distress!

6.

“ Armed with thy potent talisman,
 I burst the gates of doubt and fear,
 And self-dependant, dare to span
 The zone of an untrodden sphere.
 Shall peril check my bright career?
 The passion of my soul
 Shall toil or sadness temper? No!
 Flow on, ye yellow waters, flow,
 And speed me to my goal!

7.

“ But if, amid the barbarous wild,
 This eager heart grows chill with death;
 Flower of my life! to thee, my child,
 My pilgrim-mantle I bequeath,
 And be my spirit in thy breath!
 O, wilt thou hither come,
 Like the young Greek of Ithaca,
 To seek thy father’s sepulchre,
 Self-exiled from thy home!

8.

“ But whatsoe’er my doom,—may Heaven
 A lovelier star appoint for thee,
 And long—long to my prayers be given
 The parent stem that shelters thee!
 Soothe then her loneliness: —for me
 The amaranth be won;
 How sweet, on my return, to hail
 Each well-known face; my native vale,
 And smile o’er dangers done!

XXVII.

O'er Dibble's ample lake the moon had hung, (15)
Her lamp, the starry isles of heaven among,
And view'd beneath her, sleeping tranquilly,
The silver face of its unheaving sea;
Which, save where the departing keel had broke
Its charmed breast and whispering murmurs woke,
Was motionless and mute: a bright expanse,
For each high star in its harmonious dance,
In adoration of the night, threw down
Thereon the radiance of its glittering crown.
And as the wandering sage who held of yore
Communion with the waves of every shore,
When, scourged by the wild winds, he sought to gain
His native isle, and wrestled with the main,
Cast on the starry vault his sleepless eye,
To mark the wheeling hinges of the sky,
If turbulent Orion sought to shine,
A mournful aspect, and presaging sign,
Or moving brightly o'er the stormy seas,
Rebuked their rage, and charm'd them into peace;—
So in his watch, on that serener tide,
The wanderer of the Lybian waters eyed
The blue abyss where, in a mystic zone,
The bright-eyed planets gird the Eternal Throne,
In smooth harmonious motion to the hymn
Of voicing saints and harping seraphim.
Gazed he in fond devotion on a scene
So still, so pure, so solemnly serene!
And if, as oft, some passing cloud would dim
Their splendour of array, they turned from him,
Or seemed to turn away with weeping face,
That token of his doom and their disgrace
Passed lightly from them both — and left the scene
Forgetful of the shadow that had been.
Serenity gladness marked the pilot's brow,
The waves flashed brighter from his furrowing prow,
Mild voices o'er the trembling sea were driven
From far — and deeper glowed the starry heaven.

XXVIII.

Thrice o'er the sapphire firmament the night
Diffused its freshness — and her orb its light;
And onward still the impatient vessel bore,
O'er boundless waves, unconscious of a shore;
All, to the visitants of that lone spot,
Was heaven or ocean; — earth existed not: (16)

Severed from all that could appear to bind
 Their spirits to the home of human kind ;
 The memory of far friends, now doubly dear,
 And the strange workings of mysterious fear,
 As at some high and gifted vision, sealed
 From first creation, but to them revealed ;
 Impatience of the veil which yet confined
 Their scrutiny, and imaged bliss behind ;
 Triumph o'er dangers braved and perils passed,
 Regret o'er hopes too lovely long to last ;
 The alternate bliss and woe of yesterday,
 Revived again, again to pass away ;
 Move o'er the glimmering mirror of their minds,
 As reason sways, hope pictures, terror blinds,
 Light as the vane that fluctuates in all winds.
 Three days were passed—but when the fourth uncurled
 Her mists, long slumbering o'er the curtained world,
 O'er the calm surge delighted they survey
 Tall hills arise, and groves of green array
 Fringe the advancing shores : on either side,
 Compressed, in narrower bounds the waters glide ;
 They stretch their sails before the willing wind,
 Bright Dibble, crowned with rosy light, behind
 Fast closes on their sight : with wings of fear,
 Far from Jinbalian crags their course they steer,
 And midway down the rapid river bear,
 With whispered vows and many a murmured prayer,
 And eyes to heaven upraised, in gratitude
 For sadness banished, and for joy renewed.
 High on his deck behold the chieftain stand !
 He sees an Eden in the palmy land,
 And strains his sight, if haply he may view
 The station where barbaric *Томбуктоо*,
 Queen of the Desert! — sits, enthroned in state,
 And pours rich commerce from her storied gate ;
 And lists as in expectancy to hear
 The murmur of strange tongues salute his ear.
 Are those her towers — dim sparkling in the sky ?
 Veil, rash adventurer ! veil thy daring eye,
 The meteor of the wilderness is nigh.
 And lo ! in his destructive course, Simoom—
 The sands his chariot, canopied in gloom
 Stoops from on high : and heaven vibrating reels
 Beneath the thunder of his moving wheels.
 One moment kindled was the burning blast,
 Another, and his fiery aspect passed,
 Fearful and lightning-like : his rushing wings
 Smite the warped wave : round—round the galley swings,

And gathering from the madness of his wrath
 Fresh speed, flies swifter on its liquid path.
 And Downe's savage cliffs are backward cast,
 And the proud port of Rakbara is past,
 Not unendangered ; — for the shriek of men
 Rose on the wind, and paused, and rose again,
 And the tracked waters bore a sanguine hue : —
 And Kaffo's peopled heights beheld anew
 The shivered lance and the repulsed canoe.
 The barbarous clang of iron,—the unwonted shock,
 Hill tossed to hill, and rock replied to rock ;
 High grove and cavern caught the floating sound
 Afar—and spread the sullen murmurs round.
 As though there were a voice in every glen,
 That stern Jugurtha had arisen again,
 Breathing immortal hatred from his tomb,
 And still the terror and the scourge of Rome.

XXIX.

But Lybia here bent to a milder chief,
 Pity in him assumed the hue of grief ;
 Reluctant was the heart — though firm the hand,
 Which gave to death the natives of the land.
 But veiled the sanctuary of Niger yet,
 This is no season to indulge regret,
 And what to him if, fruitlessly and vain,
 The negro trembles for his wild domain ?
 Not his the wish barbaric chains to hold,
 Or polished elephant, or grains of gold.
 Nurtured in arts of peace, his soul abhorred
 War's sacrilege, and the devouring sword,
 And 'midst the savage nations still had stood,
 Guiltless of strife, and innocent of blood ;
 But exercised in ill, at many a mart,
 The insidious Moor has put forth all his art,
 And fearful lest his foreign hand should claim
 Divided empire, or an equal name,
 Hath whispered cause to each surrounding state,
 Of deep mistrust, and jealousy and hate.
 Ripe for assault the ready native runs,
 And town and village launch forth all their sons.
 These on the winged wave, with loud alarms,
 The fight provoke, and clash their brandished arms ;
 Breathing revenge and clamorous of success,
 Now round their foe in darkening swarms they press ;
 Irresolutely brave ; now shoreward steer,
 As hope stands trembling on the verge of fear.
 Baffled—beat back—they yet renew afar
 Defying shouts — and sound the shell of war,

Hang round the vessel's side—the javelin wing,
And fix the impatient arrow to its string.
The river shakes beneath the dash of oars,
And many a wave runs purple to its shores.

[To be continued.]

NOTES.

Note (14) Page 179, Line 11.

The biographer of Mungo Park informs us, in the Memoir affixed to the Account of his last Expedition into Africa, that he was fond of poetry, and wrote verses; and in one of his letters, Park observes, that he and his brother-in-law, Mr. Anderson, used to beguile their tedious night-watches on the Niger with the recital of the songs of their dear native land.

Note (15) Page 181, Line 2.

Beyond the town of Jenné, at the distance of two days' journey, the Niger expands into the Dibble, or Dark Lake; in crossing which, from west to east, the canoes are said, by some, to lose sight of land for an entire day; by others, for three days, (*Park's Travels*, vol. i. p. 317.) From this lake the river issues in several streams, terminating in two large branches, which join at Kabra, one day's journey south of Tombuctoo, and the port of that city or town. Isa calls it Rakbara. At the distance of eleven days from Kabra, the river passes to the southward of Haoussa, which is two days' journey distant from the Joliba. Of the further progress of this great river, whether it loses itself in the inland lake of the Arabian geographer, Endrisi; whether beyond the kingdom of Dar-Kulla, it blends with the Bahr el Abiad, and mingles its ample current with the Nile, or whether it takes a southern direction, and gliding amongst the "Lunar Mountains," actually joins the precipitous Congo—is a question likely to remain undecided, unless a happier issue attends future expeditions up the Niger than has hitherto attended those set on foot by the English government:—

——— "Melioribus, opto,
Auspicis, et quæ fuerit minus obvia Graiis."

VIRG. *Æn.* lib. iii. 498.

Note (16) Page 181, last Line.

Or, as the author of the "Pleasures of Memory" beautifully says:—

"A world of waves, a sea without a shore."

PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Remedy for Mildew in Wheat.—Dr. Cartwright, to whom the agriculturists of this kingdom lie under great obligations for numerous improvements, has discovered that a solution of common salt, sprinkled on corn infected with mildew, commonly removes the disease. In the year 1818, he was engaged in a series of experiments, to ascertain the minimum of salt

that would be required to destroy vegetation in certain weeds, as coltsfoot, bindweed, the common thistle, &c. The salt, it was found, had very little effect on weeds, or other vegetation, when they had arrived at that stage in which they ceased to be succulent, and are becoming fibrous. But as soon as the rain washed the salt down to their roots, if in sufficient quantity, they languished and died. Happening to have some wheat at the time that was mildewed, the doctor tried the experiment upon it; and the result was such as was anticipated, without any injury to the corn; salt having no injurious effect on fibrous matter, whether vegetable or animal. The expense in this case ceases to be any object, for six or eight bushels will serve an acre, which, at the price of salt applied to agriculture, will be under twenty shillings; and this will be more than repaid by the improvement of the manure, arising from the salted straw. Two men, one to spread, and the other to supply him with the salt water, will get over four acres in a day; the operation of the remedy is very quick: in less than forty-eight hours, even the vestiges of the disease are hardly discernible. Its efficacy has been completely verified by more recent experiments.

Mode of Destroying Insects on Fruit Trees.—It has long been believed, that leaves of the elder tree, put into the subterraneous paths of moles, drive them away; but it is not generally known, that if fruit trees, flowering shrubs, corn, or vegetables, be wiped with the green leaves of elder branches, insects will not attach to them. An infusion of elder leaves in water is good for sprinkling over rosebuds, and flowers subject to blights, and the devastations of caterpillars.

Prevention of Gunning in Fruit Trees.—Horse dung, clay, sand, and pitch tar, form a composition, which, when applied to the trunk and stems of fruit trees, after they are properly cleansed, prevents that spontaneous exudation called gumming, which is very injurious to the growth of trees.

Liquor from Mountain Ash-berries.—In North Wales, a liquor, called Diod Griefel, is brewed from the berries of the mountain ash, by merely crushing, and adding water to them. After standing for a fortnight it is fit for use; its flavour somewhat resembling perry.

Felling of Timber.—Mr. T. A. Knight has ascertained, by direct experiment, that there is a striking difference between the properties of spring and winter felled timber; the former absorbing much more moisture than the other. He is of opinion, that oak timber would be much improved if the tree, after being barked in the spring, was permitted to stand till the following winter.

New Era in Agriculture.—Major-general Beatson, on a farm of 300 acres, at Knowle, Tunbridge Wells, since the year 1813, says he has proved, that by light or shallow ploughing on a stiff soil with one horse, without lime or dung, and without fallow, he can raise crops of wheat, or other grain, at the expense of £5. an acre, equal or superior to those of his neighbours, in expense, in lime, and labour of cattle, of £16. an acre.

New Mode of Ploughing on Hilly Ground.—It has lately become the practice in the light hilly parts of Norfolk, for the farmers to plough their lands across, instead of up and down: by this means all the rain is stopped by the ridges, instead of running to the bottom, and frequently carrying the seeds, soil, and manure with it.

A Substitute for Potatoes.—Europe owes infinite gratitude to the memory of Sir Francis Drake, who first introduced from America the potatoe. We are assured, that there grows in Santa Fé de Bagota a root, called *urakatscka*, even more nourishing, and as prolific as the potatoe; resembling the Spanish chesnut in taste and firmness. It is a native of the Cordilleros, a climate as temperate as that of Europe, and might be

cultivated here with the same facility as the potatoe. It would be a most desirable thing to procure the plant, as well as some of the seed; and we earnestly recommend it to the Admiralty, to instruct the officers of ships on the South American station, to make inquiries concerning it; and to bring a few of the roots home, for the purpose of experiment.

Sherbet.—It is not generally known, that this beverage, so often mentioned with praise in Arabic poetry, is neither more nor less than a decoction of oatmeal and sugar, seasoned when cold with rose water.

Extraordinary Production.—There grew, last year, in the garden of Mr. Johnson, at Sunbury, a stalk of wheat in the hollow of an apple tree, five feet from the ground, which produced, without care, and with scarcely any notice, 361 straws, 33 ears, and 1092 grains of wheat, besides what was destroyed by birds and insects. The straws are still to be seen in the hollow, where they grew all affixed to one root, and the produce growing upon and covering near two roods of ground.

Rein Deer, imported and established in the Netherlands.—Two rein deer, a male and female, brought from Lapland, in the month of November, are now living at liberty in a gentleman's park, two leagues from the city of Ghent. Not only have they supported the change of climate extremely well, but the female has lately produced a young one, which it is hoped will live. This is the first instance of the kind, it is said, in a temperate climate; and it is the more remarkable, in that fourteen were some years ago brought into Scotland, a climate and country apparently more suitable for them, yet all of them progressively dropped off, and the endeavour to naturalize them completely failed.

Curious Birds in England.—The dean of Westminster has recently felt it necessary to give directions to have the interior of the Abbey cleansed, as from the number of birds which had congregated at the top of the Gothic pillars, where they had built their nests, much inconvenience had been experienced in the choir. In effecting this labour, upwards of seventy nests, of different birds, were discovered, together with the remains of a number of the feathered tribe that appeared to have died of old age. Among other birds found in this situation, was one with very brilliant plumage, somewhat similar to the king's-fisher. The plumage was in excellent preservation, but the flesh was completely dried up. It was conveyed to the dean, by whom it has been preserved.

Eruption of a Volcano.—M. Baunhauer, Dutch resident in the Island of Banda, in a letter of the 13th of June, reports that two days before, at half-past eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the famous volcano, *Goenong Api*, broke out in so dreadful a manner, that every body who was not obliged by his duty to remain in Neira fled to Great Banda. At two o'clock, vast red hot stones were propelled with prodigious force into the air, which, on falling, set fire to every thing combustible in the neighbourhood; while the most violent shocks rapidly succeeded each other, so that the houses, and even the vessels in the roads, were shaken. The smoke and ashes thrown out obscured the whole mountain, and sometimes also the neighbouring Lonthoir. In the evening the shocks became more frequent; the stones were projected to an elevation, calculated to be double that of the mountain, which appeared to be half covered with a sheet of fire. The scene was rendered more awful by the shock of an earthquake, which was felt in the evening, and by a terrible tempest, so that the whole population passed the night in the greatest alarm, and at day-light all the vessels fled from the roads. During the whole of the 13th, the mountain continued to throw out fire and stones; and the smoke and shower of ashes spread over Neira, and Lonthoir, to the middle of the plantation of Bogawu. The nutmeg trees

are covered with sand, and the wells which were not closed are brackish and useless. Vegetation is destroyed, the ground covered with grey ashes, and some birds and four-footed animals have perished; a new crater had been opened on the north-west side of the mountain, from which stones were rolled down, estimated to be as large as a house in Banda usually is. The most violent eruption, however, and the most fire, issued from the old crater. According to Valentyn, the eruption of this mountain, which broke out in 1690, continued for five years; and an old man, whose respectable character renders his testimony worthy of credit, affirms that it burnt from 1765 till 1775. The inhabitants, therefore, look forward with great apprehension to the future.

Curious Atmospheric Phenomenon.—One of those curious atmospherical phenomena which are occasionally seen among the Hartz Mountains, and have once or twice been observed in Cumberland, was last year seen in Huntingdonshire. About half-past four o'clock on Sunday morning, July 16, the sun was shining in a cloudless sky, and the light vapours arising from the river Ouze were hovering over a little hill near St. Neot's, when suddenly the village of Great Paxton, its farm-houses, barns, dispersed cottages, trees, and all its different grass fields, were clearly and distinctly visible in a beautiful aerial picture, which extended from east to west about 400 yards. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and admiration of the spectator, as he looked at this surprising phenomenon from a gentle declivity in an opposite direction, at the distance of half a mile, or his regret at its disappearance in about ten minutes.

Extraordinary Diamond.—A diamond, said to be worth £20,000, and consequently one of the largest in the world, was among the spoils of the Peishwa, and is now in the East India Company's treasury, to be sold for the benefit of the captors. It was brought to England by the ship York:

Indian Wild Ass.—General Sir D. Ochterlony lately despatched, as a present from the nabob of Bhawulpoor to governor-general the marquis of Hastings, a beautiful wild ass, of that species called by the natives Gor Khur. This elegant creature is described as being eleven or twelve hands high, of a beautiful light fawn or cream colour, with long ears, and large black eyes. In disposition it is untractable; and in this, as well as in every other respect, excepting the colour, resembles the zebra. It is said to be a complete model of strength, beauty, and agility.

Immense Block of Amethyst.—A most singular curiosity has been brought to the presidency of Calcutta, by a Portuguese vessel lately arrived from Brazil. Incredible as it may appear to those who have not studied the wonderful combinations of nature, it seems to be a mass of amethysts, of the enormous dimensions of four feet in circumference, by something less than one foot in height, and weighing ninety-eight pounds. It is in its rough state, and is described rather as an assemblage of more than fifty irregular columns, high, smooth, transparent, purple and white, shooting up like a crystallization from one common bed or source, than as a regularly formed and perfect stone. It was sent from the Brazils as a real amethyst, and such also has it been declared by judges of the subject, who have examined it since its arrival in Calcutta.

Native Iron.—A mass of native iron, weighing upwards of 3000 pounds, discovered several years ago, on the banks of Red River, in Louisiana, is now in the collection of the Historical Society in the New-York Institution. Its shape is irregular, inclining to oviform; its surface deeply indented, and covered by an oxide of iron, and it is much broader at the bottom, where it has rested on the earth, than at the top, inclining somewhat in the manner of a cone. By several experiments which have been made upon different

pieces of it, there appears to be a want of uniformity in its quality, some parts being very malleable and ductile, while others possess nearly the hardness of steel. It is susceptible of the highest polish, and is said to contain some metal. This mass of iron was found about 100 miles above Natchitoches, on Red River, in one of those rich and extensive quarries so common to that part of the country, and about twelve miles from the banks of the river.

Volcano in the Moon.—At a late sitting of the Royal Society, captain Kater read an interesting paper on the subject of a volcano which he had discovered in the moon. On examining the dark part of the moon through a telescope, he perceived a bright spot resembling a star; and subsequent observations convinced him that it was a volcano. As that part of the moon in which it is situated has now become illuminated, the volcano is no longer visible; and before the period for observing it returns, it will probably have ceased to be in a state of eruption. We copy from a Plymouth paper a paragraph on the same subject: "Mr. Cooke, of Stonehouse, having constantly made observations on the moon for the last twelve months, discovered, about nine o'clock on the night of the 16th of January, (two days before the full, and the only bright night of the moon,) an effusion of smoke, which lasted about a minute, and appeared like the fluttering of a bird. It passed over the moon before it evaporated, and must have fore-shortened, as it seemed in effect to have passed over the whole disc, from the place whence it arose, on the east of the spot Menelaus, and near Pilneas; but the effusion prevented the exact spot from being ascertained." A letter from Gosport Observatory, dated April 6, says, "At eight o'clock last evening, two bright spots appeared on the opaque portion of the moon's disc. The first we observed was immediately under that very dark shade, termed by Riccioli and others, *Mare Humorum*, and appeared like a longitudinal mountain (perpendicularly situated in respect to the then position of the moon), the light of which repeatedly increased and diminished in the course of two hours. The other was globular, near the spot Aristarchus, and through a Dollond's four and a half feet achromatic telescope, had the appearance of a star of the sixth magnitude, beneath the surface of the lunar orb. The first was not far distant from the volcano discovered by Mr. Cooke, of Stonehouse, near Plymouth, in the night of the 16th of January last. Whether these bright spots are of a volcanic nature, or whether they are mere portions of the moon peculiarly situated so as to be thus illuminated by the reflection of the sun's rays from the earth, we are not prepared to decide; but certain it is, that they were not seen by us during the first quarter of the last moon, when a good opportunity offered, and diligent observations were made several nights for a similar discovery. The bow which joined the cusps of the moon, last evening, was very conspicuous, even to the naked eye; and from the extraordinary light that was shed over the obscure part of her disc, perhaps a better opportunity never offered for such an observation."

Walking upon Water.—A Mr. Kent, of Glasgow, has invented a machine, by which he is enabled to walk on the surface of the water, with perfect safety, at the rate of three miles in the hour. On Monday the 23d of March, between four and five o'clock, he walked on the Monkland Canal, at that rate, in the presence of about 200 persons, who all testified their approbation at the performance. A few days afterwards, before an immense concourse of spectators, he successfully walked on the Clyde, from above Rutherglen Bridge to the Wooden Bridge, at the foot of the Saltmarket, Glasgow; during which he frequently went through various evolutions with a musket, and repeatedly fired it. Since that he has

exhibited his machine in one of the new wet docks at Leith. The novelty of the circumstance drew together a considerable crowd to witness the uncommon scene. The apparatus consisted of a triangle of about ten feet, formed of rods of iron; to each angle of which was affixed a case of black tin, filled with air, and completely water tight. These little boats, or cases, seemed to be about two feet and a half long, by about one foot and a half broad, and served to buoy up the machine and its superincumbent weight. These cases, we understand, are filled with little hollow balls, attached by a chain, and capable of floating the machine, should any accident happen to the outer case. From the centre of the little boats rose other rods, bent upwards, so as to meet in the middle at a convenient height, and forming at this junction a small seat or saddle, like that of the common velocipede. Like that machine, likewise, it has a cushion for the breast, and ropes or reins to guide the case at the apex of the triangle; and upon the whole the motion is produced in nearly the same manner. When in the seat, Mr. Kent's feet descended to within a few inches of the water; and to his shoes were buckled the paddles, made of block-tin likewise, and having a joint yielding in one direction, so as not to give a counter-motion to the machine, when moving the leg forward for a new stroke. His heels rested in stirrups attached to the saddle, and the motion was performed by the alternate action of the feet. He started about half past two o'clock, and after various evolutions, crossing and re-crossing the dock several times; and firing a fowling-piece, which, with a fishing-rod, were buckled to the rod in front of the saddle, he proved to the satisfaction of the numerous spectators, the complete safety of his machine, and the practicability of using it even for a considerable distance.

Horizontal Direction of Balloons.—A Journal of Rome announces that an inhabitant of Bologna, called Mingorelli, has discovered the horizontal direction of aerostatics, which for so many years has been the subject of physical and mechanical research, and for the discovery of which the Royal Society of London has proposed a prize of £20,000 sterling. He proposes to take a voyage to England, on being assured of this premium on his arrival, but in point of fact it never has been offered.

New Globes.—A Berlin artist, Mr. Charles P. Kummer, has recently published a globe with the mountains boldly executed *in relief*. This method impresses the subject more forcibly upon the mind than the mode hitherto employed, and is consequently admirably suited for geographical instruction and knowledge.

Newly invented Boat.—A boat, manned by four men, lately proceeded from the harbour of North Berwick to Canty Bay, a distance of two miles, and, after refreshing the crew, proceeded round the Bass Rock, and returned about a quarter past nine, having performed their voyage in the space of an hour and a quarter, gross time, being upwards of six miles, the whole performed without either sails, oars, or any steam apparatus. The invention is entirely that of a respectable millwright there, who expects a patent before he publishes the means of impulsion.

Mode of sweeping Streets, &c. by Machinery.—Mr. Tucker, a gentleman who lately left Limerick for New-York, has obtained a patent there, for sweeping streets by machinery. He is to perform the work of forty men, by two horses, to draw the machine up one side of the streets, and down at the other, which is not only to sweep but to collect the dirt in heaps, ready to carry away.

Machine for raising Water.—A simple machine has, it is said, been perfected by a gentleman of Shropshire, for raising water from the holds of ships, and for supplying reservoirs, which, by means of a small weight, will

raise a column of water at the rate of 15 quarts per minute, to the height of 100 feet, and so in proportion, double, treble, or quadruple columns of water to double, treble, or quadruple heights.

Egypt.—On the subject of subterranean researches for antiquities in Egypt, we learn from recent advices, that the objects disinterred hitherto are very inconsiderable in comparison with what remains to be discovered. A rivalry exists between the Arab inhabitants and the Europeans, as to the art of successfully excavating the mountains of sand, wherein have been buried for ages the porticos, buildings, and subterraneous galleries, of every description. The Arabs have pierced into the earth, to the depth of several fathoms, and are continually collecting vases, mummies, and other remains of antiquity; and though ignorant enough in other matters, can now distinguish objects that are rare and in good preservation, from others of an ordinary sort. The Arabs of Gournon are zealously attached to this occupation; so much so, that considering the address with which they execute these labours, it is thought that the Europeans will have no occasion to undertake them, but for money may procure whatever the bowels of the earth shall disclose.

Excavations at Rome.—Count Blacas, French ambassador at Rome, has caused excavations to be made, for several months past, in the temple of Venus at Rome, built by Adrian, situated between the Coliseum and the Temple of Peace. They are superintended by M. Fea, one of the antiquaries of Italy, and by M. Landon, an architect, and pensioner of the king of France. The excavations which have been made near the arch of Titus, have been attended with results which were not expected. They found there six white Grecian marble steps, which conducted them to the portico of the buried temple, and a large pedestal which supports the steps, a part of the ancient way, five feet and a half in breadth, and thirty in length, on which a balustrade of white marble was supported, the fragments of which have been found. Opposite to the Temple of Peace they have discovered two pillars of Phrygian marble, two feet in diameter, with a Corinthian capital, of beautiful workmanship, an entire entablature covered with ornaments in a very good style, and several Corinthian bases. All these fine fragments are of the same order. In the same place they have found the remains of several private habitations, which had been taken down by Adrian, in order to make room for his temple; two rooms still exist, which are decorated with paintings; they have evidently suffered from some local fire, for a great quantity of calcined materials and broken marbles have been found. They have also discovered two human skeletons, some pieces of *terra cotta*, a little bust of Bacchus, and several ornaments, in bronze, and marble.

Remedy for a Disease brought on by drinking Cold Water.—A man in Oliverstreet, New York, after imprudently drinking cold water during the great heats, was seized with very alarming symptoms, from which he was relieved by Dr. John De Alton White, who dissolved half an ounce of camphor in a gill of brandy; of this one-third was given at intervals of three minutes, which soon gave the patient relief.

Vaccination in China.—Extract of a letter from J. Livingstone, esq. one of the Hon. Company's surgeons in China, dated Macao, the 25th of March, 1820, to Joseph Hume, esq. M. P.:—"I am quite astonished to observe in my letters, and in the periodical publications, that the vaccine question is still keenly agitated. It is surely, like many other questions which I need not mention to you, a humiliating lesson to the lords of the creation. *We have no doubts here.* I sometimes vaccinate 500 a week, and for the last ten years may set up a claim to an experience on the

subject, which, when compared with that of your noisy and angry disputants, would place theirs as nothing: yet no failure has occurred in my practice. Mr. Pearson, the head surgeon at the Company's factory, has been still more extensively engaged than myself, and has been equally successful: yet you know that the small-pox rages in China every spring—sometimes with extreme virulence. I have often seen it in its worst forms in the midst of my vaccinated patients, in the same house and the same bed; yet no failure has occurred, not even a variolated appearance."

Hydrophobia.—Dr. Lyman Spalding, one of the most eminent physicians of New York, announces, in a small pamphlet, that for above these fifty years, the *Scutellaria lateriflora*, L. has proved to be an infallible means for the prevention and cure of the hydrophobia, after the bite of mad animals. It is better applied as a dry powder than fresh. According to the testimonies of several American physicians, this plant, not yet received as a remedy in any European *Materia Medica*, afforded a perfect relief in above 1000 cases, as well in the human species, as the brute creation, (dogs, swine, and oxen.) The discoverer of the remedy is not known: Doctors Derveer (father and son) first brought it into general use.

Antidote to the Plague.—The external use of oil of olives, as a preservative against the plague, has been long known in the Levant; it has been applied by fomentations, frictions, and lotions; but no one has hitherto taken it as an internal remedy, by drinking it. From a letter from the Swedish consul at Tangier, we learn that this discovery was made last year by M. Colaco, Portuguese Consul at Laraché. His first experiment was upon 200 persons, out of whom there were not ten in whose case it did not prove efficacious. As soon as the infection is caught, from four to eight ounces of oil of olives should be taken at once, according to the strength, &c. of the constitution. A universal perspiration will then take place, and in such abundance, that it appears to expel the virus, even alone; or at least, this has occurred in many instances. Its effects, however, as a sordorific, may be properly seconded, by taking a decoction of elderberries. In some individuals, this oil operates as an emetic; in others, it purges the bowels. But excessive perspiration is usually the principal symptom, and so the most beneficial. The Moors, notwithstanding their superstitious aversion to all interior remedies, especially with respect to the plague, acquiring knowledge from experience, have, at length, had recourse to this simple remedy. In a village near Tangiers, a father of a family, who had lost by the plague his wife and four children, was enabled to save his own life and four other children, by using the oil. A husbandman living in another village, three of whose children had been carried off by the plague, saved three others by the same means. At Tangier, two negresses survived the contagion by taking a strong dose. Though these are the first examples of any of their colour thus braving the contagion, many additional facts from the interior of the country confirm the trials already made, and those which are daily making. To render the remedy still more efficacious, the oil is used both internally by drinking, and externally by frictions, washings, &c. Scarcely an instance has occurred wherein this double application has failed of its effect. A Spanish physician, who has been upwards of a year in this country, has hereby cured almost all the Jews in Tangier. Out of 300 that have been attacked, since the beginning of the year, and who have had recourse to this remedy, scarcely in twelve has the malady proved fatal.

Medical Prize Question.—A satisfactory answer not having been given to the question—"Can the existence of idiopathic fever be doubted, proposed last year by the Société de Médecine of Paris, it is re-proposed, the greatest latitude being given to candidates in the choice and development

of their opinions. The prize will be a gold medal of 300 francs value; but as a further stimulus, the society will, if there be opportunity, award gold medals of 100 francs value, to the memoirs which may most nearly obtain the prize, and silver medals of emulation. The concourse will close on the 30th September, 1821. The memoirs, written in French or Latin, to be sent carriage free before then to the *Secrétaire Général de la Société de Médecine, Rue St. Avoi, No. 59.*

Lithography.—Mr. J. Ruthven, of Edinburgh, has succeeded in constructing a press, on the new principle of his patent, which answers most perfectly for printing from stone. It is free from the disadvantages that have hitherto attended lithographic presses, and promised to render the art very generally adopted throughout England. Any degree of pressure is at once brought to bear on the stone by means of the lever. The roller is found to clean the stone from the printing ink at each impression, and the labour of winding the bed through is much less than by the method hitherto used. By this machine, a greater number of impressions may be taken in a day than formerly. One of them has been for some time at work in London, at the lithographic establishment of Mr. Willick, Dartmouth-street, Westminster, where it may be seen by the admirers of this interesting art. The press has also the advantage of being equally applicable to copper-plate printing.

Grand Map.—On the summit of the mountain of Ménilla-Horgue, in the department of the Meuse, there is at present an establishment of geographic engineers, appointed to draw up a grand map of France. At night fires are kindled which correspond with other points, and serve for the trigonometrical arrangement.

Process for imitating Oriental Manuscripts.—Mr. Demanne and Mr. Gaultier, secretary adjunct in the school of Oriental Languages at Paris, have just made a discovery which will have great influence on the civilization of the East. At a late sitting of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres, these gentlemen presented the result of a process, by means of which they have succeeded in imitating oriental manuscripts, so as to deceive the most experienced eye. They have obtained certificates signed by several professors and learned orientalists, who can testify the importance of their invention to the study of languages, and to the progress of knowledge in the Levant. They have just published a prospectus, in which they announce the select works of Saadi, the most ingenious of the Persian poets.

Instrument for making perspective Drawings.—M. Jetturacher de Aurach, major-general in the Austrian service, has invented a very ingenious instrument, which he calls a querographer, by means of which a person is able to draw in perspective with the greatest accuracy, and employ the various tints according to the rules of *chiaro-scuro*. In the first part of a work which he has published on the subject, he gives a description of the instrument, which is of very simple construction. In the second he shews its use, and how it is to be applied to every kind of perspective.

Method to restore the white in Paintings.—M. Thénard has applied his oxygenated water, with great effect, for this purpose. The whites are often rendered brown, or even black, where paintings are acted on by sulphurous vapours, especially by sulphurized hydrogen, which is very abundant in some situations. Recollecting that the oxygenated water converted black sulphurate of lead into a white sulphurate, he furnished an artist who wished to restore a design of Raphael's with some of it. By applying it with a pencil, the spots were instantly removed.

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Wesleyan Missionary Society.—The annual meeting of this society was held in the New Chapel, City-Road, on Monday the 30th of April; in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Butterworth, Col. Sandys in the chair. The report stated, that near 150 missionaries are now employed under the direction of the committee of the society, on more than 100 highly important stations; and upwards of 27,000 members have been united in

religious societies. In addition to the advantages derived to the heathen from the pastoral labours of missionaries, extensive and prosperous schools have been established by them, both in the East and West Indies. In the island of Ceylon itself, nearly 5000 native children are under daily instruction; and many thousands of the children of the negroes and slaves of the West India Islands, regularly attend the numerous Sunday schools which are established in those colonies.

Church Missionary Society.—The 21st anniversary of this society was held at Freemasons' Hall, on Tuesday, May 1st; Right Hon. Lord Gambier in the chair. The report stated, that during the past year, the assistant secretary had travelled through most of the counties of England, for the formation of auxiliary societies and associations; an object in which he had been very successful. Among other encouraging circumstances, the archbishop of Tuam had accepted the office of vice-president of this society. The Mediterranean mission is going on with success. Mr. Jowitt has lately returned in consequence of ill health; but he is most assiduously engaged in preparing the Scriptures in the Maltese language, and in the Abyssinian. In Calcutta, and the North Indian district, there are twelve schools under the direction of the Calcutta committee, in which about 2000 children are educating. The Madras and South Indian missions are still going forward successfully; several native schoolmasters are there engaged in teaching; several thousand copies of tracts have been circulated; and a very great desire prevails for the reading of the Scriptures. At Travancore the prejudices of the people seem very strong; there is, however, a manifest improvement among them. The metropolitan enters warmly into the views of the society, and the missionaries seem pleased with their work, but, to use their own language, they "still want time, time; patience, patience; faith, faith."—After alluding to the state of the mission in Bombay, Sierra Leone, and other places, the report concluded with a statement of the receipts and expenditure of the past year, by which it appeared that the amount of receipts arising from subscriptions, collections, &c. amounted to £33,921. 10s. 8d. and the expenditure £31,991. 5s. 10d.

British and Foreign Bible Society.—The 17th anniversary of this society was held on Wednesday, May the 2d, at Freemasons' Hall, the Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth, president, in the chair. The report stated, that within the last two years, the interest of the Bible has been taking deep root in Germany, and other parts of the continent, so that the committee trust the Continental Bible Associations will be the means of opening the way for the spread of the Gospel in Asia. The Prussian Bible Society is in great prosperity, and has distributed 40,000 Bibles and Testaments. His Prussian Majesty declares his continued attachment to the cause, and his unalterable determination to support it. In Denmark the discouragements were great, but they have been all overruled; so that at this moment its Bible Society is not exceeded by any in point of activity and organization. The Swedish Bible Society continues to advance in the course marked out for it, in every part of the kingdom. Norway has at length embraced the institution. The emperor of Russia continues not only to patronize the Russian Bible Society, but also to co-operate with it. Under all the discouragements and causes of counteraction, arising from the prejudices of some of the priests, the Word of God runs and prevails among the Catholics.—In the isles of the Mediterranean and the countries around, much has been done for carrying the plans of the society very extensively into effect. In the East, the committee has also the satisfaction of seeing its benevolent views well seconded. A complete translation of the whole Scriptures into the Chinese language has been finished. With regard to West Africa, the Bible Society

in Sierra Leone continues to prosper under the auspices of the Governor. The sum of £225. has been remitted to the parent Society. In New South Wales, the circulation of the Scriptures is making an extensive progress among the settlers. From the West Indies, the most satisfactory accounts have been received. The inhabitants assemble together, and endeavour to instruct each other to read the Scriptures. Several of the negroes who cannot read, carry their Bibles for several miles to have a portion of the Word of God read to them. The American Bible Society furnishes all the evidences of ripening into a prosperous and extensive institution. By the parent Institution in England, 104,828 Bibles, and 142,129 Testaments have been distributed during the year, which, added to those of former years, make a total of 3,201,978.

Prayer Book and Homily Society.—On Thursday, the 3d May, the ninth anniversary of this society was held at Stationers' Hall; in the absence of the president and vice-presidents, Joseph Wilson, esq., the treasurer of the society, in the chair. The report stated, that the committee have distributed 8982 bound Prayer Books and Psalters, and 49,022 Homilies and Tracts. The receipts of the year amounted to £1993. 13s. 10d. and the expenditure to £2170. 5s. 10d., the extension of their operations to foreign nations having caused a deficiency of £176. 12s. in their funds.

London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.—The 13th anniversary of this society was held at the King's Concert Room, in the Haymarket, on Friday, May the 4th; Sir Thomas Baring in the chair. From the statement of the society's accounts it appeared, that the expenditure of the past year had amounted to about £13,140., while the receipts had only amounted to £10,789. 18s. 10d.; to make up the deficiency they had been under the necessity of disposing of some Exchequer bills, which, at the last meeting, they had stated were in hand.

London Hibernian Society.—The 15th anniversary of this institution was held at the City of London Tavern, Saturday May 5th, the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Lorton, vice-president, in the chair. The report commenced with the pleasing information, that the funds of the society, so deeply in arrears at the last anniversary, had been happily replenished by collections, donations, and legacies, to a considerable amount. Among the former is £2394. collected in Scotland by Mr. Steven, and £152. by Mr. Dealtry, at Clapham church:—and among the latter a legacy, to the amount of more than £6000. stock. The schools at present assisted by the society, are stated at 534, and the pupils at 54,520; a much less reduction than might have been expected, from the opposition they have met with.

London Itinerant Society.—On Monday evening the 7th of May, this society held their 24th annual meeting at the City of London Tavern, when S. Robinson, esq. the treasurer, presided. The report stated several pleasing instances of the success of the labours of its agents, under the blessing of God, in testifying of his truth among the congregations and children, in some of the villages in the neighbourhood of London; though in others there were rather discouraging appearances. At two or three of the villages, arrangements are expected to be made shortly, for the inhabitants to take the work into their own hands, which will enable the committee to turn their attention to other places, which they have been long anxious to do. The debt of the society exceeds £600. which has partly arisen by the purchase or the erection of two or three places of worship: on this head the representations of some of the speakers were powerfully made, and the friends of the institution appeared heartily disposed to unite to do their utmost

by the next anniversary, in order to free the society from its burden, and to furnish the committee with means to warrant their attention to various calls for the services of the active agents of the society in new stations. Several ladies pledged themselves to raise £5. each among their friends. The collections, subscriptions, and donations at the door amounted to about £60.

Port of London Society.—The third anniversary of this society was held at the City of London Tavern, on Monday, May the 7th; Admiral Lord Gambier, president, in the chair. The report stated, that within the last year successful exertions had been made in different parts of the country to forward the objects of the society, and amongst others Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, and Leith might be distinguished. Similar exertions had been making in North America, that had been crowned with great success, and places for worship had already been opened at New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston. The report gave a flattering account of the effects which the promotion of religion had had, in many instances, on the crews of vessels in the port of London, and the progress that religion was making amongst them. It instanced, that in the ships bound to Davis's Straits and other quarters, divine service was regularly performed.

Naval and Military Bible Society.—The annual meeting of the friends and subscribers of this society took place on Tuesday, May 8, at the King's Concert Room, in the Haymarket; Admiral Lord Gambier in the chair. The report stated that branch societies had been formed in various parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Gibraltar, and that the most salutary results were anticipated for the future from those auxiliary institutions. Upwards of 1600 Bibles and Testaments have been distributed amongst the several regiments stationed in Ireland. In Scotland, 1000 copies of the Scriptures had been supplied to persons in need of them. Upwards of 9000 Bibles and 4800 Testaments had been distributed by the Naval and Military Bible Society of London. Through these efforts to circulate the Word of God, as well as from the daily increasing demands upon the society, a balance of £1000. was against them, and an energetic appeal was made to the liberality of a highly respectable meeting, to enable the society to follow up their proceedings with increased vigour.

London Missionary Society.—The annual meeting of the society at Queen-street Chapel, on Thursday, May 10, was rendered unusually interesting by the presence of Ratafe, a prince of Madagascar, attended by his secretary, interpreter, &c. He was addressed in French by the treasurer of the society, and the foreign secretary read the following letter from Radama, the king of that island:—

“GENTLEMEN,—When the treaty was concluded between me and Governor Farquhar, which has for its object the cessation of the exportation of slaves from the island of Madagascar, the missionary, Mr. David Jones, accompanied the commissioner from the British government, and arrived at Tananarive, the capital of my kingdom; with the intention of paying me a visit to solicit from me leave to settle, with other missionaries, in my dominions. Having informed myself of his profession and mission, I acquiesce with much pleasure in his request.

“Mr. Jones, your missionary, having satisfied me that those sent out by your society have no other object than to enlighten the people by persuasion and conviction, and to discover to them the means of becoming happy by evangelizing and civilizing them after the manner of European nations, and this not by force, contrary to the light of their understandings,—therefore, Gentlemen, I request you to send me, if convenient, as many missionaries as you may deem proper, together with their families, if they desire it;

provided you send skilful artisans to make my people workmen, as well as good Christians.

"I avail myself of this opportunity, Gentlemen, to promise all the protection, the safety, the respect, and the tranquillity, which missionaries may require from my subjects.

"The missionaries who are particularly needed at present, are persons who are able to instruct my people in the Christian religion, and in various trades, such as weaving, carpentering, gardening, &c.

"I shall expect, Gentlemen, from you a satisfactory answer by an early opportunity.

"Accept, Gentlemen, the assurance of my esteem and affection,

(Signed)

"RADAMA, King."

The meeting was farther enlivened by the presence of the Rev. John Campbell, who has visited Southern Africa a second time, on behalf of the society. He has penetrated into the interior 250 miles north-east of Lat-takoo, and discovered very considerable cities, one of which, Kurrechane, contains 16,000 inhabitants, where he found a manufactory of iron goods, and another of pottery. This gentleman gave a brief but interesting account of his travels. The report gave a very interesting account of the progress of the society at its various stations in the South Seas:—at Macao, in the vicinity of China, where Dr. Morrison resides at present; at Malacca, where the society have a missionary printing-office, under the superintendence of Dr. Milne, for the printing of the Scriptures, tracts, magazines, &c. in the Chinese, Malay, and other languages; and at Pulo Penang, where religious services have been established in the Malay and Chinese languages, and schools instituted; on the continent of India, and various islands in the Indian Seas; in Siberia and Russian Tartary; in the Greek Islands; in South Africa; the African islands, and particularly Madagascar; and among the negroes in the West Indies. The receipts last year have been £26,174. 4s. 3d. and the expenditure £27,790. 17s. 1d. To meet this deficiency, we rejoice to learn that the liberality of the religious public, notwithstanding the pressure of the times, was more extensive than ever, as will appear from the subjoined statement of the collections:—

Surry Chapel, (Rev. G. Clayton, of Walworth)	£441	0	0
Tabernacle, (Rev. T. Craig, of Bocking)	142	9	6
Great Queen Street Chapel	229	18	6
Gate Street Chapel	22	0	9
Tottenham Court Chapel, (Rev. John Brown, of Whitburn) ..	200	10	0
St. Bride's Church, (Rev. Dr. Williams, of Stroud)	108	3	0
Sion Chapel	134	14	6
Orange Street Chapel	80	16	6
Silver Street Chapel	42	5	2
Tonbridge Chapel	40	10	0
Welsh services at Surry Chapel, (Rev. David Peter, of Car-			
marthen, and Rev. John Elias of Lanfechel)	34	9	1

£1476 17 0

Home Missionary Society.—The second annual meeting of the above institution was held on Monday evening, the 14th of May, at the City of London Tavern, Thomas Wilson, esq. in the chair. Previous to the commencement of business, the great room in which the meeting was to be held was so crowded, while numbers were still advancing towards it, that it was thought expedient to open the largest room on the first floor for the accommodation of those who could not be received above, in which Robert Humphry

Martin, esq. presided. The report stated that the society had been formed only 21 months, and now employed 15 missionaries, beside other agents, liberally assisted from its funds. For its support £2000 have been already raised, and one lady has subscribed no less than 50 guineas per annum. In Sussex the society has three stations, in Wilts one, in Oxfordshire two, in Cheshire one, in Devon two, in Herefordshire two, in Staffordshire, Gloucestershire, Norfolk, and Cornwall, one each. These missionaries preach in no less than 100 villages, to above 12,000 souls, and have 1800 children under religious instruction.

Merchant Seamen's Auxiliary Bible Society.—Monday, May 14th, the third anniversary of this society was held at the City of London Tavern; Lord Viscount Exmouth, in the chair. The report gave an encouraging outline of the proceedings of the committee during the last year, and of the support which they had received in their exertions from several corporate bodies; the testimonies to the ameliorated habits and conduct of that interesting class of society, the merchant seamen, were every day accumulating, and the steady course pursued by this institution in circulating the Holy Scriptures, co-operating with the labours of other societies, kindred in their object, though not in the means adapted to accomplish it, afforded a fair hope, that perhaps the only stain that rests on this portion of our countrymen would ere long be removed, and that they would, in a few years, bear a comparison in respect of morals and religion with any other class of men in this highly-famed country. The society had distributed during the last year, at the Gravesend station only, 816 Bibles, and 1096 Testaments.

The Cambrian Society.—On Thursday evening, May 17, the first anniversary of this society was held at Albion Chapel, Moorfields; R. H. Marten, esq. in the chair. The report stated, that there were always in the river from 20 to 30 vessels, containing from 2 to 300 persons, who can receive instruction, or unite in devotion only in the Welsh language. As soon as these ships are cleared out, they are used alternately for preaching or prayer meetings in the Welsh language, and these warm-hearted Cambrians attend in number from 2 to 300 every Sabbath-day, or oftener. Several Welsh captains and mariners addressed the meeting, with much pious fervour, in their native language. This society rose out of the exertions of the Port of London and other societies, for the spiritual benefit of sailors.

Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.—Tuesday, June 5, the members and friends of this society dined together at Freemasons' Tavern. His Royal Highness the Duke of York in the chair, supported on the right and left by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Bishop of London. The company were numerous, and of the highest respectability; among whom were noticed the Bishops of Bangor, Exeter, Salisbury, Llandaff, and Gloucester; Lords Hotham and Kenyon; Sir R. Vaughan, bart.; Sir T. D. Ackland, bart.; Mr. Justice Park, Mr. Justice Bailey, Mr. Baron Richards; the archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, London, and Colchester; the chaplain of the House of Commons, &c.—Several speeches were delivered in the course of the evening by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Bangor, Exeter, and Gloucester; Lords Hotham, Kenyon, &c. &c. in support of the institution, and a very large collection was made.

Houseless Poor.—On the 21st of March the doors of this institution were closed for the season, and we have great pleasure in being enabled to state, that during the 77 days it was open, 440 women and children, and 769 men, were sheltered, and about 50,600 meals were distributed: a considerable number of persons received permanent relief, and many were placed in situations for obtaining a livelihood; some were removed to their

respective parishes and countries, and others restored to their friends under circumstances of great interest.

African Institution.—On Wednesday, March 28th, a meeting was convened at Freemasons' Tavern, of the friends and supporters of this institution. The Duke of Gloucester in the chair. The report, which was of very considerable length, commenced by deeply lamenting, that notwithstanding the abolition of the African slave trade by almost every other power, yet the inhuman traffic was carried on, to an incredible extent, under the French flag. It proceeded to detail some facts relative to the ill treatment received by some of the poor wretches who were thus torn from the bosoms of their families, and referred to a French medical pamphlet recently published in Paris, in which an account was given of the *Retour*, a French vessel employed in this traffic, having brought to Guadaloupe a cargo of slaves, all of whom, together with the crew and captain of the ship, excepting one seaman, were attacked with the ophthalmia, and became blind. The slaves were brought on deck for fresh air, only being allowed half a wineglassful of water per day, and many of them threw themselves into the sea, locked in each other's arms. Some were hanged, and others punished severely, to prevent it, but it had no effect; and the slaves were therefore kept below. The whole of the slaves and crew of another ship had gone blind from the disease, and the ship was left to the mercy of the winds, without any power to direct it. The *Retour* saw its situation, but its crew being themselves nearly in the same condition, were unable to afford relief. The ship has not since been heard of. Another French vessel, the *Jeune Estella*, also a trader in human flesh, was boarded by an English brig, the *Tartar*, and after a long search two female slaves were found stowed in a hogshead, in the last stage of suffocation. Before reaching the *Jeune Estella*, the captain of the *Tartar* had seen a number of casks floating in the sea, which he now imagined to be also filled with slaves: having gone too far to leeward, he was unable again to find the casks. The report then continued to observe upon the attempts which had been made by England, and some other powers, to put a stop to this inhuman trade, and concluded by alluding to the prosperous state of Sierra Leone at the present moment. In 1820 the population was 12,521, being an increase of 2956 since 1818; and of these 2907 were educated in the schools.

Royal Humane Society.—The 47th anniversary of this admirable institution, was on Wednesday, March 28, celebrated by a numerous and highly respectable assemblage of noblemen and gentlemen, at the City of London; the Duke of Northumberland, president, in the chair. The cases which have come under the notice of the society during the year amount to 150, of which number 131 were successful, and 19 unsuccessful. The number of successful cases added to that of former years, amounts to 5020, and the number of claimants rewarded, also added to the total of former years, amounts to 20,340.

Freemasons' Female School.—Wednesday, April 4, the anniversary of this establishment was held at Freemasons' Hall, H. R. H. the duke of Sussex, G. M., in the chair, supported by the duke of Leinster, and lord Dundas. Nearly 500 gentlemen sat down to dinner, and the gallery was filled by ladies: 70 children of this school were introduced, by whom a hymn was sung, accompanied by Mr. Wesley on the organ. The collection amounted to near £775, including £20. from his majesty.

Westminster Irish Free School.—On Friday evening, April 7th, a respectable meeting of the friends of this institution was held at the Swan Inn, Westminster; Benjamin Shaw, Esq. in the chair. In November, 1819, and during the winter of that year, some friends visited the poor Irish families at

their own habitations: and such was the distress they endured, that it would be difficult to convey any clear idea of it to persons who had not witnessed the scene. The report states—"That under these circumstances it was proposed to make an appeal to the public in behalf of these sufferers, to provide food for the parents, and education for their children. This was done by public advertisement. The sum of £112. was contributed. Some necessary articles of clothing and bedding were redeemed; and the rest of the money was expended in coals, herrings, potatoes, and bread. An Irish master and mistress were obtained, and instructed in the British system of education—two schools were opened. The children daily increased, and the committee made the experiment of raising a permanent Irish Free School at Old Pye Street, Westminster; after the example of the St. Giles's Irish Free School, on the same basis, viz.: That no books be used in reading but a spelling-book, and the Holy Scriptures; and that the children be at liberty to attend such places of worship, on the Lord's day, as their parents prefer." As yet the committee had obtained but few subscribers; but were desirous of being able to show proofs of the practicability of collecting a number of poor children, who could not pay any weekly sum whatever; and whose parents, being chiefly Roman Catholics, have strong objections to their children being taught the Catechism used in the National Schools. Their worthy treasurer was willing to advance the requisite supplies for fitting up the schools, the rent, and pay of the master and mistress. This encouraged the committee to persevere, not doubting but it would appear to the first annual meeting, that the children would be essentially improved in their morals and conduct. They are now enabled to present before the meeting, both boys and girls, who could not tell their letters when they entered the school, and who now can read the Bible, and write an intelligible hand. They can produce girls who never handled a needle, who now exhibit good specimens of needle-work. Some of the scholars attended, and fully justified the report of the committee. Since the commencement of the schools, in Jan. 1820, 400 children have been admitted, 180 continue on the register. The rooms are completely full, and were the funds sufficient, there is no doubt a much greater number might be collected. The expenditure, for one year and a quarter, has been £142. 5s. 3d.; towards which £30. 11s. 6d. only has been collected, leaving a balance of £111. 13s. 9d. due to the treasurer.

Mr. Owen's Plan.—Mr. Owen has presented to the county of Lanark a report of his plan for the relief of the poor and working classes, to which is subjoined an Appendix, in which is contained extracts from the minutes of a county meeting, held on the 16th of last November, approving many of the practical parts of the said plan, particularly the spade husbandry, and recommending experiments to be made thereon. At the same time, that they avoid sanctioning Mr. O.'s peculiar theories, they pay a respectful compliment to his philanthropy. At the same meeting, Mr. Hamilton, of Dalzell, made the offer of letting from 500 to 700 acres of land at a grain rent, on condition of the county expending £40,000. in forming the settlement, for which they are to receive interest, and a return of the principal in twenty years. Mr. Hamilton undertakes gratuitously to superintend the whole, and intimates his opinion that this economy might save the expense of erecting a bridewell; but Mr. Owen objects strongly to delinquents being mixed with the industrious classes. On the 9th of April, a respectable meeting of the noblemen, freeholders, justices of the peace, commissioners of supply, and clergy of the county of Lanark, was held at Hamilton, to take into consideration Mr. Owen's report and plan for giving permanent productive employment to the poor and working classes; Sir J. Stewart in

the chair; when, after some opposition from lord Belhaven and Mr. Brown, who pressed an adjournment for a month, to give time for considering the matter, on a division of 23 to 7, a committee was then appointed to prepare petitions to both Houses of Parliament, praying them to take the plan into consideration; and, after some delay, petitions were produced, read, and adopted.

Seamen's Hospital.—Tuesday, April 17, a meeting was held at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of receiving the report of a committee deputed to make the preliminary arrangements for the establishing of a floating hospital for the relief of sick and diseased seamen, a large number of whom are annually left destitute in the metropolis; the bishop of Chester in the chair, supported by admiral lord Gambier, lord Calthorpe, and several naval and mercantile characters. The report, which enforced the necessity of such an institution as that alluded to, was read; and stated, that the hospital will be formed on board the ship *Grampus* (a two-decker) which has been liberally presented by his majesty's government for the purpose. A naval surgeon will reside on board; it will also be attended by visiting physicians and surgeons, who have kindly offered their gratuitous services, and will be rendered as congenial as possible to the feelings of the individuals for whose benefit it is intended.

Society for the Improvement and Encouragement of Female Servants.—On Wednesday the 18th of April, this society held their eighth anniversary at the London Tavern: at which the lord mayor presided. The report stated, that five servants had received gratuities on their marriage, with consent of their mistresses; and 264 others, for their continuance in the same service for terms of from one to eight years, since their nomination on the society's books. Many of them had lived in service several years previous to that time. Near 400 engagements between ladies who are subscribers, and servants, had been made at the gratuitous registry of the society. It concluded by regretting that a society calculated to do so much good, should be limited to about 600 subscribers only, while, at a very small additional expense, three times that number of families and servants might be materially served.

Royal Universal Dispensary for Children, St. Andrew's Hill, Doctors' Commons.—This important institution, founded in the year 1816, by Dr. John Davis, for the sole purpose of affording prompt medical and surgical aid to the sick children of the necessitous poor in all parts of the metropolis and its vicinity; without recommendation where danger exists, has been recently honoured with the approbation and patronage of his majesty. A special general meeting of the directors and governors was held at the Mansion House, on Thursday the 19th of April; the lord mayor in the chair, to receive a communication from the king, addressed by lord Sidmouth to the duke of Beaufort, one of the vice patrons, in which his majesty was graciously pleased to signify that he had taken this charity under his royal protection. Since its opening no less than 13,202 objects have been relieved, and with a view to increase the facilities to the poor for assistance for their children, stations have been opened in Lambeth and in Southwark, offering the same benefits as the Parent Institution.

The Public Hospitals.—On Easter Monday, at noon, after a grand *déjeuné* given by the lord mayor, the usual procession of the Christ's Hospital and Bridewell boys took place from the Mansion House to Christ's Church, Newgate Street, where a sermon was preached by the bishop of Llandaff, from Hebrews, x. 32d and 38th verses. After the sermon, the state of the different hospitals was read as follows:—

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.	
Children apprenticed last year	181
Buried last year	11
Now under care in London and Hertford	1058
To be admitted this time	140

1390

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.	
In-patients cured and discharged	4057
Out-patients do. last year	5700
In-patients under cure	480
Out-patients ditto	330
Buried after much charge	314

10,881

ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL.	
In-patients cured and discharged	2974
Out-patients ditto	7528
In-patients under cure	439
Out-patients ditto	285
Buried after much charge	225

In all, during last year..... 11,451

BETHLEM HOSPITAL.	
Remaining the 1st of Jan. 1820.	
Curables, men 28; women 41	69
Incurables, men 4; women 7	11
Criminals	62

142

Admitted in 1820.	
Curables	124
Incurables	11
Criminals	12

347

Discharged in 1820.	
Curables	135
Incurables	15
Criminals	10

160

Remaining in the Hospital to Jan. 1, 1821.	
Curables	70
Incurables	65
Criminals	52

187

London Female Penitentiary.—Monday, May 7th, the anniversary of this institution was held at Stationers' Hall; W. Alers Hankey, Esq. in the chair. The report stated, that the committee had great reason to hope that their efforts to restore helpless females who were in imminent danger of irretrievable destruction, had in many cases been effectual; and represented the necessity of supporting the society by an increase of subscription, as the funds had fallen £200. short of the expenses in the last year.

OBITUARY.

MR. JOHN SCOTT.—This lamented victim to a false sense of honour, and to the toleration of a barbarous custom in Christian countries and civilized life, was a native of Scotland, and received his education in the University of Aberdeen. On leaving his native country, he obtained a situation in the War Office, which he soon relinquished for the hazard of a literary life, though in his case, an unusual degree of success rendered the change no less advantageous to his interests, than it was congenial to his taste. For some time he edited the *Stamford News*, a provincial paper in considerable repute amongst the opponents of the present ministry; but returning to London, he conducted for a while the *Champion*, a weekly paper, which he himself established. In 1815, he published his "Visit to Paris," the most popular, perhaps, of all the tours, with which, on the opening of the continent, English curiosity was so abundantly supplied. The rapid sale which it experienced, enabled him to take another trip to the French capital, and the result of his acute, though somewhat prejudiced observations, upon the manners and institutions of our gay and volatile neighbours, was soon presented to the public in a lively and animated work, called "*Paris re-visited*," which, also, deservedly obtained a wide circulation. Shortly afterwards, he experienced a severe domestic calamity, in the decease of one of his children, when he gave vent to his grief in a poem, entitled "*The House of Mourning*," a production which did more honour to his feelings as a man, than to his reputation as a literary character. On the establishment of the *London Magazine* in the beginning of the last year, he was engaged as its editor, an office for which his talents and his industry eminently qualified him. Under his able conduct, the work rose into considerable repute, and its increasing sale afforded him the prospect, not only of a comfortable livelihood, but of making some provision for his family. In an evil hour, however, he inserted in its pages an attack upon Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, in the course of which he made some very severe animadversions upon Mr. Lockhart, a Scotch advocate, who is generally supposed to be one of its editors. For those animadversions, that gentleman called Mr. Scott to an account, or in the language of the world, demanded satisfaction, through the medium of a friend in London. That satisfaction Mr. Scott refused, until Mr. Lockhart should disavow the connexion with the *Edinburgh Magazine*, imputed to him; and on his declining to comply with this preliminary demand, a statement of the correspondence was published on both sides, in the course of which, Mr. Christie, the friend of Mr. Lockhart, who had originally waited on Mr. Scott, made some remarks, which the latter gentleman conceived to be derogatory to his character; and thereupon, after all explanation had been refused, called him to the field, in which he himself met with his death-wound from the second pistol-shot of his opponent, on the 23d of February. The place of meeting was Chalk Farm—the time between eight and nine o'clock on a moonlight evening. Mr. Christie fired his first shot in the air, and meant not to have taken aim the second time, but a lamentable want of consideration on the part of the seconds, and of Mr. Scott's, especially, seems to have prevented that explanation, to which the principals were, evidently, both favourably inclined. On this point we wish not, however, to enlarge. The survivors of this unhappy party have been put upon their trial for murder, and acquitted by a jury of their country, of whose verdict, as the law now stands, we do not complain, especially as a technical objection, founded in the main upon just and correct principles, prevented the chief evidence against them from being given. But on the other hand,

we deem it more than time, that an express provision of our legislature should pronounce all duelling, on which the death of either party follows, to be murder, as it must now be deemed in the judgment of every man of proper feelings upon the subject, and unquestionably will be in the sight of God. Strong, indeed, must be the hold which this false sense of honour, and fear of the world's laugh, has gained on society, when those literary men, who ought to be the foremost to point out its absurdity and its ruinous effects, are amongst the first to give it the force of their example. Christian courage is, however, of another and a higher mould; and professing to conduct this journal upon the principles of our holy faith, we have availed ourselves of the melancholy occurrence, which has deprived the public of a man well calculated to instruct and improve the age in which he lived—a wife of an affectionate husband—his children of their father and their chief support, to enter our decided protest against this barbarous practice. “Thou shalt do no murder; thou shalt not kill,” is the express command of God, the clear language of revelation, which no evil passions of man can abrogate—no practice of society can ever change.

PROVINCIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Deaths.—*Jan.* 23. M. Gauteret, who on the 10th of the same month had visited Mount Vesuvius, in company with a friend, with whom he had travelled from Marseilles. On his return to the hermitage, he effaced his name from the hermit's book, in which he had previously written it, but made an engagement with his friend to re-visit the mountain, and called on him for that purpose, but found him not able to go, on account of the injury his health had sustained by their former ascent. Somewhat disappointed at the circumstance, on the Sunday (three days afterwards) he came to the hermitage, where he slept, after passing the whole day on the mountain. On Monday he employed himself in collecting pieces of lava; on Tuesday, after telling the hermit he must go once more to see the source of the lava, he ascended the mountain, accompanied by his guide. He had no sooner reached the crater, than he gave his watch, his hat, and a piece of money, to the guide, desiring him to impress the lava; a common practice, but probably done to divert his attention. He then enveloped himself in his mantle, and plunged into the burning crater, whence he was immediately thrown out, and presented a most horrid spectacle, all in flames. The guide saw him descending the river of fire till he could see him no more! He has left a memorandum in the book, exonerating the guide from all suspicion of guilt; and stating it to be his voluntary act, he having been always unfortunate. —*Feb.* In the workhouse of St. Giles's in the Fields, the Rev. Mr. Blatel, R. L. S., formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, and late curate of Lyss Hants. He was an excellent classical and mathematical scholar, but having no employment during the last three years, was greatly distressed, and ultimately died of a wound in the leg, too long neglected before he threw himself on the parish.—3. At Tschetschelsck, in the government of Podolsk, at an advanced age, Field Marshal Count Gudrovitch.—Suddenly, at St. Petersburg, Admiral Sir George Tate, Knt. of St. Wyldeemar, a native of England, who had spent the last 55 years of his life in the Russian service.—22. At Rome, in a decline, John Keats, author of *Endymion*, and other poems.—24. At Bourdeaux, Robert Harding Evans, esq., editor of the parliamentary reports for 1818, 19, &c.—27. In Bolton Row, viscount Chetwynd, 64.—In consequence of an apoplectic fit, in the 78th year of his age, his serena

and royal highness, William, elector of Hesse Cassel. He was immensely rich, 12,000,000 of francs, in specie, having been found in his private treasury. He is succeeded by his only son, William, a prince now in his 44th year.—*March 1.* At an advanced age, John Yenn, esq., F. A. S., nearly 40 years treasurer and a trustee of the royal academy.—4. The princess Elizabeth, daughter of the duke and duchess of Clarence, aged 2 months and 22 days.—5. In Somers'-town, at an advanced age, Richard Twiss, esq., well known as the author of "Travels through Portugal and Spain;" "A Tour through Ireland;" "Anecdotes of Chess;" "A Trip to Paris;" "Miscellanies," and other works in the lighter walks of literature. His fortune, originally ample, had been materially injured by an unsuccessful speculation in the manufacture of paper from straw.—15. At Stockholm, baron Nieldo Edelcrantz, a native of Finland, and president of the board of trade at Stockholm.—17. At Paris, M. de Fontanes, translator of Pope's Essay on Man, and successively editor or one of the conductors of *Le Moderateur*, *Le Memorial*, and *Le Mercure de France*. For his concern in the second, he was, during the revolution, sentenced to be transported, which he avoided by escaping to England; but his property was confiscated. He was a member of the Institute, and under Buonaparte grand master of the University of Paris, and president of the legislative body. He was a zealous advocate, however, for the restoration of the Bourbons, and on their return, was raised to the peerage.—21. At his house in Portman-place, in his 64th year, Michael Bryan, esq., author of "The Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers."—25. At Halifax, Nova Scotia, the right rev. Edmund Burke, R. C. bishop of Sion, and V. A. in Nova Scotia.—The princess Charlotte of Bavaria.—31. At his house in Pall-mall, in his 81st year, Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, bart. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his nephew, Sir Henry Edward Bunbury, who was knighted for his services at the battle of Maida.—At Rome, in his 72d year, cardinal Anthony Maria Doria Pamphili.—*April.* At Hanover, A. Herschell, esq., well known as a profound and elegant musician. He was brother to Sir W. Herschell, the celebrated astronomer.—6. In the 58th year of his age, after an apoplectic seizure, the rev. George Ford, upwards of twenty-five years pastor of the independent congregation at Stepney.—Charles Pieschell, esq., aged 70. His life was distinguished by a constant display of acts of benevolence. By his will he bequeathed £33,336. in the three per cent consols, with the compound interest to be accumulated for three years after his death, for the foundation of a school, in or near Magdeburg, where the testator was born, for poor boys and girls born in the neighbourhood.—12. Sir J. Charles Richardson, bart., Commander R. N.—14. In Berners Street, Mr. Bartleman, the celebrated bass singer, 53.—16. At the College of Arms, G. Harrison, esq., late Clarenceux king of arms, and nearly 40 years treasurer of that corporation, 81.—20. At Rome, Lieut.-Gen. Read, of Crowood Park, Wilts. His death was occasioned by poison, administered by a Venetian servant whom he had hired at Paris, and who was afterwards found to have been seven years in the galleys.—23. In Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, H. Edridge, esq., A. R. A.—25. At his house in Bruton Street, in the 78th year of his age, Henry Lawes Luttrell, earl of Carhampton, governor of Dublin, patent customer at Bristol, a general in the army, and col. of the 6th reg. of dragoons. His lordship was eldest son of the first lord Ingham, celebrated as the hero of the Diaboliad, and brother to the beautiful Miss Luttrell, afterwards duchess of Cumberland. He has himself obtained a conspicuous place on the page of history, by his having been the candidate opposed to Wilkes, at the Middlesex election, after his second expulsion, whom the vote of the House of Commons seated as the duly elected member for the county,

though he had scarcely a fourth of the votes of his opponent. For his conduct on this occasion he was amply rewarded by ministers, and as liberally abused by what were then termed the patriotic writers for the press, and by none more bitterly than by the unknown author of the Letters of Junius. His lordship dying without issue, is succeeded in his title and estates by his brother, the hon. John Luttrell Olmuis, who assumed the latter name, on succeeding to the estates of lord Waltham.—30. At the advanced age of 91, the marquess of Drogheda.—*May*. At Brussels, the right hon. Randall Plunkett, thirteenth lord Dunsany, who is succeeded by his eldest son, Edward Wadding Plunkett, an officer in the guards, who distinguished himself during the late arduous contests, and was severely wounded in Egypt.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. R. H. Barham, R. of Snargate, a minor canon in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Ordinations, &c.—*Jan*. 1. Rev. W. Young, over the baptist church, in Alfred Place, Kent Road.—*April* 23. The congregation of the Scots' church, Swallow Street, gave an harmonious call to the rev. John Marshall, to be their minister in place of the late rev. Dr. Nicol.—*May* 6. On Sunday, at the parish church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, a converted Jew was ordained by the right rev. the lord bishop of St. David's, in the presence of a very large congregation.

New Chapels.—*Oct*. 31. A new meeting-house at Somers' Town, in lieu of that burnt down, March 8, 1820, was opened for public worship; preachers, rev. Drs. Waugh and Rippon; and the rev. Mr. Ivimey.—*Nov*. 1. A new baptist chapel was opened in Alfred Place, Kent Road; preachers, rev. Messrs. Stoddart, of Pell Street; Shenstone, of Silver Street; and Chin, of Walworth.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Death.—*May*. Rev. W. Freeman, pastor of the baptist church at Caddington Cotton End.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. T. Barber, B. D. Houghton Conquest, cum Houghton Goldople annexed, R.

BERKSHIRE.

Deaths.—*March* 9. At Maidenhead Bridge, N. Pocock, esq., the celebrated marine painter, 81.—*April* 22. At Windsor, rev. J. Graham, M. A., vicar, and chaplain to the duke of York, 65.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. J. S. Clarke, LL. D., domestic chaplain to the king, a prebendary of Windsor.—Rev. Isaac Gossett, A. M., chaplain at Windsor Castle, and minister of Datchett, New Windsor, V.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Deaths.—*March*. At Tyingham, rev. J. Praed.—*April* 5. J. Johnson, esq., of Seymour Court, near Marlow, author of various political letters, &c., under the signature of Timothy Trueman.—16. In his 74th year, rev. Thomas Scott, R. of Aston Sandford, Bucks, author of the well known Commentary on the Scriptures, the "Force of Truth," and many other valuable theological works. He retained the full vigour of his mental faculties to the last.—*May*. At Olney, aged 65, Elizabeth Robinson, better known by the humble appellation of "Poor Bet Robinson." She was considered in the town and neighbourhood to have been the Crazy Kate of Cowper's Task.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. E. M. Willan, Oving, R.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Deaths.—*March*. At Thorney, aged 76, rev. J. Girdlestone, M. A., incumbent curate of Thorney Abbey for more than 50 years.—*April* 23. At Landbeach, rev. T. C. Burroughs, M. A., R.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. Edward Addison, B. D., Landbeach, R.

University Intelligence.—May 1. The first stone of the new observatory was laid by the rev. Dr. Wordsworth, vice-chancellor.

CHESHIRE.

Deaths.—March. At Macclesfield, rev. J. Norbury.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. W. H. Galfeldiro Mann, B. A., Bowdon, V.—Rev. Joshua King, M. A., R. of St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, Woodchurch, R.

Ordination.—Oct. 12. Rev. J. Swinton, and James Bradford, as pastors with rev. James Thompson, over the particular baptist church at Hill Cliff, with its branches at Cherry Lane and Little Leigh.

CORNWALL.

Deaths.—March. At Wick St. Mary, rev. Edward Baines, R.

Ordination.—April 12. Rev. Alexander Good, late of East Bergholt, Suffolk, (grandson of the late rev. Peter Good, of Havant) over the independent church and congregation at Launceston, Cornwall.

CUMBERLAND.

Deaths.—March 20. At Wigton, Sarah Johnstone, 110. She was a native of Scotland.—May. As the eldest son of Mr. R. Armstrong, of Brampton, was returning home from Hawistie, he was struck down by lightning, and both he and his horse were instantaneously killed. When he was found, all his clothes, with the exception of his stockings and shoes, were torn to pieces, and some of the fragments were picked up at nearly an hundred yards distance. There were deep wounds in the neck and thigh, and the few clothes which remained, were burning when found. The saddle was also torn to pieces, and the hair nearly singed off the horse.

DERBYSHIRE.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. S. Butler, D. D., head master of Shrewsbury school, archdeaconry of Derby.

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—Sir G. Crew, high sheriff of this county, lately called on the nobility and gentry to discontinue the assize balls, as being held at a most improper time for gaiety and pleasure. He proposed the king's birth day and the Michaelmas sessions, as more proper periods. The example he has so laudably set, will, we hope, be speedily followed in other counties.

DEVONSHIRE.

Deaths.—March. Rev. C. B. Daniel.—April 2. At Sidmouth, rev. W. Jenkins, 72.—12. At the chapel-house, Stonehouse, of an apoplectic seizure, Rev. A. J. Simon, minister of the large Roman Catholic congregation of the three towns.—16. Rev. J. V. Brutton; he was at church on Sunday, and appeared in usual health; but was found dead in his bed on the following morning.—May. At Cornwood, near Plymouth, aged 100, J. Sherrill, retaining the use of all his faculties to the last.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. T. Lawes, Halberton, V.—Rev. W. Jenkins, M. A., Sidmouth, V.—Rev. J. Townsend, Taunton, St. James's; patron, sir T. B. Lethbridge, bart.—Rev. W. Chanter, Welcombe, P. C.—Rev. T. Hobbs, Templeton, R.

Ordination.—Dec. 13. Rev. M. Pulsford, over the baptist church at Great Torrington.

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—The episcopal palace of Exeter is undergoing a thorough repair, at an expense of about £3000. which is to be defrayed jointly by the dean and chapter, and the late and the present bishops.

DORSETSHIRE.

Death.—Feb. Aged 101, a woman of the name of Stanley, widow of the late Peter Staunley, well known in the counties of Wilts, Hants, and Dorset, as king of the Gypsies, of which she was queen dowager.

New Church.—A new parish church, dedicated to St. James, has lately been opened in the town of Poole.

Philanthropic Intelligence.—The magistrates have ordered a corn mill to be erected in Dorchester Gaol, for the employment of the prisoners sentenced to hard labour. From its peculiar construction, while it forces an active continuance of work, it will prove a source of emolument to the county.

DURHAM.

Death.—March 23. At South Shields, Mrs. Hannah Marshall, 101.

New Churches, &c.—The chapel belonging to the establishment at Hylton Ferry, near Sunderland, erected and endowed in 1817, at the sole expense of captain Maling, R. N., having had a number of free seats for the neighbouring poor, added by a grant of £500. from the society for enlarging and building churches and chapels, was lately consecrated by the bishop of St. David's.

ESSEX.

Death.—May 8. At Laytonstone, of a rapid decline, rev. W. Hanbury, M.A., chaplain to his majesty's palace court.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. T. Mills, chaplain in ordinary to the king, Little Henney, R.—Rev. R. Hoblyn, R. of All Saints, Colchester, St. Lawrence, Newland, R.—Rev. F. Corsellis, M.A., Tinguinhoe, V.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. J. Mayo, M.A., Ozleworth, R.

HAMPSHIRE.

Deaths.—April. At Bearbridge Farm, near Winchester, Mr. Knight, a very eccentric character, in the 80th year of his age. He had not been at church for many years, his house having been formerly robbed whilst he attended divine service; he kept no chair in his house, his only seat being a sack of corn, which was also his pillow: he always got his corn in on sledges made of boards nailed together; he never baked loaves of bread, but had his corn ground one way, which he had made into cakes. His house appeared as if never cleaned. He has left the whole of his property to a niece, who lived with him from a child, and was accustomed to his habits.

—30. At Belle Vue, near Southampton, admiral sir Richard Rodney Bligh, G.C.B. Born in Cornwall, in 1737, of an ancient and noble family, he entered at a very early period of life the naval service of his country, to which his godfather, the celebrated lord Rodney, had been so distinguished an ornament. In November, 1794, having attained to the rank of post captain, and to the command of the *Alexander* of 74 guns, he exhibited, in a most unequal combat with a French squadron, consisting of 5 ships of 74 guns, 3 large frigates, and a brig, such courage and abilities, as have never been surpassed in the annals of the British navy. He has left behind him, besides several daughters, all married, one son, captain George Miller Bligh, R.N., who was severely wounded by a musket shot through the breast, in the memorable battle of Trafalgar, in which he served as lieutenant to the *Victory*, to which ship he was appointed at the express desire of lord Nelson, from a merited regard to his gallant father's distinguished conduct in the service.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. W. Evans, A.M., Wigmore, V.—Rev. Edward Howells, Preston cum Blakemore, V.

Ordinations.—Dec. 14. Rev. Samuel Blackmore, late a student at Bristol, over the Baptist church at Kayton.—April 18. Rev. B. Coombs, from Stepney Academy, over the Baptist church at Ross.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

On Monday, the 23d of April, the rev. T. Wilsreton, rector of Colne, refused to read the burial service over the deceased body of John Astwood, because he had not been baptized according to the ceremonies of the church of England, his parents being Dissenters. We doubt not but that his diocesan, on the representation of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, will soon teach this reverend bigot, that his knowledge of the ecclesiastical law of the land is on a par with his Christian charity.

KENT.

Deaths.—*Feb.* At Stonehouse, in the 108th year of her age, M. Clarke, a native of Dundee. Tea was her constant beverage, and she never drank either beer or spirits.—*15.* At Eltham, rev. Dr. Wilgress, R. of Rawreth, Essex, and late reader at the Temple Church.—*March.* At Bromley, in his 64th year, rev. W. Girdlestone, R. of Killing cum Salthouse.—At Hinnington, rev. M. Preston, D.D., vicar.—*April 5.* At Greenwich Hospital, admiral sir John Colpoys, governor of that asylum.—*May 15.* At Woolwich, John Bonnycastle, esq., long eminent as the author of very able treatises on Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, Algebra, Astronomy, and other valuable elementary works in Mathematics, and for many years professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military College.

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—An aperture, nearly two miles and a half in length, is now effected for a tunnel under the hills between Gravesend and Rochester, to complete the canal uniting the Thames and Medway.

LANCASHIRE.

Death.—*May 4.* At Manchester, where he was to preach on the succeeding Sabbath, the rev. Noah Blackburn, for many years the laborious and exemplary pastor of the Independent congregation at Delph. So sudden and so tranquil was his death, that when his wife rose from his side in the morning, she supposed that he was asleep—but it was a sleep which knows no waking, until the resurrection of the just, in which the uniform evidence of his faith and works leaves no room to doubt that he will have a part. The two last texts he preached from, on the Sunday preceding his death, were remarkable: “My times are in thy hands,” and “I heard a voice from heaven saying, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.” To him may we well apply the remainder of the latter passage, “He rests from his labours, and his works do follow him.”

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. Lowther Grisdale, Walmsley, P. C.—Rev. Dr. Williams, of Stroud, to the church of St. Matthew, Liverpool; on the nomination of rev. Dr. Holliday, V. of Stanton, Salop.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Death.—*March.* At Billesden, Hugh Philips, 103.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Deaths.—*Feb. 14.* At North Cockerington, Mrs. J. Foster, 100.—At Deeping St. James, Mrs. E. Cook, 100.—*March 2.* At Telford, near Horncastle, rev. J. Dymoke, rector of Brinkhill.—*May.* Rev. J. Myers, R. of Wyberton, &c. many years chaplain at Grimsthorpe Castle.—6. Whilst attending divine service, at Horbling Church, the rev. Bernard Cracroft, rector of East Keel, and vicar of South Elkington; he expired whilst surrounded by his family in his pew, from an attack of *angina pectoris*.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. Matthew Barnett, of Market Rasen, North Willingham, V.; patron, Ayscoghe Boucherett, esq., of Willingham House.—Rev. James Giffard, M.A., V. of Wooton, Cabourne, V.—Rev. T. Furness, B.A., Oxcomb, R.—Hon. and rev. J. Fortescue, M.A., Andarby

cum Cumberworth, R.—Rev. R. Sessions, head master, and rev. Richard Thomas, under master, of Lincoln Grammar School.

New Chapel.—*March 22.* A new chapel was opened at Horncastle; preachers, rev. Messrs. Byron, of Lincoln; Pain, of Hoxton Academy; and Haynes, of Boston.

MIDDLESEX.

Deaths.—*March.* Mrs. Evans, at the Post Office, Hampstead; an old and respectable inhabitant, and a native of Dorchester.—Mrs. Jane Watkins, of the same place, after a long illness, which she sustained with un murmuring resignation.—15. At her house, on Holly Bush Hill, Hampstead, Mrs. Friscilla Lepper, aged 71; she was universally respected and beloved by all who knew her. These three individuals belonged to the congregation and church of the rev. J. Snelgar, and died within the period of three weeks.

Ordination.—*Oct. 26.* Rev. Josiah Durham, late of Stepney Academy, over the Baptist church at Bromley.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Deaths.—*Feb. 10.* At Caerwent, near Chepstow, Charles King, a labourer, 107.—*May.* At Tregerog, rev. J. Williams, 29.

NORFOLK.

Deaths.—*May.* At Stalham, rev. J. Berney.—Rev. R. E. Brown, of Elsinghall, 83.—13. At Norwich, W. Stevenson, esq., upwards of 55 years proprietor of "The Norfolk Chronicle," and author of "A Supplement to Mr. Bentham's History and Antiquities of the Cathedral of Ely." It was through his patronage that Mrs. Elizabeth Bentley, a self-educated poetess of Norwich, was first known to the public; and shortly before his death, a second selection from her compositions was printed under his superintendence.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. W. Ewin Girdlestone, Kelling, with Salthouse annexed, R.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Death.—*March.* Rev. W. Stalman, son of rev. W. Stalman, of Stoke Bruerne, fellow of Brazen Nose College, Oxford.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. R. R. Bloxam, A.M., to be master of the school at Gainsborough.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Deaths.—*March.* At North Shore, near Newcastle, Mrs. Elizabeth Dryden, 107.—At Cullercoats, Mrs. Armstrong, 103.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Deaths.—*May.* Rev. J. T. Jordan, B.D., R. of Hickling.—At East Retford, rev. R. Morton, 77.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. T. Beckwith, East Retford, V.

OXFORDSHIRE.

Deaths.—*May.* Rev. James Griffiths, D.D., master of University College, and prebendary of Gloucester.—Rev. W. T. Beer, of Worcester College.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. J. Cleobury, Piddington, V.

RUTLANDSHIRE.

Death.—*May.* At Oakham, of an abscess in his head, rev. M. Macfarlane, curate, 33.

SHROPSHIRE.

Death.—*April 14.* In the act of retiring to rest, at Oldbury, near Bridgenorth, rev. T. Moses Lyster, R. of Nunton, Billingsley, and Oldbury, 68.

Ecclesiastical Preferments—Rev. T. H. Lowe, A.M., second portion of Holgate, R.—Rev. J. H. Bromby, V. of Hull, Cheswardine, V.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Deaths.—*March*. Rev. L. H. Luxton, B.A., prebendary of Wells, minister of Taunton St. James, and Ash Priors, and vicar of Holcombe Burnell, Devon.—At Crewkerne, rev. Mr. Blake.—W. Meyler, esq., 45; joint proprietor and editor of the Bath Herald, whose poetical productions early obtained the prize at Batheaston villa.—9. At Bath, S. Ram, esq., of Ramsfort, co. of Wexford, a bencher of the Middle Temple, 77.—16. In his 27th year, at the Lodge, Weston-in-Gordano, rev. Edward Newcome, A.B., of Jesus College, Cambridge, son of the late archbishop Newcome.—*May* 2. At Clifton, in her 82d year, Mrs. Hester Lynch Piozzi, formerly Mrs. Thrale, the friend and chit-chat biographer of Johnson, and one of the Della-Cruscan poets deservedly lashed by Gifford, in his Baviad and Mæviad. She was also a leading member of the Bas Bleu sisterhood.—15. In a house for the insane, near Bristol, Dr. Calcott, the celebrated composer of glees.—13. At Bristol, rev. Dr. Ford, V. of Melton Mowbray, 79.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. W. Proctor Thomas, LL.B., Holcombe, prebendary in Wells Cathedral.—Rev. P. A. French, Thorp Falcon, R.—Rev. R. T. Whalley, M.A., prebendary of Wells, Ilchester, and Yeovilton, R.R.—Rev. J. Turner Corston, V.—Rev. W. Harvey, LL.B., Crowcombe, R.—Rev. J. Townsend, Taunton St. Mary, P. C.—Rev. Richard Porter, master of the Chapter Grammar School, Bristol.

Ordination.—*Dec.* 20. Rev. W. H. Guy, from Hackney Academy, over the Independent church assembling at Hope Chapel, Bristol Hotwells.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. J. J. Drewe, Alstonefield, V.—Rev. J. Roberts, curate of St. Michael's, Derby, Quarnford, P. C.—Rev. J. T. Law, A.M., son of the bishop of Chester, mastership of St. John's Hospital, Lichfield.

SUFFOLK.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. T. Holmes, A.M., Holbroke, R.—Rev. H. W. Rous Birch, Yoxford, V., and Bedford, R.; patron, lord Rous.—Rev. Sterling Moseley Westthorp Sibton, V., with Peasenhall chap.

SURREY.

Deaths.—*March* 9. At his seat, Ham House, near Richmond, Wilbraham Tollemache, earl of Dysart. His sister, lady Louisa Manners, becomes the representative of the ancient and noble family of the Tollemaches, succeeding also to her brother's titles.—*May*. At Kennington, rev. M. Bréton, D.D., 74.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. Henry St. John, Putney, P. C.; on the nomination of the dean and chapter of Worcester.

SUSSEX.

Deaths.—*March*. At Chichester, rev. J. B. Carpenter, R. of Elsted.—*April* 1. At Brighton, sir Charles Edmonstone, of Dunheath, bart., M.P. for the county of Stirling.—7. At Milan, rev. W. H. Campion, R. of Westmeston and Street.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. R. Chester, A.M., Elstead, R.; patron lord Selsey.—Rev. G. Proctor, A.M., head master of Lewes School.

Ordination.—*Feb.* 28. Rev. James Puntis, late student at Stepney Academy, over the Baptist church at Battle.

New Chapel.—*Feb.* 27. A new Baptist place of worship, called Zion Chapel, was opened at Battle; preachers, rev. Messrs. Shirley, of Seven Oaks; Ivimey, and Hobby, of London.

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—An additional service is to be performed at the parish church of Brighton every Sunday, to commence at seven o'clock in the evening. This important regulation has been adopted at the suggestion of his majesty, who maintains the extra curate, necessary for the fulfilment of the duty, from his privy purse.

WARWICKSHIRE.

Deaths.—March 8. Rev. J. C. Townsend, R. of Allerton.—At Birchfield house, near Birmingham, sir Mark Sanders, bart., 70.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. Laurence Panting Gardiner, D.D., St. Philip's, Birmingham, R.; patron, the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

New Chapel.—Nov. 15. A new Baptist meeting-house was opened at Napton, near Southam; preachers, rev. Messrs. Franklin, of Coventry; Griffiths, of Long Buckby; and Bottomley, of Middleton.

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—Nearly £2000 has already been subscribed towards establishing a society for the encouragement of the fine arts at Birmingham. Sir R. Lawley, bart., the first projector, besides a handsome subscription, presented to it a valuable collection of casts from the antique.

WILTSHIRE.

Deaths.—March. At Shirston, Jacob Taylor, aged 103. He was a native of Calne, and in early life was a drover to Smithfield market. He had laboured under no bodily infirmity, except a defect in his eyesight, until the day preceding his death, having, during the last year of his life, frequently journeyed 10 miles to procure lime, which he afterwards disposed of in the neighbourhood.—May. At Broad Hinton, rev. W. Andrews, M.A., chaplain to lord Blaney, sometime assistant lecturer at High Wycombe.—3. At Calne, the rev. T. Greenwood, 80.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. W. Jennings, V. of East Garston, Berks, living of Baydon; patron, sir F. Burdett, bart.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Death.—Feb. 25. At Worcester, in his 74th year, Admiral West.

YORKSHIRE.

Deaths.—March. Rev. Mr. Moss; rev. J. Thompson.—At Brompton, J. Howard, carpenter, 101.—2. Rev. C. Hunter, pastor of the Baptist church, at Richmond.—At Thornton Hall, near Bedale, in the 83d year of his age, Frederick Dodsworth, D.D. senior canon of Windsor, R. of Spenilthorne, and P. C. of Cleasby, in the county of York.—9. At an advanced age, rev. John Myers, of Shipley-hall, near Bradford, and R. of Wyburton, Lincolnshire.—21. At Dore, near Sheffield, Mr. George Wainwright, 107.—At Whitby, in the 43d year of his age, Thomas Bateman, M.D. late of Bloomsbury Square, London, physician to the Public Dispensary and to the Fever Hospital. He was very assiduous and skilful in his profession, and contributed to its literature the following valuable works:—"Delineations of the Cutaneous Diseases." "A Practical Synopsis of Cutaneous Diseases, according to the Arrangement of Dr. Willan." "A succinct Account of the Typhus or Contagious Fever of this country, with the appropriate Method of Treatment as practised in the House of Recovery, &c." "Reports on the Diseases of London, and the State of the Weather, from 1804 to 1816, including practical Remarks on the Causes and Treatment of the former."—May. Rev. W. Northend, late dissenting minister of Brighouse, near Halifax.—17. In the 77th year of age, rev. W. Richardson, sub-chantor of the Cathedral, incumbent C. of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, and V. of St. Sampson's, York, where he had exercised his ministry within a few days of 50 years.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. J. Smyth, Keyingham, P. C.; rev. W. Wyvill, B.A. Spenithorne, R.; rev. W. L. Rickard, Rufforth, P. C.; rev. E. Jones, Donnington, R.; rev. C. Musgrove, A.M. Whitkirk, V.; rev. W. Bainbridge, of Tweedmouth, to be head master of Knaresborough Grammar School.

Ordination.—Nov. 7. Rev. B. Nightingale over the two Independent churches at Newton and Whymond Houses.

New Churches, &c.—The plans for the erection of three new churches in Leeds, are finally agreed upon, and £10,000. is expended upon each church. Sep. 20. A new chapel in the Independent denomination was opened at Ecclesfield; preachers, rev. Mr. Bennett, of Rotherham; Bowden and Smith, of Sheffield.—March 15. A new Baptist chapel was opened at Steep Lane, Sowerby; preachers, Dr. Steadman, of Bradford; rev. Messrs. Mann, of Shipley; Cockin, of Halifax; and Dyer, of Bacup.

Philanthropic Intelligence.—A new house of correction, upon an improved principle, is about to be erected on the Humber Bank at Hull, at an estimated expense of £19,000. In it the prisoners are to be employed in such labours as they are competent to undertake.

WALES.

Deaths.—Feb. 22. Rev. J. Grubb, of Presteign.—March. At Barmouth, Rev. T. Edwards.—At Maes y Groes, near Bangor, rev. J. Roberts, M.A.; R. of Llanllechyd, Caernarvonshire, and of Kiddington, Oxfordshire.—May. At Swansea, at an advanced age, Rev. Dr. Jenkins.—Near Brigend, Glamorganshire, rev. C. Galley, A.M. R. of Crokorne, Devon.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. Robert Williams to the living of Llandyfrog, Anglesea.—Rev. J. Jones, Llanvyrnach and Penrith, R.R. Pembrokeshire.—Rev. J. H. Cotton, to the living of Llanfleded, Anglesea.

Ordinations.—June 1, (1820).—Rev. Timothy Thomas, jun. over the Baptist church at Newcastle Emlyn, Caermarthenshire.—August 1. Rev. Mr. Ashford over the newly formed Baptist church at Welshpool.—May 16. Rev. W. Hammerton, at Bethesda chapel, in Gower, Glamorganshire, to assist in the churches gathered together by several ministers under the patronage of lady Barham.

New Chapels.—Oct. 10. A new Baptist chapel was opened at Pen-alt, near Monmouth; preachers, rev. Messrs. Fry, of Coleford; Phillips, of Caerleon; Lewis, of Chepstow; and James, of Pontrhydryn.—25. A new Baptist chapel was opened at Monmouth; preachers, rev. Messrs. Fry, of Coleford; Williams, of Ryeford; and Hawkins, of Eastcombe.—Nov. 21. A new Baptist chapel, called Glasgoed Chapel, was opened in the parish of Llanladock; preachers, rev. Messrs. Heley, of Llanwearnoth; Evans, of Pen-y-garn; Thomas, of Abergavenny; and Phillips, of Caerleon.—Dec. 1. A new Baptist chapel was opened at Ragland; preachers, rev. Messrs. Dyke, of Abergavenny; Phillips, of Caerleon; Jones, of Monmouth; and Davies, of Hereford.—May 14. The foundation-stone of a new chapel, to be called Immanuel Chapel, the fifth erected in Glamorganshire at the expense of lady Barham, was laid by rev. W. Hammerton.

SCOTLAND.

Deaths.—Feb. 2. Rev. James Innes, minister of Yester, East Lothian, in the 88th year of his age, and 61st of his ministry.—7. At Stobo Manse, rev. Alexander Ker, jun.—March 12. At Banff, rev. A. Gordon, 62.—23. At Paisley, rev. John Findlay, D.D. minister of the High Church for upwards of 40 years.—Apr. 2. At Edinburgh, Dr. James Gregory, professor of the practice of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, and first physician to his majesty for Scotland. The remains of this highly distinguished and amiable man

were interred at the Canongate church-yard on the 7th, attended by the lord provost and magistrates, all the members of the university, and an immense number of sorrowing friends. He was the fourth professor of his family, in a lineal descent; and from his ancestor, David Gregory, of Kinairdy, he was the 16th descendant who had held a professorship in a British university.—*April 12.* At Applegirch, sir Alexander Jardine, bart.—*13.* At Greenock, suddenly, the rev. Kenneth Bayne, minister of the Gaelic chapel, in the 54th year of his age, and 29th of his ministry.—*May.* At Shoal-house, Anne M'Rae, 112.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. Mark Aitkins to the united parishes of Dyke and Moy, Morayshire.—Rev. W. Proudfoot, minister of Slotts, to the parish of Avendale, Hamilton; patron, the duke of Hamilton.

Ordination.—Rev. David Young, called to be pastor of the associate congregation of Barrhead.

University Intelligence.—The provost, magistrates, and council of Edinburgh, on a leet, presented by the faculty of advocates, unanimously appointed sir Wm. Hamilton, bart. and Wm. Fraser Tytler, esq. advocates, to be joint professors of civil history and Roman antiquities, in the university, with benefit of survivorship.—Dr. Home has been chosen to fill the chair of the practice of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, vacant by the death of Dr. Gregory.

IRELAND.

Deaths.—*Feb. 23.* At Rockingham, in his 88th year, hon. col. King, governor of the county of Sligo, brother of Edward, earl of Kingston, and uncle of the present earl. His charitable donations in the town of Balina alone are said to have amounted regularly to at least £2000. per annum.—*March.* At Dublin, rev. Thomas Smyth, D.D. R. of Enniskillen, and V. of Santry.—*29.* At Sumerville, near Cashel, Ireland, the most R. Dr. Patrick Everard, R. C. archbishop of Cashel.—*April 6.* At Mount Stuart, Robert, marquess of Londonderry, who is succeeded in his titles by his eldest son, viscount Castlereagh. We have great pleasure in communicating the following information relative to the late marquess of Londonderry. On the estates, now his son's, there are no risings, no burnings, no nightly mob, no searching for arms, no putting people at the hazard of their lives—in a word, there is no disturbance, because there are no grievances. Being informed by his factor that the tenants were unable to pay their rents, he assembled them, and inquired what they were able to pay. They made their estimates. He ordered their old leases to be cancelled—gave them all receipts in full—and desired new ones to be made out according to the fair value of corn, and under the new leases his tenantry at present occupy their lands. But his lordship did not stop here. Some of the tenants had paid above the fair value of the land, in accordance with the terms of their agreement. "These tenants must," said the venerable nobleman, "have deprived themselves of the comforts and even the necessities of life. We must refund them a proportion of the rents." A great part was accordingly refunded. One widow lady received £200. and odd, back, and with the rest has her land at present on easy terms. This is doing the thing like a nobleman, like a man of humanity. It was almost the last act of the late lord Londonderry's life.—*26.* At Belfast, in the 46th year of his age, rev. W. Neilson, D.D. M.R.I.A. professor of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and head master of the classical school in the Belfast Academical Institution. He was author of the "Greek Exercises and Idioms," and of the "English and Irish Grammars," published under his name; and about a year before his death gave to the world an edition of "Moore's Greek Grammar," with large additions and improvements, an elementary work already adopted as

a text book in some of the universities of Scotland, and which has met with the decided approbation of the most competent judges. His literary character, particularly as a linguist, stood so high that the university of Glasgow, in which he had been educated, conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity, an honour as unexpected as it was unsolicited. From 1797 to 1818, he was the Presbyterian minister of Dundalk, from which place he removed in the latter year to Belfast.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. R. M. Mant, Mountsea V. and Kil-lodurwan R. in the diocese of Killaloe.—Dr. Laffin to be archbishop, and the very rev. Dr. Wright to be vicar capitular of the Roman catholic archdiocese of Cashel.

SUMMARY OF MISSIONARY PROCEEDINGS.

IN resuming our Summary of Missionary Proceedings, unavoidably omitted in the last Number, we are happy, on the whole, to have abundant cause for congratulating the Christian public on the encouraging complexion of the information communicated by the various societies, within the last six months.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE has recently received a very large addition to its funds, in the munificent legacy of £20,000. 3 per cent consols, bequeathed by the rev. Edward Parkinson, late rector of Great Leigh, Essex; and of other considerable bequests. Of its large, though not rapidly increasing revenues, £1000. has been granted to the special fund, for counteracting infidel publications, whose operations, if they have not been as effectual as could be wished, have, at least, been most zealous. In India there are now five diocesan and district committees in connexion with this society, and they are actively engaged in the establishment of schools, in circles consisting of five native, and one central English school. The first circle in the neighbourhood of Calcutta is nearly completed: and, under the direction of the active bishop of that diocese, a Christian school, somewhat on the footing of an English parochial one, is about to be erected on a spot, liberally granted by government—from funds left by will at his lordship's disposal, for some charitable purpose. Depots for the sale and distribution of the books and tracts of the society, have also been established in different parts of Bengal, and new ones are establishing, for the supply, amongst others, of the military hospitals, orphan schools, and other public establishments; and also of the pilot schooners, of this extensive and thickly populated commercial district. A considerable increase has lately been observed with pleasure in the demand for Bibles, a supply of which, with other religious works, has been sent to John Adams and his little interesting colony on Pitcairn's island—whence it is hoped, that some opportunity will, ere long, be found of conveying the knowledge of the Christian religion to some of the neighbouring islands, whose inhabitants never heard the name of God or of his Son. Eight hundred school books have also been placed at the disposal of the chaplain at New South Wales, who estimates the number of children of European parents there, at 5,000. To meet the increasing demands of these new fields of operation for its exertions, the society has placed a further sum of £1,000. at the disposal of the bishop of Calcutta, and also voted £5,000. towards the establishment of a missionary college in the metropolis of that see. The district committee at Bombay has lately had a considerable augmentation of its resources, in an annual grant of the governor in council, of 842 rupees, for the supply,

through the committee, of a certain number of books to the English troops in hospital, and the English seamen of the company's cruisers. Co-operating most cordially with the Bombay education society, they have also engaged to supply all schools in any way connected with it, with books gratuitously, as they accordingly now do for 600 children, of whom about 200 are natives. The committee at Madras are also equally active with the two already referred to; they are carrying on the establishment of book depots with vigour, and the ancient missions of this venerable society in their district are about to be re-established and increased with every prospect of success. On their behalf, the chaplain at Palmacotta has recently visited those in that remote district, and reports of the condition of the two stations, Nazareth and at Mothalloor, that he had seldom witnessed so much religion in a town in England, as was conspicuous there; indeed, such was the effect of the order observed in these two protestant villages in the midst of a pagan land, that some of the Hindoos of the neighbourhood candidly admitted that they were very quiet and safe places. At present they are under the sole care of the native priests; one of them (Vissivarsemadur) converted since the last report of this society, a man of considerable abilities, as well as of genuine piety, the chaplain heard deliver a sermon to his own congregation, that would have done credit to a minister of superior and more regular clerical education. Both to him and to Abraham, (the other native priest) their flock and the surrounding Christians seem to be very warmly attached, and if properly encouraged, they may be the means of doing much good. By a religious tract society, established in this presidency, in 1818, and having now an annual revenue of about £140. three tracts, of 4,000 copies each, have been printed in Telogoo and Tamul, in which last language Dr. Rottler has completed a translation of the liturgy of the church of England, now about to be introduced among the Palmacotta churches.

Our MORAVIAN brethren are still proceeding slowly, but surely, in their honourable work of at once evangelizing and civilizing the Hottentots of Southern Africa. At their flourishing settlement of Gaudenthal, a garden in the midst of a desert, they have now 1,400 inhabitants, and 500 communicants, and are frequently cheered in their exertions by the dying testimony of these converted savages to the truth in Jesus. The whole settlement evince in their conduct, the beneficial influence of the instruction they have received, in changing them from worse than idle rovers, into industrious labourers, and useful members of society. In the re-established settlement of Eanon, rapid progress is making towards providing the missionaries, and their interesting protégées, 162 in number, with the necessaries, and such of the conveniencies of life, as are to be obtained in a region where the tiger, the elephant, and the lion, dispute with them the possession of the soil, and the property in their flocks and herds, whilst they must live in constant jeopardy of a repetition of the marauding incursions of more cruel men, by which they were recently driven from their humble and peaceful colony in the pathless wild. Well, indeed, may it be said of them, that they go forth to their great work with their lives in their hands, but they go forth, we rejoice to know, beneath the guardian protection of Him who never slumbereth, but whose eyes are always upon those who do his will, and that to bless and to protect them. By His blessing on their endeavours, the prospect is widely changed since they came hither. Corn is now growing, where, four months before, the bushes were so thick, that a dog could scarcely have made his way through them. The Caffres have not yet exhibited any symptoms of a wish to break the treaty of peace they have entered into, and hopes are entertained that this disposition will be lasting. In this hope we the more willingly indulge, in that a race as wild,

been in another part of the world to have been subdued, by the blessing of God on their exertions, to habits of peace, order, and religion. The mission to the Cherokee Indians, after nearly twenty years of patient waiting for the out-pouring of the spirit, and of hoping against hope, has recently proved a most eminently successful one. Chiefly by a steady perseverance in educating the children of the natives, even after many of the warm friends of the mission had considered the measure hopeless, a general inquiry after the better road in which they were taught to tread has been excited in their parents, especially in their mothers, who have here, as every where, the greatest influence over, and connexion with, the rising generation. A new station is about to be formed at Oustolochy, the capital, as it may well be termed, of the Cherokee nation, for there the national government holds its meetings in a new council-house, which, before the first talk was held there, was, at the request of the assembled chiefs, dedicated by prayer and a sermon, to the living God. With that liberality and sound policy which so eminently marks its conduct in christianizing and civilizing the savage hordes by whom its states are surrounded, the American government has made this mission an annual allowance of 250 dollars, with a promise of an increased contribution, and an engagement to defray two thirds of the expences of whatever buildings may be erected by its agents. By the continued and combined exertions of those agents, and of the government resident amongst the Cherokees, this wild and savage race are daily advancing in civilization. The English is now the official language of the country, and not a few of its chiefs have adopted it as their vernacular one, discarding with their Indian speech, the more objectionable national customs in which they have most of them been trained from their youth. Many of them have quitted the bow and the spear, for the scythe and the pruning-hook, and from mighty hunters, have been converted into peaceful husbandmen. All their chiefs, the younger ones especially, zealously espouse the cause of civilization and instruction; as the principal means of promoting which, they look with favour and with confidence to the schools and chapels of the missionaries.

In the great field of its exertion, the East Indies, the BAPTIST MISSION is still, we hope, making progress, though, from the deep-rooted prejudice of the people, that progress must, to all human apprehension, necessarily be slow. The Scriptures and religious tracts are widely distributing, and seem to be exciting inquiries in every direction, though but one here and there seems openly to embrace the truths they inculcate. To our apprehension, however, one of the most encouraging prospects which presents itself for the general diffusion of the Gospel amongst the countless millions of Hindostan, is the rapid progress evidently made amongst the higher classes by the Vedantic or monotheistical doctrines of their own philosophers; for certainly pure Deism itself were far better ground to work upon, than the complicated and abstruse mythology—the numerous rites and ceremonies, and purifications and casts of the followers of Brahma, and his ten thousand gods. One of the missionaries, who has travelled more than 200 miles N.W. of Delhi to the borders of the Punjab, distributed, in his way through this fruitful but benighted region, a thousand religious books and tracts, and amongst them copies of the Scriptures, in the various languages spoken by the people whom he was likely to meet with in his intended route, and who generally received them with thanks, as was especially the case with the Sikhs. At Benares, and in its neighbourhood, and indeed in many other districts, several Brahmins and Mussulmen are visiting the missionaries to get instructed in the new way of salvation of which they have lately heard; and for the most part, receive gladly the copies of the Scriptures and

tracts presented to them. At Serampore several converts have recently been added by baptism to the visible, as we hope by regeneration they are added also to the invisible, church of God, some of whom are Brahmins, one a Chinese, and another, the devotee mentioned in the last summary. An Ascetic has also been baptized, who lived for years in the Sunderbunds, among the wild beasts, wearing round his neck an amulet made of the vertebrae of serpents. At the valuable mission press there the Mah-ratta Bible is almost finished, as are also the historical books in Punjabee, and the Pentateuch in Telinga, Pushtoo, and Kunkeena. Ere this we have also every reason to conclude that the New Testament has been printed there in Goojurattee, Bikaneer, Kashmeer, and Kurnata. Five native young men have offered themselves as missionaries in the neighbourhood of their respective dwellings, and tender their services gratuitously. In Java no very visible progress is making, excepting the preliminary measure of translating the New Testament into Javanese, which is already done, as far as the epistle to the Colossians. Four members constitute the whole of the church there, but its pastor is diligent in preaching and teaching, and is labouring hard at the Herculean task of reducing the Malayan language to some regular rules of orthography, and is translating from writings in it. At Sumatra a wider field has opened. Not long since the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands of Pulo Nias, containing a population of 100,000 souls, sent to Sir Stamford Raffles, to ask of what religion they should be, a question to which the most appropriate answer was returned, when, at the suggestion of this enlightened governor, one of the two missionaries of this society lately arrived in Sumatra, determined to commence his labours amongst them; with how fair a prospect of success Sir Stamford's letter to one of the editors of this work, published in our last number, will evince.

In Jamaica large congregations are collected, and larger still might be gathered, could accommodations be provided for the hundreds who are obliged to go away from the missionary chapels unable to get admission there. Rules have been drawn up for the moral conduct of the negroes, and notwithstanding the opposition of some of their leaders, we are happy to hear that they are very generally observed. As many as 74 of this oppressed and long neglected race have at one time been received into the Christian church by baptism, and there is good reason to conclude, from the report of the missionaries, that due precaution is taken previous to the administration of this initiatory rite. Two nights in the week, for six weeks, had they been entirely engaged in examining candidates for communion, between forty or fifty of whom were remanded on further probation, in the hope that many of them would soon be able to give more satisfactory answers to the questions propounded to them.

Of the extended exertions and encouraging prospects of the **LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY** we have already given a summary account in another part of our work, and to that we have comparatively little here to add. The protecting hand of a kind Providence has again been manifested in preserving Mr. Campbell from all harm, on a journey 250 miles farther into the interior of Africa than any European had previously penetrated. The districts he visited are evidently more civilized than any of the native states of Southern Africa with which we are acquainted, and there is therefore reason to hope that the missionaries whom the chiefs of Kurruchanee have consented to receive, may be the means of doing much good more speedily than has hitherto been the case in these inhospitable regions. It is probable also, that the establishment of this new and most important mission, may lead to the settlement of an English colony at Delagoa Bay, which pre-

sents unusual advantages to settlers, and such as in the hands of the Portuguese, and for the uses of the South Sea whalers, have hitherto been but little improved in comparison with what may be done. In Lattakoo but little advance seems hitherto to have been made in real piety; and perhaps it is as much as we could expect, to find the missionaries well received and accommodated by the king and his people, who are said by Mr. and Mrs. Moffatt, who have arrived among them, to be much superior to other tribes of the same savage race. Of the pleasing prospects opened in Madagascar we have already given an account in our report of the Society's anniversary, and no time will be lost in endeavouring to realize them. In China the Word of life will, there is every reason to expect, ere long, be given in the native language of its millions of population, the finishing stroke to the translation of the Scriptures having been put by Dr. Morrison, on the 29th of Nov., 1819. The mission, of which he is so distinguished an ornament, notwithstanding the trials and opposition it has to contend with in so distant a region of the globe, goes on, upon the whole, so prosperously, that a species of tontine has been formed by the missionaries, for the providing a fund for their widows and orphans. It affords us satisfaction to know that they are able to do this, and that they are also willing, though we are fully satisfied that the Christian public would never suffer the wives and children of those to want the bread which perisheth, who had been their messengers in conveying to a world lying in darkness the Word of life. At Pulo Pelang, a school for Malay and Kling children and adults has been opened by the missionary of the Society, under the assistance of a native teacher. In the East Indies the Society has sustained a great loss in the removal of Mr. Pritchett, the indefatigable translator of the New Testament into the Tellogoo language, from his labours to his rest. His former colleagues are, however, endeavouring, by extra exertions, to make up, as far as possible, for his loss. A new chapel has been opened at Seringapatam, and a printing press erected at Bellary, furnished both with Canarese and European types, so that it is reasonably hoped, that considerable progress will soon be made in printing the Scriptures and tracts, at a spot possessing such peculiar advantages for their circulation through immense and thickly populated districts. Similar facilities for printing in the Tamul language have also been afforded to the mission at South Travancore, whence we are gratified to learn that the rajah of Tanjore has contributed 550 rupees towards the expense of a Christian place of worship now erecting at Nagariol; whence the missionaries itinerate to the neighbouring villages with some pleasing prospects of not labouring altogether in vain. At Seringapatam, Complee, Belgam, and Hydrabad, missionaries are much wanted, and would be most cordially received.

A tropical climate not agreeing with the state of Mr. Knill's health, he has been removed to St. Petersburg, with an ultimate view to the deserts of Siberia, as the field of his useful missionary labours.

Shortly after the London Missionary Society commenced its operations, a similar institution was formed, on a smaller scale, in the sister kingdom, under the title of the GLASGOW MISSIONARY SOCIETY, co-operating with the former in a mission to the Foulah country, on the N.W. coast of Africa, and also sending forth, independently, a few missionaries into the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. At both these stations the Society's agents laboured without any permanent success, and their zealous patrons at home struggled for many years in obscurity, with difficulties of no ordinary operation, successively opposed to the advancement of their design, which still, however, they did not abandon, and at length they have succeeded in establishing a regular Christian mission to the Caffres, in whose savage hordes their prin-

cipal agent is now, we trust, labouring as a "minister amongst the Caffres," accredited and supported by the colonial government of the Cape, who have for some time also maintained a fellow-labourer in the same extensive, but long neglected vineyard, originally sent out from England by the London Missionary Society. It is reasonably hoped, that they will extend the same liberal and enlightened patronage to another minister, supported by the Glasgow institution, at whose cost two or three students are now training in the university of that city, for laborious exertion in this, or some other portion of the heathen world.

To our abstract of the report of the annual meeting of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY there is not much further information to be collected. In the Mediterranean Mr. Connor still continues his valuable labours. At Aleppo he sold a considerable number of Hebrew testaments to the Jews; but the chief Rabbi soon issued a prohibition against their purchasing the book, though a cheap edition of the Old Testament would have met with an easy sale. At Cyprus the consul has taken upon himself the distribution of the Scriptures, and the archbishop has bought and paid for 250 Greek Testaments. The Albanian translation of the New Testament is finished, and Mr. Connor proposed to spend the winter in revising Hilarion's Turkish translation, for the types of which the printer was waiting with much anxiety. He very justly considers that Jerusalem is not a proper place for a permanent mission, though he strongly recommends its being visited at the passover by one or other of the missionaries. He urges, with equal judiciousness, that nothing but the Scripture should, at least for the present, be circulated in Syria. Religious tracts, he justly observes, however well they may be intended to act, or though ever so cautiously written, would be very likely to excite jealousy in a people already sufficiently jealous of the operations of those whom they account heretics.

At the anniversary meeting of the Missionary Society at Regent's Town, Sierra Leone, on the 25th February in the last year, the gratifying spectacle was exhibited of no less than five Christian negro communicants appearing as public advocates of the cause, to which, under God, they owe their own conversion. Several pleasing instances have also occurred of deep, and it is to be hoped that they will prove lasting, impressions having been made on the minds of the Africans of all ages, and both sexes, by the preaching and reading of the word.

Under the ministry of the METHODIST MISSIONARIES in Hindostan, some of the native converts from the worship of Brahma to the faith of Christ, have died in the Lord, and one of these was a widow, who according to the horrid rites which she had abandoned, ought rather to have offered herself up a suicidal victim on the funeral pile of her husband, whose death she, on the other hand, was enabled to bear with resignation to the will of him who has promised to be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow, and in whose promises he also exhibited satisfactory evidence of a saving faith.

Directing our view across the Atlantic, we find that similarly encouraging results and prospects crown and await the exertions of our brethren and fellow-labourers there. The two missionaries despatched to Smyrna, by the AMERICAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS, have arrived safely there; and are now making considerable advances in the study of the Romain, or Modern Greek, into which, by the assistance of their kind tutor, professor Bampas, of Scio, they have already translated the "Dairyman's Daughter," with whose simple history the professor was so much affected, as to weep at its perusal, and to give a preference to her humble chamber over the apartments of the splendid mansion in which he sat. With the assistance

of this most useful man, other tracts were speedily translated and printed; and under his friendly sanction, were distributed to every student in the University, and a large elementary school attached to it; by whom they were, indeed, received gladly. Teachers of other parts of the island, and of other and larger isles, have applied for them for their scholars; and been partially supplied with the first books which their pupils were ever taught, at once, to read and to understand: their learning, if learning it might be called, having hitherto been confined to reading the books used in the service of the church, which is altogether conducted in the ancient Greek tongue, of which they know but the characters and the sound, as is the case with the poorer and ignorant Catholics, and the Latin prayers and responses of their sister church. To the professor the missionaries also presented Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, which he promised to read attentively, not only for his own advantage, but for the benefit of his pupils; and also the "*Young Minister's Companion*," from which he has some thoughts of making a printed selection for the use of ecclesiastics; and which the missionaries were delighted to hear him, in the lecture room of the University, read in Greek to his pupils, who diligently wrote down what he read. Bibles and Testaments have also been distributed by them in the Grecian isles, and on the continent. Nor is it one of the least affecting circumstances connected with the progress of this new mission, that such is the mutability of all earthly things, the once flourishing churches of Thessalonica and Philadelphia, some of the earliest scenes of the apostolic labours, have been applicants for copies of the Word of God, which comparatively few of the Greek churches possess entire, and fewer still uncorrupted. After a residence of five months in Scios, these active missionaries returned to Smyrna, which they very justly consider the fittest central station for a mission to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean—to a Christian, one of the most interesting portions of the globe. The Turkish government seems not likely to interfere with them, and against the ravages of the plague it is no longer doubtful that those ordinary precautions which the Turks are so insatuated as to despise and reject (glorying rather, as they madly deem it, in such a sudden removal to the paradise of their licentious prophet) will, humanly speaking, sufficiently protect them. "Merchants," justly do those active evangelists observe, "come with their families and reside here at all times of the year. Let not, then, the servants of God be afraid." They are naturally anxious for other labourers in this extensive vineyard, once watered by the choicest dews of heaven; but since, for ages and for centuries, choked up with the rankest and most noxious weeds. On the establishment of a printing press, for the circulation of tracts, chiefly from the first fathers of the Christian church, whose writings the Greeks hold in high estimation, they very properly lay great stress; and our readers will perceive with pleasure, from our American intelligence, that very vigorous efforts are making by the board, whose agents they are, to meet their wishes on this important point. In that department of our labours, we have also inserted the interesting letter of the king of one of the Sandwich islands to the secretary of this society; and our readers will be pleased to learn, that it was accompanied with the gratifying intelligence of the example of the Society islands having been cheerfully and promptly followed, throughout the Sandwich islands, in casting their idols to the moles and to the bats,—levelling their altars and high places to the dust, and lending an attentive ear to the glad tidings of the Gospel of peace. Within six months after the death of Tamaamah, the young king, who, to preserve his succession, had been appointed high priest in his father's life-time, came to the resolution, fully sanctioned by all his chiefs, and cheerfully acquiesced

ia by the people, of destroying the whole system of idolatry throughout his dominions. This determination was immediately carried into complete execution, the idols, with the buildings and inclosures consecrated to their worship, in some of which human sacrifices had not long since been offered, being consumed by the flames of fires kindled by order of the king. On the same day, the entire Taboo system, by which the king interdicted the use of certain food, the doing of certain things upon particular days, men and women eating together, or even of victuals cooked at the same fire; and, in short, whatever whim, the most wild, or the grossest superstition could prompt him to forbid, under the penalty of death, always rigidly enforced, was abolished, we flatter ourselves, for ever, amidst the shouts of the people, who had long groaned beneath so intolerable a burden. In all the islands the chiefs and people are expressing the most anxious desire for the arrival of missionaries, to teach them to read and write, as the people of the Society's islands had been taught. Tamoree, king of Attoi, the author of the letter referred to, has joyfully received back his son, who lived for some time in America; and has intimated a wish to visit Pohnare, at Othaei, to see for himself the wonderful change effected there. He is peculiarly anxious for missionaries and teachers, with which, we trust, he will soon be abundantly supplied. In the meanwhile, those already stationed in Wouhoo, where they arrived on the 23d of July, are proceeding prosperously in their work. Idolatry is there abolished, and as it respects religious impressions, the minds of the people are a perfect blank; soon, we hope, to be deeply and lastingly impressed with the saving knowledge of the one only living and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he has sent. In the capital, the king is their first pupil, and already begins to read intelligibly in the New Testament, to which he devotes incessant attention, being animated with the laudable ambition of outstripping all his subjects in the acquisition of useful knowledge. Two of his wives (for polygamy is a vice which remains to be abolished by the slow, but certain, influence of the pure precepts of Christianity) and two stewards under their instruction, are exercising themselves in easy reading lessons. At another station on the island, the missionaries have about thirty natives under their instruction, amongst whom are the governor, or head chief of the island, and his wife. Here, however, as in all the islands, what is doing is trifling indeed in comparison to what might be done had the missionaries already there assistants adequate to their wants; and these Europe and America will surely not fail speedily to supply. The fields are indeed ripe unto the harvest, but the labourers are few; pray we, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers unto his harvest—for this pre-eminently is his: Yea, of this mighty revolution it may emphatically be said, "This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

Of the progress of the interesting family sent by the UNITED FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY to the Osage Indians, of whom we gave some account in a former number of our work, we are sorry to have to report, that after voyaging some hundred miles up the Mississippi and the Arkansas, they were most of them attacked by a fever consequent on the state of the weather, and the lowness of the country, through which they were slowly bending their way; and which, notwithstanding the active and skilful exertions of the physician, carried off two females attached to the mission, and one of their boatmen. By the last advices, dated December 1, the virulence of the fever seems considerably to have abated, though in consequence of the low state of the river, most of the family had been detained at Little Rock, one of the first stations in the higher Arkansas territory, since the 23d of July, and were likely to remain there until February. Mr. Chapman, the assistant to

the mission had, however, set off in October, accompanied by several others, towards Union, the projected station of the family; but after stemming the current for 150 miles, they were compelled, for want of water, to abandon their canoe, and proceed on horseback, but no further intelligence has been received of their progress.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES, who have laboured for some time with but little success at Rhaugon, in the Burman empire, on the succession of the new emperor, determined to approach the "golden throne," and present a petition for liberty to promulgate their tenets. They were admitted to his imperial palace—"the golden foot approached," where they knelt, amidst his hundred courtiers prostrate in the dust;—they presented the word of life, as what they wished to teach, but this modern Ahasuerus, surrounded by all the pomp and splendour of an imperial court, dashed it to the ground, and all but trod it under foot. After such a reception at the imperial court, nothing but scorn was to be expected from its satellites; and the missionaries therefore returned to their former residence, gaining nothing for their toil of walking eight miles a day beneath the scorching beams of a tropical sun, but the satisfaction of having done their duty; and were cheered in the failure of its anticipated results, but in the firm conviction that all things are working together for good.

AN EPISCOPAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY has been formed in America, and four of its agents, two of them, clergymen, have arrived with a new colony of emancipated negroes in the Sherboo country in Western Africa, but by the advice of one of the principal agents of the Church Missionary Society of London, they have sailed for a spot about 400 miles from Sierra Leone, situated in the Bassa country. Two interpreters accompanied them well acquainted not only with this region of Africa, but with its chiefs, and they were expected to render essential service to the infant colony.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT.

FOR the last six months, at least, the gloom which hung over our public affairs, and the apprehensions which, more than the existence of any very serious evil was, perhaps, the cause of it, have been gradually dispersing; and are now well nigh, if not altogether, dispersed. The unhappy affair of the Queen seems to be settled in the best way in which, after the measures imprudently and incautiously taken against her, it could be settled; except that we still think that her name ought to be restored to the liturgy, in addition to the handsome provision made for her, which she was, at first, so ill advised as to refuse, in the vain expectation that her partizans would make a suitable, if not an equal, provision for her; but soon afterwards accepted, much to the mortification of many of those partizans, who yet either could not, or would not, do any thing for her support. With the radicals she is still closely linked, though the most dangerous of this tribe are too safely incarcerated to allow of any great mischief from so unequal a connexion, beyond that which operates unfavourably but upon her Majesty herself, in keeping at a distance from her many most respectable individuals, especially amongst the Whigs; who, in consequence of their honest conviction of her innocence, would otherwise have given her—we regret to apply such a term to the Queen consort, but under the circumstances in which she is unhappily placed, it is the correct one—the countenance of their support. The coronation is, at length, fixed for the 19th of July; and

as might reasonably be expected, after what has passed, the King is to be crowned without the Queen, as by the constitution of the country he has an unquestionable right to be. Parliament has been actively engaged during its sittings on many points of great national importance, at a few only of which will either our plan, or our limits, permit us to glance. The bill for the removal of most of the disabilities under which Roman Catholics still labour, after having passed the Commons, was, as might be anticipated, rejected in the Lords, and that even by a majority of lay peers; but as the great question of Catholic emancipation is one upon which the Editors of this Work have agreed to differ, they make no observation here on the recent failure of its friends. A bill has been introduced by Mr. Scarlett, for the entire repeal of the poor laws; a measure founded, as we conceive, as little upon principles of sound policy, as of justice and humanity. The poor we are assured, from the highest authority, shall never cease out of the land, and there are obvious reasons why they should not; nor is the obligation on the rich to maintain them, when they cannot work, at all equivocal: but it should be only then, and it is from a gross abuse of the original and expressed design of the poor laws, that the loud outcry against them in the senate, and throughout the country, has originated. Return to the principle and the letter of the act of Elizabeth, and the evil may easily be remedied, indeed, will cure itself. We are no friends to every wild scheme of reform in Parliament, which has from time to time been advocated within and without the doors of the House of Commons; but yet we see enough of a disproportion in the representative system, difficult to have prevented, and as hard to remedy, with a due respect to vested rights, not to rejoice at the partial reform which has taken place in transferring the right of the borough of Grampound (justly forfeited by the frequent corruption of its voters) to the populous county of York; in whose freeholders this additional elective franchise is, in our judgment, more safely lodged, than, conducted as elections now are, it would be in the payers of scot and lot at Leeds. To another species of reform, the attention of ministers, and of the public, has been constantly directed during the present session — that which might be effected by a due regard to economy in the various departments of government, and though comparatively little has been effected by the gentlemen who have with unwearied perseverance proposed these retrenchments, as far as we can judge, from the immediate efforts of their exertions, we are not without strong hopes, that their more remote operations will soon be apparent. Whilst we regret to find, that sir James Macintosh has again failed in his humane attempts to ameliorate our criminal code, by the substitution of a milder punishment than that of death for other forgeries than those of Bank notes, we rejoice to see that an appeal has not been made in vain to a British House of Commons, for the institution of some inquiry into the horrid custom of permitting the immolation of Indian widows on the funeral piles of their husbands, in a country subjected to the British sway. This is a barbarity — a legalization of deliberate suicide, at which no Christian government can ever be justified, by any considerations of human policy, and still less of commercial or territorial aggrandizement, in conniving for a moment. Before we conclude our hasty glance at the state of affairs at home for the last six months, and turn to those of other states, there is one subject incidentally brought before Parliament, on which we should think it a proof of great cowardice to shrink from delivering a decided opinion, we allude to the formation of a constitutional association for the suppression of blasphemous and seditious works. To all such productions we are most decidedly opposed, holding in equal abhorrence and contempt Wooler, Flinders, Cobbett, Carlisle, and

Hone; the Examiner, the Black Dwarf, and John Bull, (the most abusive of all, and perhaps the worst, because supported, and there is but too much reason to suppose, conducted by men in power); but we are equally opposed also to all unconstitutional and unusual modes of proceeding, for visiting with punishment, however merited, the publication of their ribaldry and abuse. There is a state prosecutor, whose duty it is to check the licentiousness of the press, and to do this he is effectually armed with unwonted power. If he neglects to use it with due vigour, tempered with discretion, let a man of firmer nerves (though we would not even insinuate that there is at present any need of such) be appointed in his place; but let us hear, or at the least, let us see, nothing of a vigour beyond the law;—of knots and bands of private individuals, self-constituted prosecutors, for the public and the state, who eventually may be the jurors (and in cases of libel they are by law the judges also) to try their own indictments. This no friend to the just liberty of the press will, from any morbid, or even a well founded fear of the rapid progress of its licentiousness, tolerate,—or patiently endure. Some of the most active members of the old constitutional society made very profitable stalking horses of their loyalty—a duty of a Christian in which we will yield to none:—let those of the new one beware lest it be even so with them. We are not the only persons who suspect their motives; if they would prove us and the public mistaken, let them attend without delay to the general dislike expressed by men of all parties to their proceedings, and thus give the most satisfactory proof that we have mistaken them.

France is at present peaceful, but how long her peace may continue is extremely problematical, as the parties in the Chambers seem nearly equally balanced, and both the ultra royalists and liberales are too strong for the ministry, who seem to be forming rather too close an union with the former, to be long popular with the great majority of the people, who are reasonably jealous of the ascendancy of that party in restoring the feudalities, and most of the abuses of the old regime. The great prevalence of the slave trade, under the French flag, is a disgrace to the nation and the government, as it would and must be, to any state or people professing to be civilized, and still more professing the Christian faith.

Spain is still the theatre of intestine commotions, which have, in several instances, broke out into acts of open and lawless violence. Neither the royalist nor the democratical party seem to possess that moderation which ought pre-eminently to be the guiding spirit of the present times, and between them the king, and his ministers, are placed in an awkward dilemma, the one party accusing them with having done too little, and the other as loudly reproaching them for having done too much. Most of her colonies seem lost to her for ever, Mexico being the only one that is firm in her attachment to the parent state.

Portugal presents at present one of the most gratifying sights that a lover of his race can witness, a nation establishing for itself a constitutional liberty without the effusion of blood. This has been the case also in Madeira, whence deputies have been sent to the Cortes, and even to a certain extent in the Brazils, where the province of Bahia is said to have declared in favour of the new constitution, and a more liberal order of things.

The struggles of the Neapolitans and the Piedmontese for constitutional independence is already a tale of other times, and we have reason to observe upon it now that it is over, that those, who after all their vaunting and gasconading, struck not a blow in defence of their rights, but dispersed at the firing of the first shot, were not the men to have enjoyed the freedom for which they professed, and only professed to fight. We had hoped that

the chains of Italy were burst ; but under the auspices of the holy alliance there is too much reason to fear that they will be rivetted even more firmly than they were before. We are no friends to revolutions, yet we cannot but hope that the spirit of national freedom that is abroad upon the earth, will soon walk on a more congenial soil, and find the imperial autocrat, and emperor, and king, who have presumed to dictate in what manner the internal affairs of other states shall be administered, work enough for reformation, if not for contest (for that, in arms, we hope they will have prudence to avoid) nearer home.

Nearer to Russia, at least, that may even now be cutting out ; for the insurrections in Wallachia and Moldavia may lead to other attempts to cast off the yoke of tyranny, in which she will not be a mere looker on, as had the insurgents been successful, she would not long have remained in the contest now lingering, rather than raging between the Turkish government and her revolted Greek provinces. In that contest it seems most probable that the crescent will be triumphant, the Porte having evinced unusual energy in her contest with the Greeks, who seem to have made that mere show of resistance which seems but too much the order of the day. Viewing the subject in this light, we cannot therefore but regret an insurrection to which we should wish the most complete success, were it likely to issue in any thing more beneficial to the freedom of Greece than the murder of all its natives, and amongst them the most venerable of its priests, and the massacre or plunder of all foreigners indiscriminately, save only the English, saved by the firmness of our ambassador at the Ottoman court, in ordering some British cruizers into the Dardanelles for their protection.

America, amidst many collateral proofs of increasing prosperity, bears her share in the general pressure of the financial concerns of most, if not all, the states of the known world ; and in the amount of their revenue for the last year a deficiency appears, estimated at no less than 7,400,000 dollars, or about £1,660,000.

CONTENTS TO NUMBER VI.

BIOGRAPHY.

	PAGE
ecrological Retrospect of the Year 1820	235
emoir of the Life of Dean Milner	244
emoir of the Life of Sir Joseph Banks	258, 361

ESSAYS, &c.

anslation of the Cinghalese Book, called Rajewaliye, (Rájá- vali) a History of Ceylon, compiled from the Historio- graphic Records of the Kingdom. Part II. Communi- cated by Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE, Knt., late Chief Justice of that Island	267
n the Advantages of affording the Means of Education to the Inhabitants of the Further East. Communicated by Sir T. S. RAFFLES, Knt., Lt.-Gov. of Fort Marlborough, Sumatra	284

ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM EMINENT PERSONS.

Rev. Philip Henry, A.M., to a Friend	308
Rev. Matthew Henry, to the Rev. Mr. Tallents	311
rchbishop Dawes, to the Bishop of Londonderry	312
lonel Gardiner, to Doctor Doddridge	ib.
James Hervey, to Mrs. Orchard	313

REVIEW.

me's Memoirs of Dr. Owen	315
on Juan	353

merican Literature and Intelligence	379
-------------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS.

POETRY.	PAGE
The Death of Mungo Park - - - -	399
Philosophical and Literary Intelligence - - -	406
List of New Publications - - -	413
Religious and Philanthropic Intelligence - - -	421
Authentic Report of the Trial of Samuel Waller for	
Street Preaching - - - -	424
Obituary - - - -	433
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE - - -	ib.
CHARLES ALFRED STOTHARD, Esq., F.A.S. - - -	444
Provincial and Miscellaneous Intelligence - - -	446
Summary of Missionary Proceedings - - -	453
Political Retrospect - - - -	460

THE Editors regret that a mistake should have occurred in the Title Page to Vol. II., given with their last Number, in placing upon it wrong months. Another is now given in lieu of it, and they request that the former one may be cancelled. It would have given them great pleasure to have been enabled to accompany the present Number with a Title and Index to the Third Volume, now completed; but in a work recording the passing events of the day, this is impossible to be properly and correctly done, and they are, therefore, compelled to defer it to the next Number. At the same time, they beg to inform their readers, that any person discontinuing the work may at all times be gratuitously supplied with the Index to the last Volume which they complete, on application to the publishers, or to their respective booksellers.

THE INVESTIGATOR.

OCTOBER, 1821.

Necrological Retrospect of the Year 1820; including Biographical Sketches of Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., and Dean Milner.

IN the course of the year in which our labours commenced, many persons, eminent for their rank, talents, or usefulness, were removed from the world, to which they were an ornament, by the hand of death. At the head of these was our late lamented monarch, whose virtues are too indelibly impressed upon the hearts of his people to require any record of them—imperfect as it must be, at the best, in our pages. Of the son, who trod so closely in the steps of his beloved and venerated father,—with whom he may almost be said to have descended to the grave, so near were the periods of their deaths,—we have endeavoured to preserve some memorials, which, at least, are authentic; whilst, from his becoming, through the medium of his correspondence, in so great a measure, his own biographer, we may without vanity indulge the expectation, that they will be interesting to all who knew, and duly estimated, that benevolence of disposition, and active philanthropy, which were the ruling principles of his life. Nor was our own the only royal house of Europe, in which, during the past year, the ravages of death have made a void that cannot be supplied; for comparatively few are there, on the contrary, but have suffered from his resistless stroke; though we shall only allude particularly to that of France, which the hand of an assassin plunged in the deepest grief, by cutting off, in the prime of life, and at the moment when he was quitting one of Pleasure's gayest haunts—the duke de Berri, a prince from whom the nation was expecting much.

If from kings and princes we pass to the great and the noble of the earth, we shall find that death has spared them not. Cardinal Carracciolo, the firm friend of Pius VI. in his adversity—the companion, indeed, of his captivity; Cyprian y Valde, patriarch of the Indies, and grand almoner of the king of Spain, another member of the sacred college; and

Father Thaddeus Bogozowski, general of the order of the Jesuits, an office whose possessor, half a century since, was, in fact, more powerful than the most powerful of princes; because his influence ruled their councils, and often thwarted or promoted their measures at his will, were nearly about the same time laid, with all their honours, titles, and dignities, in the silent and the unconscious grave. Thither they were soon afterwards followed by cardinal Litta, bishop of Sabina, whose name is often introduced into the state papers of the pontifical court, during the unjustifiable confinement of the pope in France.

Amongst the nobles of our own country, the dukedom of Richmond, and that of Hamilton, and Buccleuch; the marquissate of Ormond; the earldoms of Suffolk, Leven and Melville, Harewood, Stamford and Warrington, Malmesbury, Selkirk, (of whose late possessor we have already given some account) Lisburne, Strathmore, Roden, Eglington; the viscounties Curzon, Ranelagh, and Doneraile; the baronies of Sherborne, Dundas, Gwydir, Stawell, Willoughby de Broke, and Elibank, were, during the year 1820, devolved by death upon the peers who bear those titles now.

The bench of spiritual peers has also, within the same period, lost one of its ornaments, in as far as extensive learning, and great political activity, can ornament it, in Dr. Lort Mansell, bishop of Bristol, and master of Trinity College, Cambridge; a prelate who owed his elevation to the patronage of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Perceval, the latter of whom was his fellow-collegian, and gave him his bishopric, and the valuable rectory of Barwick, in Yorkshire, worth £2000 *per annum*. We hope, however, that he owed none of his preferments, at least in the church, to the report generally believed of his having materially contributed to the composition of that very witty, but malignant political satire, the *Pursuits of Literature*. In the venerable Dr. William Bennet, bishop of Cloyne, the church, in which he was a prelate; the country, to which he was an ornament—literature and science, which he assiduously cultivated, and liberally patronized—philanthropy, whose claims he was ever ready to advocate by his eloquence, to support by his purse—have alike sustained a loss not easy to be repaired. We fear that Ireland will not soon be supplied with a new bishop as liberal in his sentiments and conduct—as laborious in the discharge of his duties—as beloved wherever he lived, and wherever he was known, by those who were not, as by those who were, of his flock—without, as within the pale of the establishment, whose highest dignity no one better could adorn. In a good old

age, having nearly completed his 80th year, the hon. Brownlow North, prelate of the rich see of Winchester for six-and-thirty years; but who had been seated on the episcopal bench of England for near forty, has also been gathered to his fathers, leaving behind him a high character, for the mildness, beneficence, and hospitality, with which he filled his dignified station in the church for so long a period of years; and for the talent displayed in several occasional sermons, of which his lordship was the author.

In France, count Volney, the celebrated infidel author of the *Ruins of Empires*, has also finished his career; dying as he had lived, an enemy of Christianity, and a philosopher of the new school. But science probably, and society certainly, there sustained a heavier loss in the baron de Beauvois, an enterprising traveller, and celebrated botanist, the only European who ever traversed the district of Oware, one of Africa's unhealthiest climes.

From the lower house of the British parliament, one of its most distinguished members has been removed, in the person of the right hon. Henry Grattan; a man as distinguished by his patriotism as his eloquence, in which, at least since the death of Pitt and Fox, he has been unrivalled in the senate of his country. Want of materials to illustrate his private life and character—in our view of the subject, the most valuable part of the biography of a great man, because the most instructive, has alone prevented our introducing a memoir of this distinguished individual into our *Work*. Should this deficiency be supplied, as we have reason to expect that it will from the pen of his son, we shall, in all probability, give a detailed account of the active life of this illustrious Irishman, (for so dearly did he love his country, that this, we are persuaded, is the name by which he would wish to be remembered) in our pages. Two other individuals, who acted as conspicuous, or even a more conspicuous, part on the political theatre of Europe, though a very different one to that of Grattan,—Fouché, duke of Otranto, the police minister of Buonaparte; and Tallien, the celebrated revolutionist, have been called also to their account—an account, we fear, of retribution for the blood which they shed, and the crimes they committed, in the name of liberty, and for the rights of man.

In sir Vicary Gibbs the law lost one of its brightest ornaments in modern times. Eloquent, astute, and learned as an advocate—firm and fearless in the discharge of his duty in the important, but arduous office of first law officer of the crown; as a judge he was upright, dignified, and polite.

Scotland, in the person of the honourable Fletcher Norton; senior baron of the Exchequer there, has also lost an able and an impartial judge, who had sat on the bench for no shorter a period than forty-four years; and it is rather a singular coincidence, that the very next day another of the cotemporary judges of the same court, during a part of this period, should also have been removed by death, though he had some time previously retired from the bench. Mr. Mac Nally, the intimate friend of Curran, and his able junior counsel in most of the important state trials which have immortalized his name, has not long survived the great ornament of the Irish bar; leaving behind him, as a proof of his legal knowledge, especially in that walk of his profession to which his practice chiefly was confined, a "Treatise on Evidence in Crown Law," held in considerable repute as a text book, until it was superseded by more recent ones; and also some dramatic pieces, characterized by the humour for which he was remarkable.

Amongst those who distinguished themselves in the military profession, marshal Lefebvre, duke of Dantzic, and marshal Kellerman, duke of Valmy, two of the generals of Buonaparte; and prince Charles of Schwartzenberg, the victor of that mighty conqueror, whilst in the command of the allied army which entered Paris in triumph, have finished their career; whilst England has lost of its generals, distinguished in active service, sir David Dundas, sir Alexander Maitland, sir Graney Thomas Calcraft, sir Ewan Baillie; and of its naval heroes, admirals sir Home Popham, and sir Benjamin Caldwell, and vice-admirals sir Richard Grindall, and Edward Oliver Osborn. To these gallant warriors we may also most justly add Spechbacher, the celebrated Tyrolese patriot, who greatly signalized himself in the unequal war of 1809.

During the period to which we have referred, the labours of many of the wise, the learned, the active of the earth, have been brought also to a close; and it is not a little remarkable, that one and the same year should have deprived two of the principal literary societies of our country of their president; both of them gathered to their fathers, full of honour, and in a good old age. Of the venerable president of the Royal Academy, we have already given an obituary in our first Number; whilst a biographical memoir of his illustrious cotemporary, sir Joseph Banks, will form a part of the present article.

The cause of letters has likewise sustained a loss, more or less severe, in the removal by death of many individuals assiduously devoted to the cultivation of various departments

of literature, and of the arts. The antiquary will deservedly lament the Rev. Rogers Ruding, the learned author of "*the Annals of Coinage*;" M. Leveque de Pouilly, a French antiquary of great research, and the author of several interesting and valuable works; and John Croft, Esq., F.S.A., author of "*a Treatise on Medals*," and some lighter essays of a miscellaneous nature:—the mathematician, major-general Mudge, of whom we have given a brief notice; Thomas Wilkinson, of Curigg, a self-taught genius, and an eminent geometrician; and Mr. John Dawson, of Sedburgh, the successful antagonist of Emerson, Stuart, and Wildbore, on several mathematical points.

The science of medicine has been deprived of any further benefit from the acknowledged skill of Drs. Moseley, Underwood, and James Sims, the last a man as extensively known for his benevolence and philanthropic exertions, as for his medical knowledge, which was great; John Bell, the celebrated anatomist, and very useful anatomical and surgical writer; Henry Cline, jun., who, at the age of thirty-nine, bade fair to rival the deservedly high reputation of his father; James Towers, professor of midwifery in the University of Glasgow; and Thomas Baynton, author of the well known treatise on Ulcers, and an eminent surgeon at Bath. Chemistry could, in Great Britain, scarcely have sustained a heavier loss than it did sustain, during the last year, in Dr. John Murray, eminent as a public lecturer in Edinburgh, and as the author of a valuable treatise on the science, wherever that science is studied, as in private life he was amiable, and excellent as a man.

The kindred pursuit of botany has also lost the further researches of Mr. Woodward, the ingenious author of several valuable papers in the Transactions of the Linnæan Society, of which he was an original member, and a material contributor to the Botanical Researches of Dr. Withering, and of those of the Rev. J. Benedict Prevost, professor of philosophy, to the protestant faculty of Montaubon, and author of several valuable memoirs in this and other branches of natural history and philosophy.

In Dr. Thomas Brown, professor of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, the world was deprived of one of the most acute metaphysicians of his age—of a respectable poet, and of a most valuable man, in all the walks of public and of private life. The loss of Arthur Young will also, we doubt not, be severely felt, at a period when the interests of agriculture seem to require the attention and exertions of all its friends, to devise means to extricate it, if possible, from its present depression; and few, we apprehend, could be of

more effectual assistance, in such a crisis, than one who had successfully devoted so much attention to the study, illustration, and improvement of this important science, as he had done. Of his excellencies as a man, an imperfect sketch would have been attempted in this article, but that want of room compels us to defer it. The perseverance with which the Rev. Dr. Richardson, late rector of Clonfleckle, cultivated and urged the cultivation of florin grass in the reclaimed bogs of Ireland; his skill and diligence in the various pursuits of natural history, but above all his philanthropy and his patriotism, render his death also, a loss to his country, and to society at large. Another useful individual, and able writer, was removed in Dr. Patrick Colquhoun, an active magistrate of the metropolis, well known to the world, by his able works on the Police of London, the Resources of the British Empire, and other illustrations of the Statistics and Political Economy of Great Britain. The memory of the Rev. William Tooke, the historian of Russia, and the translator of Zollikoffer's Sermons, and other writings from the German, and of Lucian from the Greek, will long survive in his works, as will that of his excellencies as a man in the memory of the wide circle of his friends. Nor will the long and valuable services of John Hatsell, Esq., as clerk of the House of Commons, be forgotten, whilst his valuable *Precedents of the Proceedings in Parliament* shall remain in existence,

Few writers of the last half century enjoyed, deservedly or undeservedly we question not here, a more extensive reputation as a poet, than Hayley. We had prepared a short memoir of his life for the present Number of our Work, but the length to which those of the two other celebrated men, with whose biography we had connected his, has unexpectedly extended, compels us reluctantly to defer the publication of our obituary memoir of this amiable man, and popular writer, with the brief critical estimate of his literary merits interwoven with it, to our January Number. In the prime of life, Eaton Stannard Barrat, the author of "All the Talents," a satirical poem, which made a greater noise in the world, at the period of its appearance, than its merits deserved that it should do; of "Woman," a pleasing production of the Muse; and the "Heroine," a novel, with whose merits we pretend not to be acquainted,—was cut off early in the spring, by a rapid decline, brought on by the bursting of a blood-vessel. Poetry is confined to no country, or clime, or age; it will not, therefore, be thought surprising, or incongruous, that we should next record the death of

Thorlasken, the venerable Icelandic poet, who translated into his rude native tongue the *Paradise Lost* of Milton, and the *Messiah* of Klopstock. Ireland has also lost a patriotic bard in Dr. Drennan, though his patriotism most probably excelled his poetry, which would have been better known, and more highly esteemed, had he written, or at least printed, less of it.

As miscellaneous writers, we must not omit to add to our list of losses, Miss Magnall, authoress of the well known "*Miscellaneous Questions*," for the instruction of youth; and of a volume of poems, entitled "*Leisure Hours*," highly creditable both to her head and heart;—Mrs. Ellen Davis, authoress of the very useful "*English Grammar for Young Ladies*," and other school books for her sex; M. Cateau de Calleville, the traveller in, and historian of, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; Jean Thomas Herressant des Carrieres, a French refugee, long domiciled in this country, and well known there as the author, or editor, of some of the most useful elementary books on the grammar of his native tongue, of which he was long a successful teacher; and also for a history of the country which gave him birth; Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the adventurous tourist in the desert wilds of North America; Mr. Blagden, secretary to the Royal Society, and author of several popular works; the Rev. Samuel Burdy, the biographer of Dr. Skelton, and author of a history of Ireland, less known than from its merit it deserves to be; Dr. M'Leod, the physician attached to lord Amherst's embassy, of which he published an account; the Rev. John Reeve, a venerable Catholic priest, and the author of several most temperate and judicious pamphlets on what is commonly called the Catholic emancipation question; Dr. John Trusler, writer of the famous sermons resembling MSS. for the clergy, and too wholesale a compiler of other works to permit the enumeration of any of them; John Bowles, almost as voluminous a writer of pamphlets on the side of government, and, therefore, for the same reason, only named; and the Rev. S. Lyon, for many years an eminent Hebrew teacher in the University of Oxford, and author of a compendious grammar of that language, and of some curious observations on antique medals.

Amongst the lightest of the writers of the day who have died within the year, and, therefore, perhaps the least to be regretted, is major Topham, the eccentric biographer of the eccentric Elwes; and author of other works of an evanescent popularity, if popularity they had any, now not undeservedly forgotten. He was also the proprietor of the *World*, the

fashionable newspaper, in which the Della Cruscan poets and poetesses, of twenty years ago, warbled their ridiculous strains, till the pungent satire of Gifford put an end to the sickly and the sickening race.

In music, Meyer;—in statuary, Percy, well known for his excellent models in miniature;—in architecture, M. Balzac, celebrated for his beautiful designs from Egyptian monuments, and also a successful cultivator of the kindred art of poetry;—in painting, Mr. Keeling, of Barlaston, the Vandyke of his native county, Staffordshire; and in engraving, the elder Ashby, constitute, we believe, all the professional cultivators of the fine arts, who died during the last year.

Many faithful and laborious ministers of the Gospel were also, during that year, summoned from their labours to their rest; not, we would hope, without having done much good in their day, and generation, from the pulpit, or the press. Amongst those of the established church, we would particularize Dr. Haweis, the venerable rector of Aldwinckle, well known to the public as chaplain to the late excellent countess of Huntingdon; and to the religious world in particular, by his numerous theological publications, and by his early and unwearied devotion, through evil report, and good report, to the cause of missions to the heathen world. We have already inserted a short account of him in our pages; but we are not without hopes of being able to enrich them with a much fuller memoir, at some future period, when we shall endeavour to do justice to the spirit of Christian charity, and brotherly love, which formed one of the loveliest features in his character. That church has also, more or less severely felt the removal of the Rev. Matthew Haynes; the Rev. J. P. Hewlett, of Oxford; the Rev. John Farrer, the Bampton lecturer of 1803, and author of a volume of Sermons on the Parables; archdeacon Thomas, who, notwithstanding his active opposition to the Bible Society, was, we have reason to believe, a man conscientiously anxious to discharge his duty as a minister of the Gospel, and certainly not a bigot in other points than that which brought him unfavourably in public view; and the Rev. Charles Lewis Shipley, vicar of Grimley and Hallowe, Worcestershire. The Rev. Charles Edward De Coetlogon was well known also in the religious world, and was once very popular there; but from the comparative obscurity which had rested on his name for some years, he has passed, we hope, to the glory and felicity of a better world. In Dr. Busby, dean of Rochester, the church also lost a learned clergyman, and the world a man of considerable literary attainments; as was the case too, when Dr. William Pearce,

dean of Ely, and formerly master of the Temple, was removed from the head of the chapter over which he had long presided. The kirk of Scotland has to lament the loss of several of its clerical members, distinguished for their talents and their piety. Such, we believe, were the Rev. Henry Garnock, first minister of the Canongate, Edinburgh; the Rev. David Dickson, another of the ministers of that city; Dr. Henry David Hill, professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews; the Rev. Andrew Walker, forty-eight years incumbent of Collessie; Dr. Alexander Downie, of Localsh; the Rev. John Henderson, of Queensferry; the Rev. John Johnstone, of Crossmichael; Dr. William Rutherford, of Muirkirk; Dr. Douglas, fifty-one years incumbent of Galashiels; the Rev. W. Rankin, of Sanquhar; and many others whose names, were we better acquainted with their lives and doctrines, we gladly should record with those of many faithful, learned, and laborious ministers of the established church of England, omitted here for no other reason.

The ranks of the ministers amongst the various denominations of Dissenters, who preach the common faith and salvation of the Gospel, have, during the same time, been thinned, by the removal from their labours to their rest, of the Rev. Messrs. Joshua Webb, of Hare Court, London; Joseph Wilcock Piercy, of Woolwich; Isaac Tozer, of Taunton; Joseph Boden, of Leeds; Sibree, of Frome; Yockney, of Staines; Cornell, of Painswick; Banfield, of Bromyard; John Martin, the venerable pastor of the Baptist church in Keppel Street, Russell Square; Isaac Kitchen, forty years pastor of the Associate Antiburgher church of Nairn, N. B.; John Blair, for as long a period minister of the associate congregation at Colmannell; the venerable, learned, and pious Dr. George Lawson, of Selkirk, pastor of the associate congregation in that town, and professor of divinity in the academy there, supported by the denomination to which he was an ornament; well known also to the religious world, throughout the United Kingdom, by his theological works; N. Dunn, of Dumfries; S. Jones, the Independent minister at Chalford, Gloucestershire; W. Harrison, pastor of the church, in the same denomination, at Great Wigstone, Leicestershire; Samuel Douglas, of that at Chelmsford; Richard Owens, the Baptist minister at Southampton; James Bowers, pastor of the Independent church at Haverill; and Thomas Jones, of Syrrer, a preacher amongst the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. These, we trust, all died in the faith. They rest from their labours, and with all the ministers of the

established churches departed in the faith, form now a part of the glorious company of the redeemed in heaven, where their works do follow them.

Proceed we now to give a brief memoir of two individuals whom we have singled from this long obituary, as requiring some particular notice at our hands; and furnishing, in the incidents of their lives, materials for instructive and interesting biography.

THE VERY REV. ISAAC MILNER, D.D., F.R.S., DEAN OF CARLISLE.

This venerable and exemplary divine was born in the neighbourhood of Leeds, in the year 1751. His father was a man of strong understanding, who, having felt in his own case the want of a good education, formed an early resolution to remedy that defect, as far as in him lay, in his children; of whom Isaac, the youngest, was sent, at six years of age, with his brother Joseph, to the grammar-school of his native town, where he made a very rapid progress in classical learning. Just as he was entering upon the study of the Greek language, in his tenth year, the death of his father, who had been unfortunate in business, and had suffered materially in his circumstances from the incidents of the rebellion of 1745, blighted, however, all his prospects of a literary education; his mother being under the painful necessity of taking him from school, and placing him in a situation in Leeds, in which he would have an opportunity of learning several branches of the woollen manufactory. His father had been a master weaver, and when he fell into difficulties, his sons, lads as they were, rose early and sat up late, to contribute, by the produce of their spinning wheels, to the support of the family; which was placed in such straitened circumstances, that Joseph requiring a Greek book whilst at school, to enable him to pass into a higher class, his father sent it home one Saturday night, instead of a joint of meat for their Sunday's dinner, not having the means of procuring both. When his death deprived his wife and children of the material advantage of his assistance, Joseph, during the intervals of school, and Isaac, before he went to his work as an apprentice, and after he came home from it, rising in winter many hours before day-break, and working by candle-light, plied the shuttle incessantly, for the better support of their mother, left in an ill state of health, to get a scanty living by the labour of her hands. He remained with his master

for several years, until his brother Joseph, — who, from the humble station of chapel clerk of Catherine-hall, Cambridge, in which capacity, supported by a subscription of several admirers of his extraordinary learning in Leeds, he entered that university, soon after the death of his father, had become the head master of the grammar-school, and afternoon leoturer of the principal church in Hull, — from an income of £200 a-year, generously resolved to take upon himself the charge of his education for the church. Before, however, he had him removed to Hull, he commissioned a clergyman at Leeds to ascertain what were his attainments, and the promise of future excellence which his genius gave. This gentleman found the young weaver at his loom, with a Latin Tacitus lying by his side, and after examining him for some time as to the extent of his attainments, — the degree of knowledge which he exhibited, the accuracy of his ideas, and the astonishing command of language which he possessed, fully satisfied him of the competency of the lad for the situation in which it was intended to place him; and a few days after, at the age of 17, he left Leeds, and the occupation of a weaver, for his brother's dwelling, and the more congenial pursuits of a literary life. Though still but a boy, he was found to have been so well grounded in the classics by Mr. Moore, the usher of the grammar-school of Leeds, as to be enabled to render material assistance to his brother, in teaching the lower boys of his crowded classes. Whilst not thus engaged, he pursued his own studies with his wonted diligence, and soon became a complete and accomplished classic. In mathematics also, his attainments must at this time have been considerable, as his brother, whose pre-eminence as a scholar lay not in these pursuits, on the occurrence of any algebraical difficulty, was in the habit of sending to him for its solution. Having thus redoubled his diligence to make up for the time he had lost, — well prepared by a most laborious and successful, if not a long course of study, aided by natural talents of unusual depth and splendour, to make a conspicuous figure at the University, he was entered a sizar of Queen's College, Cambridge, in the year 1770, where he greatly distinguished himself by his learning and application. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1774, when he attained the high honour of being at once the senior wrangler of his year, and the first Smith's prize man. So strongly, indeed, was his superiority over all his competitors marked upon this occasion, that, contrary to the usual practice, it was deemed right by the examiners to interpose a blank space between

them, and he was honoured with the designation of *Incomparabilis*, a distinction which has never been conferred, but in one other instance. Nor was his academical fame confined to his mathematical proficiency, for he was not less eminent in other walks of literature and science. In theology, we learn from bishop Watson, that he was so deeply read, that when he kept his act, the divinity school was thronged with auditors from the top to the bottom, and their curiosity was amply gratified by listening to what the prelate terms a real academical entertainment. The circumstance of these disputations being held in Latin, proves also that Milner must have made great progress in classical knowledge.

Such high academical honours were sure of meeting with their reward; and we accordingly find, that in the following year he was elected a fellow of his college. In 1783 and 1785, he acted as moderator in the schools; was nominated, in 1782, one of the proctors, and in 1783, a taxor of the University. In the latter year he was also chosen to be the first Jacksonian Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, in which sciences he had previously given several courses of public lectures in the University, with great acceptance.

Whilst at College he formed an intimacy with Mr. Wilberforce, whom he is said to have been instrumental in bringing to the decided adoption of those views of religion which he has since so steadily maintained, and adorned by a life consistent in all points with the profession which he makes. By his means Mr. Milner was introduced to the acquaintance of Mr. Pitt; and in the year 1787, these three eminent men set out together on a tour to the Continent, in which they had not proceeded far before Mr. Pitt was recalled home in consequence of some change in the ministry, which led to his elevation to the premiership. His companions accompanied him to England, where their intimacy was continued uninterrupted by any differences, until first Mr. Pitt, and then Dean Milner, were removed by death; leaving, we fondly hope, the survivor of this interesting trio to linger long behind his departed friends, cheered in the close of a long and useful life, by a recollection of the good which he has been permitted to effect, by the active devotion of the strength and vigour of his days to the cause of religion and benevolence.

In the following year, (1788) he was elected *Président* of the College, to which, as a student, he had been so bright an ornament, and about the same time took his degree of Doctor

in Divinity. He immediately set himself vigorously to work to effectuate some reforms, which a less independent mind than his would have been deterred from attempting, by the senseless but appalling cry of innovations. Whilst a student, he had witnessed,—in the early part of his collegiate residence, he had indeed personally felt the mortifying influence of aristocratical pride, in compelling the sizars to wait as servants behind the chairs of the fellows at their dinners; and as soon as he had the power, he wanted not the spirit, to abolish so degrading a distinction. He also freed this meritorious class of students, whose only crime was poverty, from some other servile obligations imposed in the days of monkish ignorance and civil bondage, when priests had their villains, and rich men their bondmen, sold and bartered with their goods and soil. Of late years, the college, which had been the asylum of Erasmus, was rapidly retrograding in its reputation for learning and discipline; but from the moment of his assuming the reins of its government, he laboured incessantly and successfully to restore its ancient character for both. In its interior arrangements, he resolutely corrected all the abuses which had crept in by the laxity or negligence of his predecessors; whilst he exerted his influence, nor did he exert it in vain, to introduce to its fellowships men eminent for their talents in other colleges, and who always found in him a steady patron and a zealous friend. During his presidency, it became especially celebrated for the number of pious young men who studied there for the Christian ministry; and who are now some of the most popular and zealous clergymen of the establishment, amongst that class of its teachers termed opprobriously by some, but as an honourable distinction by others, evangelical. In this view, his long residence at Cambridge, and that of his pious and liberal friend, the Rev. Charles Simeon, senior fellow of King's College, may certainly be considered highly beneficial to the church of God.

By the splendour of his reputation, and his uncommon zeal and activity in the progress of science whilst in the vigour of life, Dr. Milner aided also, in no slight degree, the cause of learning, by giving a strong impulse to the study of mathematics and the various branches of experimental philosophy in the University of which he was one of the brightest ornaments. In 1791, he was raised to the deanery of Carlisle; owing, there can be little doubt, this lucrative and valuable ecclesiastical appointment, to the friendly patronage of the then prime minister, Mr. Pitt.

In 1798, he was placed in the chair of the Lucasian professor of mathematics, a situation worth about £350. a-year, which had been successively filled by Isaac Barrow, sir Isaac Newton, Whiston, Saunderson, Colson, and Waring, the most eminent mathematicians of their day. He twice served the office of vice-chancellor of the University, first in 1792, and afterwards in 1809; and, during his first vice-chancellorship, presided at the extraordinary trial of Mr. Frend, who was expelled the University, for what was considered a libel on the liturgy of the church of England.

As an author, dean Milner is advantageously known to the public, by the life of his brother Joseph; a beautiful piece of fraternal biography, and an honourable memorial of his own gratitude to the beloved earthly architect of his fortune. He also published some animadversions on the Ecclesiastical History of Dr. Haweis; and in "Strictures on some of the Publications of Dr. Herbert Marsh," gave to the world a powerful and masterly defence of the Bible Society, of which he was at all times, and in all places, the liberal-minded and eloquent advocate; materially assisting its interests, by forming, in conjunction with Mr. Dealtry, professor Farish, and a few other senior graduates, an auxiliary to the institution, in the town and University of Cambridge, which has triumphed over the opposition excited against it; as the holy, devoted, and consistent walk and conduct of its supporters there, has long since lived down the prejudices which that opposition, in a great measure, originated. He also edited his brother's works, and published from his manuscripts the third, and a part of the fourth, volume of his valuable Church History; completing himself the latter, and adding a fifth likewise, entirely of his own composition. He communicated, principally between the years 1778 and 1800, a few papers to the Transactions of the Royal Society, of which he was a fellow. Amongst these are short treatises on the communications of motions, by impacts and gravity; the limits of algebraical equations, containing a general demonstration of the rule of Des Cartes, for finding the number of affirmative and negative roots; and the precession of the equinoxes. These labours of his pen were accomplished amidst weighty and accumulating public duties, and under all the disadvantages of a state of health, which would seldom permit him to quit his chamber, or to use great exertion of any kind, without danger, to use his own words, to "his poor fragments of health." For upwards of forty years that health had been in a precarious state. Shattered

by excessive application to study during the early period of his residence at the University, inattention to the first indications of disease, tended to fix in a constitution naturally robust, and even Herculean in its strength, some of those numerous distressing complaints which flesh is heir to. Spasms in his stomach, severe and almost uninterrupted headaches, oppression of the breath, broken slumbers, disturbed by the most frightful dreams,—these were the unwelcome companions of his studies, and interrupters of his repose. Slowly, but surely, debilitating his frame, at times they assumed such alarming appearances, as to threaten him every moment with dissolution. A great flow of animal spirits sustained him, indeed, during the presence of a friend, or when any sudden emergencies of duty demanded an unusual effort; yet were his sufferings often very acute, and they reduced him, as he advanced in life, to a state of comparative incapacity for any laborious effort. To their prevalence are we to attribute the unfinished state of his Church History, which would have been greatly increased in value, had his health permitted him to conclude it. From the same cause he but rarely exercised the admirable talents which he possessed for pulpit eloquence, it being with great difficulty that he was enabled to preach, even in a sitting posture, eight, ten, or at the furthest a dozen times at Carlisle, and four or five times at Queen's College; and the same cause prevented his being so constant an attendant on the public ordinances of religion, as he wished to be. For the last few years of his life, his health and strength rapidly declined, though he witnessed their decay with the utmost resignation and composure; endeavouring, as he himself wrote to a friend, to "make it his prayer, that the afflictions which he suffered might not be removed, until they had brought about and finished the work which our gracious and merciful high Priest intended them to perform." Informed by his physicians some years before his death, that with such a pulse as his, a man's life was not worth one minute, he could say, without fear or regret, "how loudly all this says, prepare to meet thy God!" A few weeks before his decease, the dean had come up to town on business, and took up his abode as usual in the house of his old and valued friend, Mr. Wilberforce. He embraced the opportunity of a short residence in London to have medical advice, but the gentlemen who were called in had no idea of his disease being attended with any immediate danger; nor did he himself appear, indeed, to entertain more than his general and long fixed conviction of the extreme

uncertainty of the continuance of a person of his shattered health in this world. His conversation, however, was at times peculiarly serious; and he lost no suitable opportunity of bearing his testimony to the importance of the doctrine of grace, of personal piety, and an entire submission to the will of God. At times he seemed to have a conviction of his approaching end. On one occasion he said to a clergyman long known to him, and who was about to return into the country, "God bless you! take care *where* you and I meet *again*—that is every thing." Not many days before he was confined to his room, on taking leave of another friend, who was setting out on a long voyage, after bidding him farewell with the rest of the company, the dean called him back; and as he shook hands with him again, said, "Farewell! God bless you—my heart will be with you, and with all, I trust, who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Time is short,—let us hope to meet on durable ground." A day or two before his death, he made an attempt to engage in prayer with his servant who attended him, desiring him previously to read to him the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel; a portion of Scripture which many years before he had pointed out to a friend as a favourite with him, especially that verse of it in which our Lord assures his disciples, "In my Father's house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you." When the reading was over, the dean put his hand to his forehead, and said, "I cannot tell what is the matter with me, but I cannot think; my mind is gone." The night previous to his removal, the oldest, and one of the most affectionate of his friends, came to his bed-side, when he uttered, with great bodily weakness, a word or two, which convinced him that he was looking for another and a better world. On Sunday morning, the 1st of April, about eleven o'clock, he suddenly extended his limbs, and in three sighs closed his earthly pilgrimage, and entered on his heavenly rest, having attained the 70th year of his age.

Thus terminated the mortal existence of Isaac Milner, who, in intellectual endowments, was, unquestionably, one of the first men of his day. He possessed, indeed, what might truly be termed a gigantic understanding. Such was the comprehension and vigour of his mind, that it could embrace the most extensive and difficult subjects—such the clearness of his conception, that it enabled him to contemplate a long and intricate series of argument with distinctness, and to express it with precision. Gifted with a very extraordinary memory, he was enabled to retain the large

stores of knowledge which he had amassed; and to bring them, with the other powers of his mind, into complete action at his will. Nor was his knowledge confined to one or two branches of science, but spreading itself over the whole field of human inquiry,—in experimental philosophy, and the various useful arts, he had pushed his researches to an extent that would have raised other men to distinction, but which in him seemed only the accompaniments and attendants of still higher gifts. As a mathematician, he was one of the first, if not the very first, of his age; whilst, as a theologian, he had few, if any, superiors. He had also a great partiality for mechanics; and, spending most of his leisure, during the lifetime of his brother, at Hull, his lodgings there were a complete workshop, filled with all kinds of carpenter's and turner's tools. Here he was accustomed daily to relax his mind from the fatigues of study, by some manual labour; and so much was he interested in these pursuits, that his lathe, and appendages for turning, were not only extremely curious, but very expensive, having cost him no less a sum than a hundred and forty guineas. He had also a very ingenious machine, partly of his own invention, which formed, and polished at the same time, watch wheels of every description, with the utmost possible exactness. As a chemist, too, he ranked deservedly high, and the French are said to have availed themselves of his discovery of the decomposition of nitre, to supply, without foreign assistance, the vast consumption of that article in the manufacture of gunpowder, for the work of death in their continued and destructive wars. It may reasonably be doubted, however, whether, with a strength of understanding which seemed to grasp at will whatever was within the sphere of human knowledge, he combined, at least in any high degree, perhaps the most splendid, and certainly the most imposing and attractive faculty of the mind, invention; whilst, in matters of taste and imagination he, unquestionably, discovered little sensibility.

With these powers and attainments, he combined a felicitous talent for conversation, but seldom united with an ardent devotion to the abstruser sciences; so that the flow of his familiar chat, the cheerfulness of his disposition, and his easy communicativeness, were as attractive as his mental faculties were commanding. There was a sort of dignified simplicity, and unaffected frankness of manner, about him, which, without abating the respect, won the affections of those who were in his company. All his statements were characterized by a

forcé and plainness, which was strongly contrasted with that indecision of sentiment, and those affected involutions of style, natural to inferior minds. Expressing what he thought fully, with a clearness of conception, an authority of intellect, and a vigour of language, which, at once, instructed and convinced, he seemed to have an almost instinctive dislike to the tricks and trappings of disputation; and would hardly suffer the person with whom he conversed to proceed, if he wandered after secondary and unessential points, or if he hesitated and lingered in making a fair and perspicuous exposition of what he really meant. No one, however, was more ready to grapple with a great question, and to meet the most powerful opponent on fair grounds of argument.

Owing partly to the peculiar character of his understanding, and in part to his having addicted himself chiefly to the severer studies, in common conversation he was less ready than might have been expected in apprehending the meaning of those who, instead of expressing themselves in distinct propositions, seemed merely to hint at their opinions. It was, perhaps, too, this love of certainty and precision which led him to investigate every subject that presented itself to his mind; a habit which might sometimes lead him off from the fixed and unbroken pursuit of greater and more adequate objects of inquiry.

He possessed a surprising insight into human nature, and would put himself into the situation and circumstances of others, comprehend the process of their reasonings, and develop the errors of their judgment, with a facility almost approaching to intuition.

Of a man thus rarely gifted, and profoundly learned, it is highly gratifying to record that he bore a uniform testimony to those great truths of the Christian religion, which the puny wits, and would-be philosophers of the age, think it an indication of a noble mind to ridicule and despise. The fall and total corruption of man; salvation by grace; the necessity of repentance, and of a living faith in the death and merits of the Son of God; justification by faith alone; the regenerating and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit in the souls of men; the indispensable obligation of the converted Christian to holy obedience in heart, temper, and life; these were the truths which he considered to constitute the essence of the Gospel of Christ, and to form the foundation stones of the reformed Protestant church. The indistinct statement of these important doctrines, if not the denial of them, by too many of the clergy; and the still more pre-

valent neglect of enforcing them, and applying them closely to the consciences of their hearers, he regarded as a dangerous defection from sound doctrine. In addition to the above essential truths, he held the doctrine of personal election; but, at the same time, he was no less firm a believer in that of universal redemption; conceiving that he thus gave ~~its due weight and place to every part of the word of God,~~ whilst he was very far from admitting those absurd positions which the opponents of the doctrine of election affirm to be the necessary consequences of that tenet. The difficulties confessedly adhering to the questions connected with the Divine purposes he very fully admitted, and was only surprised when men, who had obviously never studied the subject, dogmatized upon it, and affected to regard every point as clear and free from mystery.

As connected with the power and influence of religion on the heart, through the agency of the Holy Spirit—a topic on which he frequently insisted with great force—the dean was disposed to view the late controversy on baptism as one of the utmost moment. He thought, indeed, that the question of the grace accompanying the sacrament, had always been one of considerable difficulty; but that to pretend that nothing was more clear than that regeneration always attended baptism, was an absurdity at once contrary to the real state of the fact, and to the general sentiments of our reformers.

Entertaining views and opinions thus decidedly evangelical, Dr. Milner ranked amongst the most impressive preachers of our day. The simple dignity of his manner, his seriousness, his richness of thought, his perspicuity, the solidity and weight of his observations on human life, his forcible reasoning, his close and overwhelming appeals to the conscience, were calculated, with the blessing of God, to produce a powerful effect upon those who candidly attended to him. His sentiments and feelings with regard to the tenor of his ministry, were such as became a faithful ambassador for Christ. In a letter written to a friend, in August, 1813, he says, "There is one thing evidently taking place, at which it is lawful for me to rejoice; and at which, therefore, I will rejoice; namely, that I hear more and more every year of the blessed effects of some of my labours. These smiles of the Head of the church are, to my mind, the most delightful thing by far that I meet with in this world; and, I thank God, that the effect which they seem to have on my mind, is to dispose me to be more simple in my addresses, to use less disguise, and

to rely less and less on any human schemes and artifices for making the Gospel more palatable. Such plans never did answer; they do no good at the time, and afterwards the remembrance of them is sure to prove either a burden or a snare, or both, to the conscience. To live the life of the disciple of Christ in all our intercourse with men, and to act the faithful part, I find a much harder task; and, I must say, that I invariably succeed better by coming out from among them. I do this much more than I have done, though I never gave very greatly into the practice."

These are sentiments worthy of a dignitary of the church, and remind us powerfully of some of the dignitaries of the church of England in its best days—days which it wants but such men as Milner, for its bishops and its deans, to revive again. Placed as he was in a situation which peculiarly exposed him to opposition, and to ridicule for preaching and maintaining the unfashionable doctrines of our venerable reformers, and of the articles and homilies of the church, of which they were the ornament and pride, he was not deterred by the senseless charge of Methodism from boldly and fully declaring the whole counsel of God. Convinced, as he himself avowed, that "the preaching of the word is still, as it always was, the great means used by God in bringing about conversions;" he prepared, in the latter years of his life, many more discourses for the pulpit than his strength permitted him to deliver. That strength, however, he tried to the utmost; and when he was engaged in the work which he loved, the importance of his subject would sometimes lead him to preach for an hour at a time, though he was well convinced such an exertion was too much for his weak state of health. His friends, immediately after his death, gave us reason to hope, however, that his labours would not be lost; but that some of the sermons which he could not deliver from the pulpit, would be permitted to edify the Christian public from the press: and we are happy to record the partial fulfilment of that promise, in the recent appearance of one volume of those discourses, whose merit has induced a general wish, in which we most cordially participate, for a continuance of the selection. Expectations are also held out, by their editor, of the publication, at some future, and we trust at no very distant period, of a treatise, left behind him in a tolerably prepared state for the press, on some of the most important of those doctrines of the Gospel, which formed the basis at once of the dean's ministration and his faith.

The seriousness and earnestness of his pulpit addresses followed him into the social party, whenever theological subjects were the topic of conversation. The pleasantry and humour which predominated in his ordinary discourse to a degree that seemed, to those who knew him not thoroughly, to border on levity, never for a moment mingled with his consideration of religion, or his mode of treating sacred things. It was probably, indeed, his deep sense of the importance of the subject, added to a consciousness of his own constitutional tendency to hilarity, that induced him, in general, to abstain from religious questions in mixed companies, and to reserve himself upon such points for opportunities of more private intercourse. If, however, he found the attention of the company into which he was thrown, drawn towards these subjects, he would expatiate with great ability and delight on any important point in divinity which might be proposed to him, though it was his more usual course to confine himself to one or two brief, but important remarks upon it. When, however, any individual seemed really desirous of obtaining information, or to have his doubts upon any particular point removed, the dean always took great pleasure in conferring with him alone; and in fully explaining to him his views, and the reasons on which they were founded. "In these conversations," says a friend* who enjoyed the high privilege of being engaged with him in many, and those on the most interesting subjects, "he poured out, not only the riches of a full, but the instructions of a most pious mind, fraught with practical observations on the internal springs of human conduct, and limited by a conscientious regard to the prescriptions of sacred writ."

There is one other amiable feature in his character which merits particular notice; and that is, his fraternal affection; which, towards his brother Joseph in particular, was unusually warm. Through the whole course of their lives, these brothers, in spirit, in talent, in pursuits, as well as by the ties of blood, appear to have been inseparably united in heart. The mutual affection which they displayed, is, indeed, delightful to contemplate; whilst nothing can be more touching than the manner in which the survivor alludes to their separation. "Perhaps," says he, "no two brothers were ever more closely bound to each other. Isaac, in particular, remembers

* The author of the brief but excellent memoir of Dr. Milner, inserted in the *Christian Observer* for May, to which we are indebted for most of the materials of this character, and for which, we strongly suspect that both the public and ourselves are still more deeply indebted to the pen of Mr. Wilberforce.

no earthly thing without being able in some way to connect it tenderly with his brother Joseph. During all his life, he has constantly aimed at enjoying his company as much as circumstances permitted. The dissolution of such a connexion could not take place without being severely felt by the survivor. No separation was ever more bitter and afflicting; with a constitution long shattered by disease, he never expects to recover from that wound."

In all the other relations of life which he was called upon to sustain, he displayed the same affectionate disposition. Never, indeed, did there, perhaps, exist a man whose heart contained more of the milk of human kindness than did his, or one whose affectionate concern for every living creature about him was more remarkable. This was particularly manifested in the warm sympathy and incessant assiduity, which the illness of a friend, or even an inmate of the family in which he might happen to be residing, excited; though, on the other hand, his simplicity, both of mind and manner, rendered him almost rough and blunt in the treatment of a trivial complaint, or such as he thought rather imaginary than real. He was ready at all times to manifest his kindness in the liberality of his pecuniary contributions, and in any call upon his time or his purse for charitable objects, either of a private or a public nature; and so cheerfully was his assistance given, that there was much justice in the remark of one of the oldest and most intimate of his friends, that his liberality might be said to be the effect rather of nature than of principle.

Humility was also another striking feature in his character. Never at any period of his life was he ashamed of his former lowly station; and after he had become the head of a college, a dignified member of the clerical order, and proved himself one of the first scholars in the country, whenever he passed through Leeds, as he generally did on his journeys to the north, he never failed to visit the obscure friends of his boyish days, and by his well-timed acts of generosity towards them, often did he "deliver the poor and the fatherless, and cause the widow's heart to sing for joy." Isaac Milner, the poor fatherless weaver, and the Very Reverend Isaac Milner, the president, the professor, and the dean, rich in the world's goods, as well as in literary fame, (for notwithstanding his liberality, he accumulated, from the savings of his preferments, a fortune of from fifty to sixty thousand pounds), never wore even the semblance of two different men. Through life he manifested in his deportment the unaffected sim-

plicity of manners, and affability of disposition, appropriate to his early station in society, but not less adorning the high sphere in which, by the providence of God, he afterwards was called to move. Employed in the laborious occupations of a mechanic, as was that portion of his life in which habits are generally formed, there was nothing vulgar or low in his; for in his rapid elevation, his manners and his sentiments eminently and uniformly displayed the refined taste and true politeness of the scholar and the gentleman, so that the disadvantages with which he struggled in his youth, only enhance our admiration of the conduct and attainments of his maturer years.

In so bright a character we must expect some specks, though they were few and easily accounted for. In the estimation of some, his habitual cheerfulness was too nearly allied to levity; but we have already remarked, that this was laid entirely aside whenever religion was the topic of his discourse; and so fully was he aware of his constitutional tendency to hilarity, that he exercised great vigilance over the indulgence of this disposition. The tendency to this course which he strongly felt, he declared it to be our duty to repress, if not to stifle, assigning as a reason for doing so, that "this world is not a place of mirth;" neither, we would add, if its comforts are enjoyed in a right spirit, is it a place for perpetual gloom.

The inactivity of the latter years of his life, compared with his herculean powers of mind, has also been objected to him by others, and was often a subject of painful reflection to himself. The wretched state of his health will, however, be a sufficient apology for this, to those who know what an exertion it is to keep the mental powers in vigorous action when those of the body are but the wrecks of what they were. In his case disease, real and excruciating in its pangs, and incessant in its attacks, to use his own energetic expressions, had, indeed, certainly clipped his wings, and laid a cold hand on many of his schemes.

He has also been charged with assuming an air of undue severity in his controversy with Dr., now bishop Marsh, on the Bible Society; but even here, it may be urged on those who make this objection, that his apparent harshness was rather the effect of a commanding intellect, exercised on a question which it had thoroughly examined, with perhaps some little remainder of the unpolished roughness of his early life, which occasionally appeared not only in his controversial writings, but in his conversational merriment, than of any

design of being rude or severe. In fact, he had too great a mind, was too well read in history, and too warmly and conscientiously attached to the Bible Society, not to write on this subject, as though it was his object to crush and destroy his opponent. And if the Bible Society be that powerful engine for doing good, which he believed, and which we still believe it to be, who that considers it so but will think the sooner all opposition to its operations is crushed and destroyed, the better?

With dean Milner, one of its ablest advocates has now closed his career; and whilst we rejoice that he has left many of his fellow-labourers in so good a cause behind him, we are sure that they will join with us in lamenting his loss, with the conviction that in him a standard-bearer has indeed fallen in the army of the living God, though fallen but in death, to rise in glory.

THE RT. HON. SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART., G.C.B. F.A.S.,
&c. &c. &c. PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY
OF LONDON.

THIS celebrated naturalist is said to have been originally descended from a noble Swedish house, though he could not trace his pedigree higher than to an ancient and a respectable English family, seated, at least since the reign of Edward III., in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; several of its members having represented in parliament different cities and boroughs of those and the adjacent counties. Amongst these was a Joseph Banks, of Raisby or Reresby, Esq., the grandfather of sir Joseph, who was more than once returned for Peterborough, and who served the office of high sheriff of the county of Lincoln in the year 1736. His second son, William, who had assumed the surname and arms of Hodgkinson, of which family was his maternal grandfather, in order to succeed, during the lifetime of his elder brother, Joseph, to an estate at Overton, was the father of the subject of the present brief memoir, whose mother was Sarah, daughter of William Bate, esq. He was born at Reresby Abbey, in the county of Lincoln, on the 13th of December, 1743, and at the proper age was sent to Eton, and thence removed to Oxford, where, at the age of eighteen, he was left in possession of an ample fortune, by the death of his father in the year 1761. Soon after this period his mother removed to Chelsea, and resided there for many years, in a house near the College, and fronting the river. There she obtained the gratitude and esteem of the neighbouring

poor, to whom her charities were at once liberal, extensive, and judicious. What progress Mr. Banks made in his collegiate studies we are not able to state; he appears not, however, greatly to have distinguished himself in them, and indeed his entire devotion of the chief energies of his mind, and the ample resources of his fortune, to the pursuits of natural history, to which he manifested a decided predilection at an early period of his residence at the university, will abundantly excuse his not having done so. On his occasional visits to his mother, during the vacations, the neighbouring botanical garden of the Apothecaries' Company, and the gardens and nursery grounds of Messrs. Lee and Kennedy, at Hammersmith, afforded him abundant specimens of cultivated plants and flowers, for the successful pursuit of his favourite study,—whilst for those of wilder growth, and oftener of fairer hue, he extended his researches over the neighbouring hills and dales, and to more distant woods. In one of these scientific excursions, while botanizing in a ditch, he was rudely seized on by a body of constables, who, finding him busy, or, as they fancied, concealed among nettles, briars, and thorns, concluded that he must be the robber for whom they were making diligent search. Accordingly, without heeding his remonstrances or protestations, they pinioned and handcuffed their breathless prisoner, and, *nolens volens*, dragged him before a neighbouring magistrate; but on searching his pockets, great, we may imagine, was the surprise, not only of these harpies of the law, but of its sage administrator,—when, instead of money, and watches, and jewels, and pistols, and picklocks, they found his pockets stuffed to the full with plants, and roots, and wild flowers, of different species, which he earnestly requested to have returned to him, as was of course done on ascertaining his rank and pursuits, with many apologies for the mistake which had placed him in so awkward a predicament. This extraordinary adventure had no effect, however, in damping the ardour and avidity with which he followed up his practical researches in his favourite science. To these he added a great fondness for angling, which he frequently indulged on Whittlesea Mere, an extensive sheet of water in the neighbourhood of his paternal seat. Whilst there engaged in his pleasure-boat, trolling for pikes, casting the net, or watching the motions of the line, during the livelong day, a kindred devotion to this rural sport introduced to his acquaintance the celebrated lord Sandwich, afterwards first lord of the Admiralty; who

spending all his leisure hours on the water, formed an intimacy with the subject of this memoir, more beneficial, it is to be apprehended, from the infidel and licentious character of this nobleman, to the prosecution of his scientific pursuits, than either to his morals or his principles. In company with him, during their residence in London, Mr. Banks passed whole days upon the Thames, and even at night, when fish are said to bite more readily, were often to be found in a punt at their accustomed post and sport. Whilst they luxuriously quaffed their Champagne and Burgundy—for nothing could divert or lessen the devotion of my lord Sandwich to his wine—their rods were regularly ranged round the boat, with bells affixed to the extremity of each, whose tinkling sounds gave notice of that most important incident in a patient angler's life, a nibble at his hook. When summoned thus to watch the uncertain conversion of those nibbles into bites, and of bites to the capture of the prize, the sportsmen were so eagerly bent on their pursuit, that the morning has often dawned upon them at their labours. We are no anglers; and are indeed so little sensible of the delights of this diversion,—without any disrespect be it spoken to those who are,—that when watching one of their tribe intent upon the slightest motion of his float, on asking what he has caught, or how many bites he may have had, we have been told nothing, but some capital nibbles for four, five, or even half a dozen hours,—we have been tempted to consider the definition of one of their number given by Swift, a stick and a string, with a worm at one end and a fool at the other, though somewhat severe, but half a libel. In the case before us the diversion had, however, its incidental use in procuring for Mr. Banks the important patronage of his brother angler, who, on all occasions, forwarded his schemes for the advancement of his favourite study, and eventually most materially assisted him in their progress. Possessing facilities for following up his chosen pursuit, denied to many a votary of science as ardent but not as rich, that gentleman confined not his inquiries to the study or to books, but on quitting the university in 1763, crossed the Atlantic, to visit the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, with the sole purpose of examining their productions in the various departments of natural history. His enterprising spirit was rewarded by the accumulation of much practical knowledge, and of many rare and valuable specimens for his cabinet. In the year 1768, an ardent desire to increase his information, and to add to the

riches of his collection, induced him to join the expedition then about to sail under lieutenant, afterwards captain Cook, on a voyage of circumnavigation and discovery, particularly in the southern seas. The English government, at whose order and at whose expense this important expedition was undertaken, through the instrumentality of his friend, lord Sandwich, readily furnished to our scientific adventurer every facility for the prosecution of his inquiries, and for rendering his situation as comfortable as possible during a long and a perilous voyage. He however was ready, on his part, to contribute largely out of his private fortune towards the general purposes of an expedition, which had for its object the promotion of the cause of science; he accordingly engaged, at his own expense, a most desirable *compagnon du voyage* in the person of Dr. Solander, a learned Swede, educated under Linnæus, and generally supposed indeed to have been his favourite pupil. He was, at this time, assistant keeper of the collection of natural history in the British Museum, a situation which he had obtained chiefly on the credit of the letters of introduction which he brought with him to England, from his illustrious tutor. The scientific attainments of this gentleman, and his zealous devotion to the same pursuits, rendered him peculiarly eligible to direct and to assist the inquiries of Mr. Banks, who also took with him two draftsmen, one as a delineator of views and figures, the other of objects in natural history. Besides these, he was attended by a secretary, and four servants, two of them negroes. He also provided himself, at a considerable expense, with the scientific instruments necessary for his extended observations; with every convenience for preserving such specimens as he might be able to collect of natural or artificial objects; and with a variety of articles of our domestic manufacture suitable for distribution in the remote, and, in many cases, the savage regions which he was about to visit, for the improvement of the condition of their inhabitants, and the introduction among them of some of the comforts of civilized life.

On Friday, the 26th of August, 1768, the Endeavour, the only vessel employed in this important expedition, sailed from Plymouth; and before its arrival off Cape Finisterre, on the 5th of the following month, the two celebrated naturalists who had attached themselves to it, had observed and accurately examined several species of marine animals hitherto unnoticed by their predecessors, though several of them were found in great abundance within twenty leagues of the

Spanish coast. Few individuals had, indeed, hitherto traversed the seas, either willing or able to describe the thousand varieties of animal and vegetable life floating on their mighty waters; we need not, therefore, be surprised that comparatively little was known of their forms and habits. Amongst those which Mr. Banks and his companion first introduced to the notice of naturalists, from these regions, was a new species of *Oniscus*, found adhering to the *Medusa Pelagica*, and a new genus of marine animals, to which they gave the name of *Dagysa*, from the resemblance of one of their species to a gem. These latter were sometimes taken adhering together for the length of a yard or more, and shining in the water with very beautiful and variegated colours. To another animal, excelling these in the beauty and vividness of its hues, they gave the name of *Carcinicum Opalinum*, from its brightness equalling that of the opal. At a distance of about ten leagues from Cape Finisterre, several birds were caught amongst the rigging of the ship, of a species undescribed by Linnæus, and supposed to come from the coast of Spain. To these Mr. Banks gave the name of *Motacilla velificans*, because, as he good-humouredly observed in doing so, none but sailors would venture themselves on board a ship that was going round the world. In the passage from Teneriffe to Bona Vista, these active naturalists saw several flying fish, appearing from the cabin window glittering in a splendid variety of colours beyond imagination, their sides having the hue and brightness of burnished silver. They did not, however, succeed in catching any; but a few days after Mr. Banks went out in the boat, and caught one of those very curious and beautiful fish, the *Holothuria Physalis* of Linnæus, a species of the *Mollusca*, called by seamen Portuguese men of war. It is a kind of bladder, of about seven inches long, very much resembling the air-bladder of fishes, with a number of bright blue and red strings descending from the bottom, some of them from three to four feet in length, and which, on being touched, stung like a nettle, but with much more force. On the top of the bladder is a membrane, marked with black coloured veins, used like a sail, and turning to receive the wind, whichever way it blows, whence, no doubt, the seamen's name. Three days afterwards he shot the black-toed gull, then undescribed in the Linnæan system, to which he gave the name of *Larus Crepidatus*. In the evening of the 29th of October, the adventurous voyagers were gratified by a sight of that luminous appearance of the

sea, so often noticed by preceding navigators, and by them ascribed to various but erroneous causes; the true origin of these flashes of light, bearing an exact resemblance to lightning, and emitted from the sea so rapidly that sometimes seven or eight were seen at the same moment, having been satisfactorily traced by Mr. Banks and his companion, to a luminous animal of the *Medusa* species, a great quantity of which was brought up in their nets, and when laid upon the deck, had the appearance of metal violently heated. With these were also taken some small crabs of three different kinds, but each giving as much light as a glow-worm, though none of them so large as that insect by nine-tenths. Upon examination, they were all found to be of a species entirely new to the naturalist. On their arrival at Rio Janeiro, the absurd jealousy of the Portuguese viceroy prevented their making those discoveries which they had expected in a country so fruitful in productions of the earth, then but little known. Not only was permission refused to Mr. Banks to go up the country to gather plants, but neither he nor Dr. Solander were allowed to land; for when they attempted to leave the ship, to visit the viceroy, they were stopped by a guard-boat, the officer of which informed them, that he had particular orders, which he durst not disobey, to suffer neither officer nor passenger to go on shore, or even to pass his vessel. Conduct like this can scarcely be thought surprising in the agent of an absolute and jealous government, who was so little likely to be interested in the pursuits of science, that on being told that the English expedition was bound to the southward, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun, he could form no other conception of such a movement, than that it was the passing of the north star through the south pole. Captain Cook and Mr. Banks memorialized the governor against the absurdity and injustice of his conduct, but without effect. The servants of the latter did, however, contrive to steal on shore at day-break, and to remain there till dark, when they secretly returned to the ship with a quantity of plants and insects, which they had collected. Encouraged by this success, that gentleman himself, four days afterwards, found means to elude the vigilance of the soldiers in the guard-boat, and got on shore, where the people round the town—for neither his pursuits nor his inclination led him into it—treated him with great civility, which was evinced also in the behaviour of those in the town to his companion, Dr. Solander, who, on a request for the assistance of a surgeon being sent on board the Endeavour,

easily obtained admittance, in that character. But the jealousy of this unconscionable government was awakened by these visits. Captain Cook received intelligence the next day, that search was making for some people who had been on shore without the viceroy's permission; and Mr. Banks and his associate thereupon wisely determined not to venture any more, lest their zeal in the cause of science should procure them an unpleasant and an indefinite lodging in a Brazilian gaol. On the 7th of December, the ship left this inhospitable port and its illiterate governor, and on the sheering off of the guard-boat which had hovered round them, an unwelcome companion from the first moment of her arrival to the last of her stay, our indefatigable naturalist hastened to avail himself of its departure, for the examination of the neighbouring islands, in some of which, particularly in one at the mouth of the harbour of Ranza, he gathered many curious plants, and caught a variety of insects. For the latter pursuit this was, indeed, a fruitful clime, for we find that for three or four days the air was so loaded with butterflies — and those of Brazil we know are the richest in the world — that thousands were in view in every direction, and the greater part of them but just above the ship's mast-head. Whilst off the Brazilian coast, scarce a day passed in which some one or more fish of a new species was not brought to him. Immediately after leaving Rio, the navigators observed a singular phenomenon in the sea, which was covered with broad streaks of a yellowish colour, several of them a mile long, and three or four hundred yards wide; and on taking up some of the water thus curiously coloured, it was found to be full of innumerable atoms of a yellowish hue, pointed at the end, but none of them more than the fortieth part of an inch in length. In the microscope they appeared to be *fasciculi* of small fibres interwoven with each other, not unlike the *nidus* of some of the *phyganeas*, called *caddices*; but whether they were animal or vegetable substances, whence they came, or for what they were designed, neither Mr. Banks nor Dr. Solander could guess. The same appearance had however been observed when the circumnavigators first reached the continent of South America. In a bay, to which they gave the name of Vincent's Bay, in the strait of Le Maire, they found some curious sea-weeds, over some of which fourteen fathoms, or eighty-four feet, had been sounded, but as they made a very acute angle with the bottom, they were thought to be at the least as long again. The leaves were four feet in length, and

some of their stalks, though not thicker than a man's hand, one hundred and twenty: the foot-stalks were swelled into an air vessel; and our naturalists very appropriately gave to so large a plant the characteristic name of *Fucus Giganteus*. Landing on the adjacent shore in four hours, they collected above an hundred different plants and flowers, all of them wholly unknown to the inhabitants of Europe. Early on the next day, accompanied by the surgeon of the ship, an astronomer, three attendants, and two seamen to carry their baggage, they set off with a view to penetrate as far as they could into the country, near the coast of Terra del Fuego, intending to return at night; but after passing through a thick wood and swamp, the weather, which had hitherto been fine and bright as one of our days in May, became suddenly gloomy and cold. Though assailed at every step of their progress, by piercing blasts of wind and falls of snow, they pushed forward for the top of the rock, which from the lower hills they had conceived to be but about a mile before them. It proved however to be further; but at length the greater number of the party—for some were left behind with Mr. Buchan, the draftsman, who had been seized with a fit—reached the summit, where, as botanists, their expectations were amply realized, in finding a great variety of the alpine plants of this southern hemisphere. But whilst busily occupied in collecting them, the day was far spent, the cold became more intense, the snow blasts more frequent, and, satisfied of the impossibility of reaching the ship, they were compelled to pass the night on this barren mountain, or rather on the naked rock; but such was the intensity of the cold, and the difficulty of keeping the party from sleep, which, from the torpidity it brought on, was almost certain death, that it was not without extraordinary exertion and resolution on the part of Mr. Banks, that most of the party were got to a spot where a fire could be kindled; even Dr. Solander, who had warned his companions against the imminent danger of not keeping in motion, having been unable to contend with the strong tendency to sleep, but on giving way to it for five minutes, he lost the use of his limbs, whilst the muscles were so shrunk in so short a time that the shoes fell off his feet. Near that fire they passed the night, in a dreadful situation, for they had no provisions left, except a vulture which they had shot in their journey, which they divided amongst them, and cooked as each thought fit; obtaining thus about three mouthful of food apiece. Liquor they had none; for the sailors who were left behind in that part of the mountain

where Dr. Solander fell asleep with Richmond, Mr. Banks's black servant, who was so fatigued that though warned that his going to sleep would be instant death, he asked but permission to lie down and die,—had made free with the only bottle of rum which they had brought. The sleet continued to fall in considerable quantities, though it was then the midst of summer in that part of the world; and when the morning dawned they saw nothing around them but snow and icicles, collected as thickly on the trees as on the ground, and the blasts of wind followed each other with such rapidity, that they found it impossible to commence their journey to the ship. At six o'clock, however, they descried the place of the sun in the heavens, and about eight, a small regular breeze sprung up, which, with the gradually increasing influence of the solar rays, cleared the air, and brought on a thaw, but so slowly operative, that it was ten o'clock before they set out upon their return, when, after a tedious walk of three hours, they were greatly surprised to find themselves upon the beach and near the ship, at a time when they thought themselves at a considerable distance from it. But they returned with the loss of the poor black, and one of the sailors whom they left dead on the mountain, having fallen sacrifices to their inability to contend against the torpidity produced by the extreme cold.

Undeterred by this dangerous adventure, three days after its occurrence, the naturalists went on shore again, and collected many plants and shells, several of them till then unknown; paying also a visit to an Indian town, lying about two miles up the interior, where they were kindly received by the rude inhabitants, who seemed, however, to have been previously visited by other Europeans. On the 12th of April 1769, the expedition reached Otaheite, the great object of its lengthened voyage; and on landing there on the following day, Mr. Banks was honoured with some advances on the part of the Tomio, wife of one of the chieftains, not exactly according with European ideas of female delicacy, and which he did not, therefore, meet with all the complacency which the lady seemed to expect; though on his return to Europe, this, and a somewhat similar episode on the voyage, which will hereafter be alluded to, formed a fruitful subject of harmless bantering to his friends, and even of some satirical lampoons by Peter Pindar and others, to whom this title could not properly be applied.

(Continued after the Reviews.)

Translation of the Cinghalese Book called Rajewaliye (Rájá-vali). A History of Ceylon, compiled from the Historic-graphic Records of the Kingdom.

(Communicated by Sir Alexander Johnston, Knt., late Chief Justice of that Island.)

[PART II.]

From the Arrival of the Malabars in Ceylon, to the first Extermination of their Religion there.]

IN the days of king Retia Rajah, two brothers (Malabars) came on a message to Ceylon, and by treachery they killed the king, and taking upon themselves the government of the kingdom, governed for the space of twenty-two years; after which they were pursued and slain, by the younger brother of the famous king Deweny Paetissa Rajah, who thereupon became king, and was called Ayola Rajah, and reigned for the space of ten years. In the days of the said Ayola Rajah, the Malabar king of Saly Rata, whose name was Elala, with a great army of Malabars, came and disembarked at the mouth of the river called Mawwille Ganga, at which time the said haven went by the name of Maha Wato Totte. The said Elala pushed his way to Anuradhapura, killed the king, assumed the reins of government, raised thirty-two bulwarks, built cities, kept twenty great giants, and ten hundred and eighty thousand armed Malabars; which people destroyed the Daugobs of Anuradhapura, which had been built by Deweny Paetissa Rajah, and reigned wickedly for the space of forty-four years. In these days, the above said Kawan Tissa Rajah, the king of Runa Magam Nuwara, paid tribute to the Malabar king; nevertheless, the kingdom of Calany, and the kingdom Rooma Maugama, remained as an inheritance for the kings on Ceylon.

Tissa Rajah, who built the city, and was king of Ceylon, had a younger brother who lived in criminal connexion with his elder brother's wife, the queen of Calany, which the king discovered; and not willing to inflict any punishment upon his brother, sent secretly for a Rodia, that is, a person of the lowest cast that can be; and after having instructed him what he should answer, invited a number of people, and among them his younger brother, and then asked the Rodia if any person could be more vile than himself; upon which the Rodia answered, in the midst of the assembly, according as he had been taught, that a younger brother having conversation with his elder brother's wife, was more despicable

than him; and this answer made the young prince so ashamed, that he immediately left Calany, and went to reside in the place called Oedagampala. At this time, there was a high priest, and five hundred subordinate priests, who were constantly fed in the king's house at Calany, and who offered flowers, and taught in the temple of Calany. Now, the brother of Tissa Rajah, king of Calany, had learned to write with the said Teroonancy*, and made such progress, that he could write like the Teroonancy himself; and after having gone to Oedagampala, he called to him a common man, and dressing him like a priest, gave him a love letter to drop to the queen. The prince instructed him, saying, "When the Teroonancy, and the five hundred priests, go to the king's house to eat, go thou in the midst of them, and sit thou to the last; and, on coming away, the queen will move out seven paces from the palace, and the king will be out of the palace, then drop this letter near the queen." And so saying, he sent him away. When the Teroonancy, and the five hundred priests, went to eat in the king's house, the said false priest went also amongst them; but in place of doing as he had been instructed, he hid himself, and as the queen passed, dropped the letter near her, and she picked it up; but the king, who was somewhat advanced, hearing the sound of the letter falling, turned about, took it from the queen, and looking at the same, said, "This is no other than the writing of the Teroonancy, and does the thief (or villain) send love letters to the queen?" And immediately the Teroonancy was apprehended, and put into a caldron of oil; and while fire was put to the same, the counterfeit priest was likewise apprehended, killed, and cast into the river; and also the queen was laid hold of, and bound. Thus the unwise king of Calany, not knowing that the writing was his own brother's, took it to be the writing of his brother's master, and kept him seven days in a caldron of oil, with fire thereunder, which, however, remained cold as the water of the river.

The Teroonancy, in the mean time, foreseeing that on account of some sin which he had committed in a former state of being, it was ordained that he should now die such a death; and at the same time, deploring that he should die under a charge of such guilt, and thereby tarnish the dignity of the priesthood, calling the people around him, revealed the truth of the matter, and his own innocency; and having so done, was instantly consumed to ashes.

In these days the sea was seven leagues distant from

* High priest.

Calany, but, on account of what had been done to the Teroonancy, the gods, who were charged with the conservation of Ceylon, became enraged, and caused the sea to deluge the land; and as during the epoch called Duwapa-rayaga, on account of the wickedness of Rawana, the whole space from Manare to Tutoreen, in which space was contained the fortress of Rawana, twenty-five palaces, and four hundred thousand streets, was overflowed by the sea, so now in this time of Tissa Rajah, king of Calany, one hundred thousand large towns of the description called Patanyam, nine hundred and seventy fisher's villages, and four hundred villages inhabited by pearl fishers, and thus altogether eleven-twelfths of the territory which belonged to Calany, were swallowed up by the sea: many towns, however, and of the large ones Catupity Madampe escaped.

When the king heard that the sea had thus encroached on the land, he took his virgin daughter, washed her, arrayed her in clothes and jewels, put her into a thoney *, closed up the same, and fixing a writing on the thoney, intimating that a king's daughter was inclosed therein, he made an offering of her to the waters; and the king himself, mounting his elephant, went to behold the approach of the overwhelming flood. While thus going to behold the approach of the desolating waves, the earth opened her jaws, and the fire of hell, like a raging billow of the sea, rolled forth, and involved both the king and his elephant; and thus the king descended to the hell called Babala Dia Nasana, there to be tormented; the hell which is covered with a surface of burning copper, so hot that the waters of the sea rolling over the same are dried up. The princess who had been offered to the sea, by virtue of her good works in a former state of being, was now so fortunate as to be preserved; for Walahaka, the god of the winds, and Mooda Manunecalawa, the goddess of the sea, beholding the thoney, conspired together to drive the same to the southward till the thoney went ashore at the place called Roonoogama; and the thoney having been espied by the fishermen of the king, Kawan Tissa Rajah, how the same was covered, and the inscription that was thereon, they carried the tidings to the city. The king, discovered by the writing, that the princess contained in the thoney was the daughter of Tissah Rajah, king of Calany, who had been offered to the sea. The boat was uncovered, the princess taken out, and placed upon gold, water put upon her hand, and thus made wife to the king; and thus the king caused a temple to be built, the name of which is

* Small boat.

gave to his said queen, viz. Wikara Maha Devi, and thus he carried her to his capital.

The said (young) queen of Kawan Tissa Rajah, became pregnant, and was taken with a longing, viz. she longed for a honey-comb, sixty cubits long, which the priests were first to eat of, and then herself. She longed next to bathe, while standing on the sword of the chief of the twenty giants of the Malabar king Elala; and, thirdly, to be dressed with a sort of tank flowers, called mawnel, from the city of Anuradha Pura.

Kawan Tissa Rajah had one giant called Welusumana; but, besides him, he had no other, and the king having called the said giant, told him of the longings of the queen. The giant began his search for a bee-hive, and in searching along, came to the haven of Migamuive, that is, Negombo, where a large fishing thoney having been hawled ashore, lay on the beach, and therein he found a hive, sixty cubits in length, which he took and presented to the queen; and so her first longing was satisfied. From that day forward the said place was called Migamua (which signifies bee-village).

The giant, in the next place, repaired to Anuradha Pura in the habit of a beggar, and, walking about, looked for an occasion of taking advantage of the Malabars. He entered into the premises belonging to the king's palace, and found his way to the stable, and examined the horses; he then went and plucked such flowers as his mistress longed for; returned into the king's stable, took a horse from thence, and, mounting upon the same, said, (to those that stood by) I am the giant Welusumana, catch me if you can; and so rode off. The Malabar king, hearing of the matter, instantly called for the chief of his giants, and ordered him to catch Welusumana; and accordingly he mounted upon a horse, and began to pursue. The horses flew with such velocity, that in the race the dust of the ground began to rise so thick, from the horse's feet, that the hinder rider could not see him who was in the front, and Welusumana, taking the advantage of the dust which blinded the other's eyes, stepped out of the middle of the road, and took his stand unperceived behind the branch of a tree, which was on the road side, and, drawing his sword, held the same across the road, and thus when the Malabar giant came up, he rushed with all his might upon the edge of the sword, was cut in two, and fell to the ground. The giant Welusumana cut off the head, and took the sword of the Malabar giant, and came to the city of Roanamagama, and presented himself, and the sword and flowers that the queen had longed for, to the king. The

queen, after ten months' pregnancy, brought forth a prince, and he was called Gemunu Cumara. On the same day that this prince was born, there came a she elephant from the place called Chadanta, in Damba Deiva, (which sort of elephants can fly) to Tuttocoreen, and from thence to Ceylon, and near the sea side at Roonamagama, in a jungle of Cadol, brought forth a young one, and having so done, returned to whence she came. A fisherman, who was wandering about the shore fishing, having seen the young elephant, came and informed the king; and the king caused the same to be caught, and brought up, and gave the same to the young prince, Gemunu Cumara. The queen afterwards brought forth another prince, which prince was called Tissa Cumara. These two princes having grown big, it happened on a certain day, the king their father took a dish of rice, and divided the same into three parts, and then called his two sons, and told them, in token that they would never fall out with one another, to eat one of the said shares of rice; and accordingly the princes obeyed. He then told them, in token that they would never molest, or act contrary to the priests, to eat another share of the said rice; and accordingly the princes obeyed. He then, in the third place, told them, in token that they, like him, would never molest the Malabars, to eat the other share of rice; upon which Tissa Cumara, the younger brother, dashed his share of the rice against the wall; but his older brother, Gemunu Cumara, left his rice in the dish, and went and lay down, shrinking himself together. The mother, seeing Gemunu Cumara in that manner upon his bed, asked him the reason hereof? upon which he answered, I am here, confined on the right hand (or south side) by the great blue sea, and from the other side by the great blue sea, and from the other side by the (river) Maw-willi ganga, and there live the Malabars, and thus, where shall I extend my limbs?

There was on the south of Anuradha Pura, a village called Cadarenda Gama; in this village there was a child of the vellala cast, playing in the sand, and his mother fastened the end of the girdle which was about the child's middle, to the curric-stone, and went to the well to bring waters. The child, in his mother's absence, crept to the door, dragging the stone after him; but the stone being held fast by the door, the child pulled, and the girdle broke, and the mother, on returning and discovering the strength of the child, gave it the name of Nandy Mittraya; and the said Nandy Mittraya, growing up, discovered signs of great might and strength. This Nandy Mittraya went to the city of Anuradha Pura,

and offered flowers and light to the Bo-tree plentifully, and from thence to the temple called Tupau Rama, and did the same, and then returned to his own house. The same day, however, that he offered flowers and lights, the Malabars broke and put out the same. The next morning Nandy Mittraya went and saw what they had done, and returned again to his house, vowing revenge against the Malabars; and accordingly went that very night to Anuradha Pura, and laying hold of the Malabars, pitched them over the bulwark: and thus he continued from night to night to kill the Malabars, and so their numbers became greatly reduced.

A Malabar adigar at last gave information of this matter to the king, and accordingly the king ordered that guard should be kept at night, to prevent this evil; accordingly guards having been placed, Nandy Mittraya was discovered, and the Malabars sought to take him, but he, killing several of the Malabars, returned to his home. He now thought within himself, that he could not by himself root out the Malabars, and therefore that it would be best for him to go to Roona Magana, and join himself to a virtuous prince, and with his assistance, purify the religion of Boodha, which was to endure for the space of five thousand years; and, accordingly, setting off in the morning, (notwithstanding the great distance) he reached the said city before the sun had reached to the middle of his journey, and presented himself to Kawan Tissa Rajah.

The king made large presents to Nandy Mittraya, and introduced him to the prince Gemunu Cumara. It was likewise discovered, that on account of his virtuous deeds done in the time of Coevasanda, the first Buddha, and in the time of Conagama, the second Buddha, Nandy Mittraya was now endued with miraculous power. The youngest prince, in the mean time, went to the place called Casaw Totta, drove away the Malabars he found there, and posted his own forces to guard the same. The king, Kawan Tissa Rajah, gave orders that soldiers should be raised from all the casts, according to their families, for the service of the prince.

In the village called Godigamuwa, there were found seven vellalas of one family, one of which was selected for the service of the prince; the youngest of the seven was called Nermalaya, and he remained at home without any employment, on which account the other six brothers requested their father and mother to send their youngest brother, who remained thus at home idle without learning any trade, as a soldier to the prince. Notwithstanding the

services performed by the six elder brothers, their father and mother loved Nermalaya, the younger, still better than them. In the morning Nermalayau arose, and was fed, from the hand of his mother*, with rice which had been boiled the night before. He then took up his wallet, and taking a quarter of a measure of rice, took leave of his father and mother, and departed. His father and mother knew that Nermalaya was valiant, and now he began to show what he could do, by walking from Godigamuwa to Casaw Totta, being thirty leagues distant, the very same morning; for about seven o'clock in the morning, when the prince Diga Bala Cumara, having risen from his bed, and gone out, returned again to his room, and was eating rice, he presented himself to the prince. The prince asked him what time he had left his home, and he answered, that very morning. Upon which the prince, doubting of the truth of what he had said, wrote a letter, which he dated eight o'clock, after eating rice, and gave the same to Nermalaya, saying, "Take this to my friend, a Brahman of the village Dewategama, which is thirty leagues distant; and having delivered this letter, bring the medicine which he will deliver to thee." Nermalaya accordingly set off, and before the sun reached the meridian he arrived at the Brahman's quarters, and delivered the letter. The Brahman having read the letter, asked if he had just then arrived, to which he answered in the affirmative; and added that he was warm, and wanted some water. The Brahman then told him to go to the lake called Tisaw Wewa, which was four leagues from the city called Anuradha Pura Nuwara, from which proceeded four streams, and there to bathe, and to bring from each of the streams a medicine to him, and that he would make ready rice and currie for him to eat on his return. Nermalaya accordingly set off, came to Tisaw Wewa, and bathed, pulled some of the tank flowers, and gathered the medicine from each of the streams, viewed the whole city, and returned to the Brahman at the time of eating rice, and delivered his medicines. The Brahman, seeing his valour, was much affected; and giving him a hundred gold massoo, wrote a letter to Diga Bala Cumara, telling him that this was a valiant man, and that it would be a very bad thing for him to fall into the hands of the Malabars; and begged that the prince might not keep him near his own person, but would send him directly to the king Kawan Tissa Rajah.

Nermalaya arrived with the letter in the evening, while it

* To be fed by a mother's hand is, among the Cinghalese, reckoned a great blessing.

was yet light, and delivered to the prince the medicine and the flowers. The prince having thus discovered what a powerful person this was, presented him with a thousand gold massoo, told him to go and inform his father and mother, and in order to go to Roona Magama, to return on the morrow. Nermalaya having returned home, and given the money he had received to his father and mother, his elder brothers came in; and not knowing what a powerful person he was, began to chide him, and said, that the child without going to Casaw Totta, had merely returned from the road. The next morning, his mother again fed him with currie and rice; and taking his leave, he repaired again to Casaw Totta; and there receiving a letter from Diga Bala Cumara, went and made his obedience, and delivered the same to Kawan Tissa Rajah: and the king, having read the letter, and learned the valour of Nermalaya, made him a present of a lack of gold massoo, and introduced him to his son, the prince Gemunu Cumara. In this manner eight giants* more sprang up, and Kawan Tissa had now ten giants, whom he delivered to his son, the prince Gemunu Cumara, and also the Cadol elephant†.

The king conferred on Tissa Cumara the country called Diga Madulla and Oewa; and now thinking within himself, that should his two sons at any time fall out the one with the other, through desire of reigning, and the said ten giants take part with the one against the other, the one would certainly be killed, he called the said ten giants, and made them swear by the religion of Buddha, that they would never take part with one of the said princes against the other, which the said ten giants accordingly did.

Gemunu Cumara now repaired to Casaw Totta with forces, and while there sent to his father, requesting permission to cross the river called Ma-willa Ganga. The father, fearing that his son would be killed, wrote a letter advising him, by all means, not to go; and informed him that the Malabar army consisted of one million and eighty thousand men, and twenty powerful giants, and that the territory on this side the river was quite sufficient. The son, however, till three times, repeated his request to cross the river; and the father, out of love to his son, and regard for his safety, till three times refused his consent, and advised him to abide on this side the river. The prince, dissatisfied with being thus restrained from giving reins to the ardour of

* The word *yodayau*, which is translated giant, does not signify so much a man of great stature, as a man of great valour.

† A flying elephant.

his soul the fourth time, sent a present of women's jewels, saying, "The king, my father, is a woman, and no man!" The father hereupon was grieved and enraged, and said that if the prince did go he would surely die; and lest that should happen, he would put the prince in confinement; but the prince hearing this resolution, fled to the place called Gilumala; and having hidden himself there for several days, fled to Cōtmala.

The king, Kawan Tissa Rajah, having worn the crown, and reigned for the space of sixty years, died, and went to Tositapura (that is, glory.)

After the king's death, the younger son, namely, Tissa Cumara, returned to his home; and pretending that his father had conferred upon him the Cadol elephant, took the same with his mother, and repaired to the place called Diga Madulla.

The elder son, namely, Gemunu Cumara, having heard of his father's death, returned from Cōtmala to Malgam Nuwara; and wrote a letter to his brother, Tissa Cumara, desiring him to send back his mother, and the elephant which had been brought forth on the same day that himself was born; but Tissa Cumara refused to comply with the said request. The demand was repeated three times, and still refused; in consequence of which, the two brothers took the field against each other. The battle having closed, thirty thousand of Gemunu Cumara's army were cut down; and having lost the field, he rushed forward in a rage to revenge himself on his brother. Tissa Cumara fled, and Gemunu Cumara pursued, which pursuit was broken off by a party of priests, who came between, and would not suffer the two brothers to come together; but Tissa Cumara having returned to Diga Madulla, raised a fresh army, and again went forth to war.

Gemunu Cumara, in the mean time, thought with himself that to be at war thus with his brother, and losing so many men, would make it impossible in future to go to war against the Malabars, and so wrote a letter to his brother, desiring that the armies might be set aside, and challenging him to come out in person, saying, that whoever should gain the day should reign; and, accordingly, Tissa Cumara, mounted upon the Cadol elephant, went forth to meet his brother. Gemunu Cumara went out to meet his brother on horseback, and having met on the field of battle, he made the horse spring up on the back of his brother's elephant; and having thus got his brother in his power, began to strike at him with the back of his sword, to show that he did not want to kill him; whereupon the Cadol elephant became angry, and

as if he would have said, "I have got a woman upon my back, while the horse has got a man upon his," brought Tissa Cumara to the ground. Tissa Cumara took to flight, and Gemunu Cumara pursued; and lest he should again muster an army, and come against him, determined to seize and put him in prison; but Tissa Cumara took refuge in a temple among the priests, and Gemunu Cumara, in his pursuit, approached the said temple; and when the priests saw him enter, all that were sitting stood up, and all that were standing sat down; and when Gemunu Cumara asked where was Tissa Cumara, who had just entered, the priests who were then sitting answered, that they had not seen him since they sat down, and those that were then standing, that they had not seen him since they stood up.

The priests afterwards wrapped Tissa Cumara in priest's clothes, and as if he had been a dead priest, carried him out to bury him, which Gemunu Cumara having perceived, said, "There goes Tissa Cumara, whose life is uncertain, upon the shoulders of the priests *!" And leaving him in the hands of the priests, he took the Cadol elephant and his mother, and repaired to the city of Magam Nuwara.

Tissa Cumara requested the priests to go to his brother, and sue for peace; and the priests having, accordingly, come to Magam Nuwara, and fulfilled their commission, brought and delivered Tissa Cumara to his brother. Gemunu Cumara remonstrated, and asked what was the reason of this disturbance? "I am the lawful king, the fault was none of mine, the fault was entirely in Tissa Cumara, and through his fault thousands of lives have been destroyed;" and having so said, the priests made their obeisance, and he permitted them to depart. The next day the palace was made clean from the filth which had been occasioned by the death of their father, and ornamented; the two brothers embraced and wept over each other, and being agreed together, ceased to mourn for their father.

Gemunu Rajah now repaired to the temple, paid his obeisance to the priests, and expressed his desire of crossing the river Ma-willa Ganga, obtained their permission to do so, and having called his younger brother, embraced him with the tenderest affection, and said to him, "I am going to war with the Malabars, do thou stay at home, and apply thyself to the cultivation of the land." The king now mustered his four kinds of soldiers, viz. riders on elephants, his riders in chariots, his riders on horses, and his infantry, and went

* To allow of any service being done, and especially to admit of being carried, by the priests of Buddha, is reckoned a heinous sin.

forth to war. He crossed the river from Casaw Totta, and coming to the place called Toomgam Pitia, on the other side, there halted with his forces. But here it must be observed, that when Buddha came to drive away the devils, and alighted at the place called Maian, on the very same day, the god called Saman Dewa Rajah (one of the four conservators of Ceylon, and whose residence is Adam's Peak) presented himself to Buddha, and paid homage; and having received a handful of hair from Buddha's head, he deposited it in the ground, and thereupon a Dawgob temple of seven cubits high, of red and blue colours; and having done this, the said Saman Dewa Rajah worshipped, and made offerings. And afterwards it came to pass, that Buddha died in the city called Cusinara Nuwara; and, when going to be burned, the priest called Mahasap set fire to his funeral pile, and before the body was yet consumed, the high priest, called Sereijut, snatched from the flames the Griwau Dhatoo (or wind-pipe) of Buddha, and having come to Ceylon, he deposited it in the same place where the hair had been deposited by Saman Dewa Rajah, and having built thereupon a dawgob of gold, again departed for Damba Dewa. After this, at the desire of Mihauduwa Teroonancy, the king, Deweney Paetissa Rajah, caused to be raised on the same spot a dawgob of forty cubits in height. And now to this very place the Malabars had come to take the gold, but through the power of the protecting deity, Saman Dewa Rajah, flames of fire issued from the dawgob, and the resplendent colours of the body of Buddha appeared, which, when the Malabars beheld, they were confounded with fear: and as it is at this day, till the expiration of five thousand years, by virtue of the religion of Buddha, rays of gold, and blue and white, will issue from the said place.

The Malabars, however, with great triumph, entrenched themselves near the said place; and now Gemunu Rajah marching his forces thither, besieged the Malabars, and having surrounded them on every side, reduced their fortress in the space of six months; and, at this time, Gemunu Rajah caused stones to be cut, and the dawgob to be rebuilt. In this place, Gemunu Rajah paid his troops, and allowed them to hold a rejoicing for the victory; and from thence marched to the place Kihire Gama, where the Malabars had another fort, which, being besieged, was taken in three months, with great triumph. From thence Gemunu Rajah marched to the mighty fortress called *Tatbae Cotta**, which

* The fort of Seven Brothers.

he surrounded; and having killed many of the Malabars who were under the Seven Brothers, reduced the fortress in the course of four months. From thence Gemunu Rajah marched to the fortress called Atu Robau Cotta, which he surrounded and took in the space of six months. From thence Gemunu Rajah marched to the fort called Dena Gama Cotta, which he surrounded and captured, after a siege of two months. From thence he marched to the fortress of the city called Halaweola Nuwara, and surrounded and captured the same, after a siege of two months. From thence he marched to the fortress called Powatta Cotta, surrounded and captured the same, after a siege of three months; after which victory the king paid his troops, and bestowed upon them gold and riches. From thence he marched to the fortress called Diga Bayagolla Cotta, surrounded and took the same, after a siege of four months. His victory was attended with demonstrations of great joy and triumph. From thence he marched to the fortress called Casaw Totta Cotta, surrounded and captured the same, after a siege of two months. From thence he marched to the fortress called Maha Wetta Nuwara Cotta, surrounded the same and took it, after a siege of four months. From thence he marched to the fortress called Banagam Cotta, surrounded and took the same, after a siege of two months. From thence he marched to the fortress called Nilagam Cotta, surrounded and captured the same. From thence he marched to the fortress called Coombagam Cotta, and took it; also the fortress called Nangigam Cotta; also the fortress called Wilbagam Cotta; and also the fortress called Tambagam Cotta; and having conquered all these places, departed in great triumph.

Gemunu Rajah having, in like manner, surrounded the fortress of Mudurnarua, and the besieged, with the besiegers, having joined in close fight, the confusion became so great, that the two armies could not distinguish their friends from their foes; which Gemunu Rajah perceiving, became very sorrowful, and exclaimed, "I fight not for dominion, but for the sake of the religion of Buddha, which must exist five thousand years; I will destroy and cut down those my enemies who are of any other religion; and, therefore, let the clothing of my soldiers and their arms shine like fire, in order that they may distinguish one another from their enemies;" and thereupon it was so, their clothes and their arms glittered; they routed the Malabars, putting many of them to death; and after the victory, the king, with great rejoicing, again paid his troops, and made presents of gold

and riches; and from thence, with acclamations of joy, the army of this king marched to the city called Wijita Pura.

The city called Wijita Pura was surrounded with three ditches full of water, and a wall of brass, and had a gate eighteen cubits high. The reduction of the smaller forts was not a work of great importance, excepting the fortress of Anuradha Pura, which was the greatest of all; and, accordingly, in taking the former forts, there was very little occasion for the services of the ten mighty giants, as the business was done by the body of the army. When the ten giants came to present themselves before the king, Gemunu Rajah, the king thought of trying an experiment with the giant, Nandy Mitraya, and the Cadol elephant; he accordingly abused and threw stones at the elephant, till he was agitated with rage like the fire of hell; and giving a roar, came running to Nandy Mitraya. Nandy Mitraya seeing the elephant coming upon him with such fury, reasoning within himself that it would ill become him to run away, or allow his hair to fly behind, determined now to show his bravery, and accordingly met the elephant, and notwithstanding his rage and strength, took him by the two teeth, and made him sit on the ground like a dog: and the spectators having now witnessed the bravery of Nandy Mitraya, clapped their hands with joy, and filled the air with shouts of applause.

The Cadol elephant was of that sort which are ten million times stronger than the natural elephants of Ceylon, and Gemunu Rajah, having seen the strength of Nandy Mitraya, said, that there was no longer any reason to fear attacking Wijita Pura Nuwara; and, accordingly, having surrounded the same, and forded the ditches, the Cadol elephant opposed himself to the south gate, and the giant Welusumana opposed himself to the east gate, and being mounted on horseback, put to death many of the Malabars. The Malabars were so struck with fear, from the havoc which Welusumana made amongst them, that they threw down their arms, and rushed into the fortress; and raised works, whereby they could discharge their arrows over the walls. Gemunu Rajah now gave orders that the giants, Nandy Mitraya and Nermalaya, with the Cadol elephant, should attack the south gate; that the giants, Sennam-Godinbara and Neralpuna, should attack the east gate; and that the rest of the giants should attack the north and west gates. The Cadol elephant gave most horrid shrieks, in order to strike the Malabars with terror; but they, without giving way, kept their bulwarks, and from the top poured down melted iron upon the

elephant. The elephant, not longer able to endure the torment he was in, roared, and cast himself into the ditch; and had his wounds, which were occasioned by the melted iron, bound up with the cloth which the king himself wore, and overlaid with plates of copper. The elephant having recovered of his wound, was dressed by the king, who said, "Thou wast born on the same day with myself, and I would gladly deliver to thee the whole island of Ceylon, if thou wouldest break the gate of the enemy's fortress." The elephant thereupon gave a roar, which was like unto a peal of thunder; and putting his two fore feet on the ground, and his two teeth under the gate, began to lift it up; and when the gate was about to fall back upon the elephant, Nandy Mitraya, who was near at the time, cried out that the vehicle of his king was in danger; and laying his shoulder to the gate, to preserve the elephant, took the same with his two hands, and pitched it to the distance of eight isoomboo*; through this means the elephant was reconciled to Nandy Mitraya, and was no longer angry with him for having set him on the ground, and with a look of forgiveness took him upon his back. The ten giants, however, said among themselves, that they would not enter the breach made by the elephant; and, accordingly, every giant made a breach for himself through the wall, the outside of which was brass, and about three furlongs in thickness; and thus entering the city of Wijita Pura, began to kill the Malabars. The elephant having also made his way into the city, seized a cart wheel with his trunk, and therewith began to kill the Malabars on all sides of him.

The siege of Wijita Pura lasted four months, in the course of which time many Malabars were killed; and from thence the army of Gemunu departed, and came to the place called Girimillan Cada; and there halting, the king paid his troops, and made offerings to the five hundred priests; and having captured the said Girimillan Cada, marched on to Anuradha Pura, and against the same built a fort at the place called Gasa Golugama.

The Malabar king, Elala, on hearing that Gemunu Rajah had come to the said Gasa Golugama, and was then building a fort, called the Cinghalese Adigars, who were about his court, and addressed them, saying, "Gemunu Rajah has, from Mihiginau to this place, conquered thirty-two garrisons, and even Wijita Pura Nuwara, and now he is at Gasa Golugama, and there building a fort; in case of going out to battle to-morrow, how must we do?" The adigars advised

* i. e. more than one-third of an English mile.

him to put his troops of all descriptions in array, and on the morrow go out to battle.

Elala Rajah wrote a letter to Gemunu Rajah, saying, "What dost thou sitting down at Gasa Golugama? to-morrow prepare for battle." The letter having been delivered to Gemunu Rajah, he read it, and wrote the following answer, viz. "We are coming, come thou also." Gemunu Rajah now called his ten mighty giants, and observed to them, that Elala Rajah had twenty mighty giants and a powerful army; and asked what was best to be done, to go to battle on the morrow, or afterwards? The giants answered the king, and said, "Let not the king be daunted, for if all Damba Dewa were filled with Elala's army, he should not conquer us." On the morrow, Elala Rajah mustered his army of mighty men, and his principal giant, Jiga Jantoo, and all his other giants, and sallied forth from the city of Anuradha Pura Nuwara, to give battle. Gemunu Rajah, in like manner, marched from his trenches, overshadowed with an umbrella of pearls, and over the same a canopy of the purest white. The sound of sixty-four different kinds of drums filled the atmosphere; the noise was like thunder breaking on the rock called Yugandara Parwata, from behind which the sun rises. On the king's right hand marched the giant Nandy Mitraya, and on his left the giant Nermalaya, each of them wearing a shield of chank, while all the rest of the giants surrounded the person of their king, who, thus attended, took the command of his army.

The king Elala, mounted on the elephant called Maha Parwata (that is, great rock) saw the fort at Casa Gama; and the principal giant, Jiga Jantoo, whose excellence was in leaping, seeing the king's umbrella of pearls, said that he would first fall upon the king, and afterwards upon the rest, and, accordingly, began to spring up into the air, and make towards the king, which the giant Nermalaya perceiving, sprang forward for the king's defence. Armed with sword and shield, Nermalaya rushing forward, and meeting the Malabar giant coming towards the king, addressed him, saying, "Thou despicable Malabar, where goest thou?" And the Malabar giant making his way towards the king, now ran towards Nermalaya, and gave him a cut with his sword. Nermalaya warded off the blow with his shield, and such was the force with which the Malabar giant struck, that with the rebound from the shield of Nermalaya, his hand became numbed, and his sword fell to the ground; and while stooping to grasp the same again, Nermalaya, with a blow of his sword, cut him in two.

The ten mighty giants, and the army of Gemunu Rajah, now closed on the Malabars, making dreadful slaughter, insomuch that the blood which flowed from the Malabars that day formed itself into a tank. Gemunu Rajah, in the mean time, gave orders that none of his army might kill Elala the king, which work he wished to be reserved for himself; and, accordingly, mounted on the Cadol elephant, he rode up to Elala, caused the elephant to bend so as to put his two teeth in the ground, and telling Elala that he should die, killed him on the spot; and there he caused a pillar to be erected, on which he caused to be engraven as follows: "Let no king, in future, pass this way with palanqueen, bamboo, or with beating drums;" and then having burned the body of Elala Rajah, Gemunu Rajah, as if he had been Sakra Dewindra himself, entered the city of Anuradha Pura in triumph.

During the siege of Wijita Pura, Elala Rajah had written several letters to Damba Dewa; in consequence of which, the younger brother of Elala, named Bullukaya, took shipping with thirty thousand men from Damba Dewa, and arrived at Maha Totta (or Matura) with the said army. On hearing that his brother was dead, he said within himself, "Let me not return again to Damba Dewa; but as my brother has died, let me die also:" and, accordingly, wrote a letter to Gemunu Rajah, and prepared for war.

The letter was delivered to Gemunu Rajah, who, upon reading the same, called his ten mighty giants, mustered his troops of all descriptions, mounted the Cadol elephant, and went forth to battle; while the rattling of sixty-four kinds of drums made a noise like thunder breaking on Yagandara Parwata, and made the earth to tremble. In going forth on this occasion, the Cadol elephant made a stop, and recoiled backwards, which he had never done before in going out to twenty-eight battles against Elala Rajah's forces; on which account the king began to think, that for this time the battle would go against him, and took counsel with his giants. The giants answered and said, "O king, the elephant's going backward is rather marking out the vanquished ground, and where he began to recede we will make our stand."

By this means the army of Gemunu Rajah did not descend to the ground of Ballukayau, and, therefore, he approached with his army to fall upon Gemunu Rajah, and cried out that he would shoot the king. His intention, by making use of these words, was, if the king should attempt to speak, to shoot an arrow into his mouth. The king heard the word, and, as in the mean time, the giant called Pusa Dewa, who

sat behind the king upon the elephant, was ready to shoot Ballukayau, the king called to him, saying, "Why so, thou abject Malabar?" in the mean time, covering his mouth with his shield; and, upon these words, Ballukayau let his arrow fly; but as the mouth of Gemunu Rajah was covered with his shield, the arrow striking the same, fell to the ground. The king thereupon spit out of his mouth the spittle which he had masticated, which Balukayau mistaking for blood, cried out with triumph that he had shot the king in the mouth; but while thus uttering his joy, and boasting of his victory, the giant Pusa Dewa let fly his arrow, and shot him in the mouth, whereupon he fell to the ground; and now the ten mighty giants rushed into the middle of the Malabar army, and having made great slaughter, and routed the whole, returned in triumph; and with great rejoicing, Gemunu Raja and his army again entered Anuradha Pura.

The number of Malabars killed, from the battle of Mihiguna to the battle of Ballukaya, was ten hundred and eighty thousand. Thus be it known, that in order to do much for the religion of Buddha, this king was born with great power, and from one state of being to another, having abounded in good works for a space of time equal to the duration of one asankha and a hundred thousand worlds; and, therefore, may hope to come as the right hand, or first priest, of Mytree Buddha. Know, also, that Tissa Cumara will be the left hand, or second priest, of the said Mytree Buddha.

The king, Gemunu Rajah, extirpated the religion imported into Ceylon by his enemies; caused to be made the dawgob of Mirisawmy—caused pillars of stones to be cut, and placed in forty rows, and forty in each row—caused to be constructed nine hundred thousand houses of mud, and eighty hundred thousand houses which were covered with tiles—caused the pillars to be covered over with copper; and also to be brought through the air from Damba Dewa, the Dhatu of Buddha. He caused nine hundred thousand priests to be set down in the palace Lowau Mahapaweya, and fed them for seven days; supplied them also with clothing—caused the Dhatu of Buddha, which were at the place of the snakes called Naga Cawaua, to be brought to Ruwan Wella, where he caused to be built the dawgob called Maha Sawya—did not allow the commission of sin; abounded in works of charity; and, after a reign of twenty-four years, died, and went to the city of God.

On the Advantage of affording the Means of Education to the Inhabitants of the further East.

(Communicated by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Knt., Lieut.-Gov. of Fort Marlborough, Sumatra.)

It is the peculiar characteristic of Great Britain, that wherever her influence has been extended, it has carried civilization and improvement in its train. To whatever quarter of the world her arms or her policy have led her, it has been her object to extend those blessings of freedom and justice, for which she herself stands so pre-eminent. Whether in asserting the rights of independent nations, whether advocating the cause of the captive and the slave, or promoting the diffusion of truth and knowledge, England has always led the van. In the vast regions of India, where she has raised an empire unparalleled in history, no sooner was the sword of conquest sheathed, than her attention was turned to the dispensing of justice—to giving security to the persons and property, and to the improvement of the condition of her new subjects—to a reform in the whole judicial and revenue administration of the country—to the establishment of a system of internal management, calculated to relieve the inhabitants from oppression and exaction—and to the dissemination of those principles, and that knowledge, which should elevate the people whom conquest had placed under her sway, and thus to render her own prosperity dependant on that of the people over whom she ruled. A desire to know the origin and early history of the people, their institutions, laws, and opinions, led to associations expressly directed to this end; while, by the application of the information thus obtained to the present circumstances of the country, the spirit and principles of British rule have rapidly augmented the power, and increased the resources of the state; at the same time, that they have in no less degree tended to excite the intellectual energies, and increase the individual happiness of the people.

The acquisitions of Great Britain in the East have not been made in the spirit of conquest; a concurrence of circumstances not to be controlled, and the energies of her sons, have carried her forward on a tide whose impulse has been irresistible. Other nations may have pursued the same course of conquest and success, but they have not, like her, paused in their career; and, by moderation and justice, consolidated what they had gained. This is the rock on which her Indian empire is placed, and it is on a perseverance in

the principles which have already guided her, that she must depend for maintaining her commanding station, and for saving her from adding one more to the list of those who have contended for empire, and have sunk beneath the weight of their own ambition. Conquest has led to conquest, and our influence must continue to extend; the tide has received its impetus, and it would be in vain to attempt to stem its current; but let the same principles be kept in view; let our minds and policy expand with our empire, and it will not only be the greatest, but the firmest and most enduring that has yet been held forth to the view and admiration of the world. While we raise those in the scale of civilization over whom our influence or our empire is extended, we shall lay the foundations of our dominion on the firm basis of justice and mutual advantage, instead of the uncertain and unsubstantial tenure of force and intrigue. Such have been the principles of our Indian administration wherever we have acquired a territorial influence; it remains to be considered how they can be best applied to countries where territory is not our object, but whose commerce is not less essential to our interests. With the countries east of Bengal an extensive commercial intercourse has always been carried on; and our influence is more or less felt throughout the whole—from the banks of the Ganges to China and New Holland. Recent events have directed our attention to these, and in a particular manner to the Malayan Archipelago, where a vast field of commercial speculation has been opened, the limits of which it is difficult to foresee. A variety of circumstances have concurred to extend our connexions in this quarter; and late arrangements, by giving them a consistency and consolidation, and uniting them more closely with our best interests, both in India and Europe, have added much to their importance and consideration. Our connexion with them, however, stands on a very different footing from that with the people of India; however inviting and extensive their resources, it is considered that they can be best drawn forth by the native energies of the people themselves, uninfluenced by foreign rule, and unfettered by foreign regulations; and that it is by the reciprocal advantages of commerce, and commerce alone, that we may best promote our own interests and their advancement. A few stations are occupied for the security and protection of our trade, and the independence of all the surrounding states is not only acknowledged, but maintained and supported by us.

Commerce being, therefore, the principle on which our connexions with the Eastern States are formed, it behoves us to consider the effects which it is calculated to produce. Commerce is universally allowed to bring many benefits in its train, and in particular to be favourable to civilization and general improvement. Like all other powerful agents, however, it has proved the cause of many evils, when improperly directed, or not sufficiently controlled. It creates wants, and introduces luxuries; but if there exist no principle for the regulation of these, and if there be nothing to check their influence, sensuality, vice, and corruption, will be the necessary results. Where the social institutions are favourable to independence and improvement—where the intellectual powers are cultivated and expanded, commerce opens a wider field for their exertion, and wealth and refinement become consistent with all that ennobles and exalts human nature. Education must keep pace with commerce, in order that its benefits may be ensured, and its evils avoided; and in our connexion with these countries, it should be our care, that while with one hand we carry to their shores the capital of our merchants, the other should be stretched forth to offer them the means of intellectual improvement. Happily our policy is in accordance with these views and principles, and neither in the state of the countries themselves, nor in the character of their varied and extensive population, do we find any thing opposed. On the contrary, they invite us to the field; and every motive of humanity, policy, and religion, seems to combine to recommend our early attention to this important object.

A few words will be sufficient to show the nature and extent of this field. Within its narrowest limits, it embraces the whole of that vast Archipelago, which stretching from Sumatra and Java to the Islands of the Pacific, and thence to the shores of China and Japan, has in all ages excited the attention, and attracted the cupidity of more civilized nations;—whose valuable and peculiar productions contributed to swell the extravagance of Roman luxury, and in more modern times have raised the power and consequence of every successive European nation into whose hands its commerce has fallen: it has raised several of these from insignificance and obscurity to power and eminence; and, perhaps, in its earliest period among the Italian states, communicated the first electric spark which awoke to life the energies and the literature of Europe. The native population of these interesting islands cannot be estimated at less than from ten to

fifteen millions, of which Java alone contains five or six, and Sumatra not less than three. In a more extensive view must be included the rich and populous countries of Ava and Siam, Camboja, Cochin-China, and Tonkin, the population of which is still more extensive than that of the islands. And if to this we add the numerous Chinese population which is dispersed throughout these countries, and through the means of whom the light of knowledge may be extended to the remotest part of the Chinese empire, and even to Japan, it will readily be acknowledged, that the field is, perhaps, the most extensive, interesting, and important, that ever offered itself to the contemplation of the philanthropic and enlightened mind.

When we descend to particulars, and consider the present state and circumstances of this extensive and varied population, and the history and character of the nations and tribes of which it is composed, we shall be more convinced of the necessity which exists, and of the advantages which must result from affording them the means of education and improvement. Among no people with whom we have become acquainted, shall we find greater aptness to receive instruction, or fewer obstacles in the way of its communication.

With the exception of Java, the Moluccas, and Philippines, nearly the whole of the native states of the Archipelago may be considered independent. The European settlements on the coasts of Sumatra and Borneo are confined to commercial objects, and the interior of these large islands has never felt the effects of European interference. A large portion of their coasts, and the whole of the smaller islands, as well as the states on the Malay Peninsula, are exclusively under native authority.

Of the Malays who inhabit the interior of Sumatra, and are settled on the coasts throughout the Archipelago, it may be necessary to speak in the first place. The peculiar character of these people has always excited much attention, and various and opposite opinions have been entertained regarding them. By some, who have viewed only the darker side, they have been considered, with reference to their piracies and vices alone, as a people devoid of all regular government and principle, and abandoned to the influence of lawless and ungovernable passions. By others, however, who have taken a deeper view, and have become more intimately acquainted with their character, a different estimate has been formed. They admit the want of efficient government, but consider the people themselves to be possessed of

high qualities, and such as might, under more favourable circumstances, be usefully and beneficially directed. They find, in the personal independence of character which they display, their high sense of honour, and impatience of insult, and in their habits of reasoning and reflection, the rudiments of improvement, and the basis of a better order of society; while in the obscurity of their early history, the wide diffusion of their language, and the traces of their former greatness, they discover an infinite source of speculation and interest. That they once occupied a high and commanding political station in these seas, appears to be beyond a doubt; and that they maintained this position until the introduction of Mahomedanism, seems equally certain. From the geographical situation of the more important countries then occupied by them, they were the first to come in contact with Mussulman missionaries, and to embrace their tenets; to which circumstance may, perhaps, be attributed the dismemberment of the empire, and the decline of their power, previously to the arrival of Europeans in these seas. At that period, however, the authority of Menangkabau, the ancient seat of government, was still acknowledged, and the states of Acheen and Malacca long disputed the progress of the Portuguese arms. The whole of Sumatra, at one period, was subject to the supreme power of Menangkabau; and proofs of the former grandeur and superiority of this state are still found, not only in the pompous edicts of its sovereigns, and in the veneration and respect paid to the most distant branches of the family; but in the comparatively high and improved state of cultivation of the country, and in the vestiges of antiquity which have recently been discovered in it. This country occupies the central districts of Sumatra, and contains between one and two millions of inhabitants; the whole of whom, with the exception of such as may be employed in the gold mines, for which it has always been celebrated, are devoted to agriculture. The remains of sculpture and inscriptions, found near the ancient capital, correspond with those discovered in Java; and prove them to have been under the influence of the same Hindoo faith which prevailed on that island, till the establishment of Mahomedanism there in the fifteenth century. At what period the people of Menangkabau embraced the doctrines of the prophet does not appear, and would form an interesting subject of inquiry. The conversion of Malacca and Acheen took place in the thirteenth century, but it is uncertain whether Menangkabau was converted previous to

this date, although the religion is said to have been preached in Sumatra as early as the twelfth century. It was about this latter period (1160) that a colony issued from the interior of Sumatra, and established the maritime state of Singapura, at the extremity of the Malay Peninsula; where a line of Hindoo princes continued to reign until the establishment of Malacca, and the conversion of that place in 1276. Whatever may, in more remote times, have been the nature of the intercourse between foreign nations and Menangkabau itself, we know that Singapura, during the period noticed, was an extensively maritime and commercial state; and that on the first arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca, that emporium embraced the largest portion of the commerce between eastern and western nations. It is not necessary to enter into the history of the decline and fall of the Malay states of Malacca and Acheen, or of the establishment of Johor. The maritime and commercial enterprise of the people had already spread them far and wide through the Archipelago, and the power and policy of their European visitors, by breaking down their larger settlements, contributed to scatter them still wider, and to force them to form still smaller establishments, wherever they could escape their power and vigilance.

From this general account, it will appear that the Malays may be divided into two classes, agricultural and commercial. Our acquaintance with the latter being more intimate, and the opinion generally formed of the character of this people having been taken from the maritime states, it may be sufficient, on the present occasion, to advert to some particulars in the constitution of their government, and to the habits and character of the people who compose them.

The government of these states, which are established in more or less power on the different rivers on the eastern coast of Sumatra, and on the Malay Peninsula, as well as on the coast of Borneo, and throughout the smaller islands, is founded on principles entirely feudal. A high respect is paid to the person and family of the prince, who usually traces his descent through a long line of ancestors, generally originating, on the Malayan side, from Menangkabau, or Johor; and not unfrequently, on the Mahomedan side, from the descendants of the prophet. The nobles are chiefs at the head of a numerous train of dependants, whose services they command. Their civil institutions, and internal policy, are a mixture of the Mahomedan with their own more ancient and peculiar customs and usages, the latter of which

predominate: in the principal states, they are collected in an ill-digested code; but in the inferior establishments, they are trusted to tradition. The Malays are distinguished, not only by the high respect they pay to ancestry and nobility of descent, and their entire devotion to their chiefs, and the cause they undertake, but by a veneration and reverence for the experience and opinions of their elders. They never enter on an enterprise, without duly weighing its advantages and consequences; but, when once embarked in it, they devote themselves to its accomplishment. They are sparing of their labour, and are judicious in its application; but, when roused into action, are not wanting in spirit and enthusiasm. In their commercial dealings, they are keen and speculative, and a spirit of gaming is prevalent; but, in their general habits, they are far from penurious.

With a knowledge of this character, we may find in the circumstances in which they have been placed, some excuse for the frequent piracies, and the practice of "running a muck," with which they have so often and justly been accused. That European policy, which first destroyed the independence of their more respectable states, and subsequently appropriated to itself the whole trade of the Archipelago, left them without the means of honest subsistence; while, by the extreme severity of its tortures and punishments, it drove them to a state of desperation. Thus piracy became honourable, and that devotion, which, on another occasion, would have been called a virtue, became a crime.

Of the Javans a higher estimate may be formed; though wanting in the native boldness and enterprise of character which distinguishes the Malays, they have many qualities in common with them; but bear deeper traces of foreign influence, and at the present period, at least, stand much higher in the scale of civilization. They are almost exclusively agricultural, and in the extraordinary fertility of their country they find sufficient inducements to prefer a life of comparative ease and comfort, within their own shores, to one of enterprise or hazard beyond them. The causes which have contributed to their present improved state are various, and however interesting, it would swell this paper beyond its due limits to enter on them.

The Madurese, who inhabit the neighbouring island, are distinguished for more spirit and enterprise; but the people in that quarter who more peculiarly attract our interest, are those of Bali, an island lying immediately east of Java; and who, at the present day, exhibit the extraordinary fact of the

existence of an independant Hindoo government in this remote quarter of the East. It was in this island, that on the establishment of Mahomedanism in Java; in the fifteenth century, the Hindoos, who adhered to their original faith, took refuge; where they have preserved the recollection of their former greatness, and the records and form of their religion. This island, no part of which has ever been subjected to European authority, contains, with Lombok immediately adjoining, a population not far short of a million. The shores are unfavourable to commerce, and the people have not hitherto been much inclined to distant enterprise. The island itself has long been subjected to all the horrors of an active slave trade, by which means its inhabitants have been distributed among the European settlements. A more honest commerce, however, has been lately attracted to it; and both Bugguese and Chinese have formed small establishments in the principal towns. In their personal character, they are remarkable for a high independence, and impatience of control. A redundant population, added to the slave trade, has separated them into various states, which are generally at war with each other.

In the island of Celebes, we find the people of a still more enterprising character; the elective form of their government offers a singular anomaly among Asiatic states, and is not the least peculiar of their institutions. The Bugguese are the most adventurous traders of the Archipelago, to every part of which they carry their speculations, and even extend them to the coast of New Holland. They are remarkable for fair dealing, and the extent of their transactions. They were converted to Mahomedanism at a much later period than either the Javans or Malays, and not generally till after the arrival of the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century. This island contains an extensive population, but its interior and north western provinces are but little known, and are inhabited by the same description of uncultivated people as are found in the interior of Borneo, and the larger islands to the eastward.

Of the population of the Moluccas, it may be remarked, that they are for the most part Christians of the Lutheran persuasion. The magnitude and importance of Borneo more peculiarly attracts our attention. Malay settlements are formed on its principal rivers, and extensive colonies of Chinese have established themselves in the vicinity of the gold mines, a short distance inland; but the interior of the island is yet unknown. Various estimates of its population

have been formed, but the data are too uncertain to be depended upon. The tribes which inhabit the interior differ much in character, but the majority appear to be agricultural, and a race of people who might be easily improved and civilized. Others, again, are extremely barbarous; and it must be admitted, that the practice of man-hunting, for the purpose of obtaining the heads of the victims, is too frequent throughout. Of this latter description are various tribes still inhabiting the interior of Celebes, Ceram, and Gelolo, usually known by the name of Harafuras, or Alfours.

If we add to the above the population of the Philippines, which is not estimated at less than three millions, Magindanao and the Soolo Archipelago, the Battas, and other interior tribes of Sumatra, and the woolly-headed race occasionally found on the Peninsula and the larger islands, and more extensively established in Papua, or New Guinea, some idea may be formed of the extent and nature of the varied population of this interesting Archipelago. But the numerous Chinese settlers, who now form a considerable portion of this population, and who have given a stimulus to the industry of its inhabitants, must not be passed over in silence. In the island of Java, the number of these settlers is not less than 100,000; a similar number is to be found in Siam; in Borneo they are still more numerous, and they are to be met with in every well-regulated state. The valuable gold mines of the latter island have offered a powerful inducement to their establishment; they are worked almost exclusively by Chinese: and an extensive population of Dayaks, from the interior, are rapidly extending cultivation in their vicinity. There seems to be no limits to the increase of Chinese on this island; the redundancy of population in the mother country—the constant intercourse which exists with it—and the inducements afforded for colonization in a new soil, where, in addition to agricultural and commercial resources, the produce of gold and diamonds appears to be only proportioned to the labour employed, are such, that to a speculating and industrious people like the Chinese, they must continue to operate, in spite of political restrictions, and partial exactions. It deserves remark, that of all the inhabitants of the Archipelago, the Chinese, as well from their assimilating more with the customs of Europeans than the native Mahomedans, as from their habits of obedience and submission to power, are uniformly found to be the most peaceable and improveable.

From the review now taken, it will be seen how varied is

the population of this Archipelago, both in character and employments; and that it consists both of agricultural and commercial classes, of different ranks in the scale of each, from the wildest tribes, who seek a precarious subsistence in their woods and forests, to the civilized Javan, who has drawn forth the riches of his unequalled soil, and made it the granary of these islands; and from the petty trader, who collects the scattered produce of the interior, to the Chinese capitalist, who receives it from him, and disperses it again to more distant regions. Situated between the rich and populous continents of China on the one hand, and India on the other, and furnishing to Europe the means of an extensive commerce, the demand for the produce of those islands is unfailing, and that produce is only limited by the extent of the population. By means of the variety of its tribes, their intermixture and connexion with each other, and the accessible nature of the coasts, washed by the smoothest seas in the world, while large and navigable rivers open communication with the interior, the stimulus of this commerce is propagated in successive waves through the whole; and the inexhaustible resources of the country are drawn forth in a manner, and to an extent, that could not otherwise have been obtained. Each is dependant on the other, and receives and communicates a portion of the general activity. Thus the savage and intractable Batta collects and furnishes the camphor and benjamin, the spontaneous produce of his woods; the equally barbarous Dayak, and wild Harafura, ransacks the bowels of the earth for its gold and its diamonds; the inhabitant of Soolo seeks for the pearl, beneath the waters that surround him; and others traverse the shores for the tripang, or sea slug, or descend into its rocky caverns for the Chinese luxury of bird's nests. Ascending from these, we find the more civilized Sumatran, whose agriculture is yet rude, employed in the raising of pepper; the native of the Moluccas in the culture of the nutmeg and the clove; the still higher Javan and Siamese, besides their abundant harvests of rice, supplying Europe with their coffee and sugar; and all impelled, and set in motion, by the spirit of commerce. Not less varied are the people who collect this produce, from all these different quarters, till it is finally shipped for Europe, India, and China; from the petty bartering trader, who brings it from the interior to the ports and mouths of the rivers—the Malay, who conveys it from port to port—the more adventurous Bugguese, who sweeps the remote shores, to concentrate their produce at the emporia

— to the Chinese merchant, who sends his junks, laden with this accumulated produce, to be dispersed through the empire of China, and furnishes Europeans with the cargoes of their ships. Through the same diverging channels are again circulated the manufactures of India and Europe; and thus a constant intercourse and circulation is maintained through the whole. How much this intercourse is facilitated by the nature of the countries, broken into innumerable islands, may be readily conceived; and the vastness of the field may be inferred from the extent to which its commerce has actually been carried, under every disadvantage of monopolizing policy, and of insecurity of person and property, by which the condition of the people has been depressed, and their increase prevented. When we consider that they are placed at the very threshold of China, a country overflowing with an enterprising and industrious population, anxious and eager to settle wherever security and protection is afforded; that it is this people who have chiefly contributed to maintain and support the energies of the native population, and have diffused the stimulus of their own activity wherever they have settled; and that protection only is wanted to accumulate them in any numbers; to create, it may be said, a second China, the resources and means of this extraordinary Archipelago will appear without limits.

Viewed in this light, Borneo, and the Eastern Islands, may become to China what America is already to the nations of Europe. The superabundant and overflowing population of China affords an almost inexhaustible source of colonization, while the new and fertile soil of these islands offers the means of immediate and plentiful subsistence to any numbers who may settle in them. How rapidly, under such circumstances, these colonies may increase in population, where the climate is, at least, as congenial to the Chinese, as that of America to Europeans, may be readily conceived from the experience which the latter has afforded. The wealth of their mines, and the extent of their own native population, added to the greater proximity of China, are advantages which were not enjoyed by America, and must contribute to accelerate the progress of colonization.

A scene like this cannot be viewed with indifference by the philosophic and contemplative mind; the diversified form in which the human character is exhibited — the new and original features which it displays — and the circumstances which have restrained or accelerated the development of our nature in these extensive and remote regions, offer

sources of almost inexhaustible inquiry and research ; while the obscurity which darkens the origin and early history of the people ; the peculiarity of their languages, laws, and customs ; and the vestiges which remain of a higher state of the arts and of learning, offer, in a literary and scientific view, pursuits of no less interest than importance. Placed as we shall be in the very centre of this Archipelago, the life and soul of its extensive commerce ; and maintaining with its most distant parts, and with the adjacent continent, a constant and rapidly increasing intercourse, the means are afforded to us, above all other nations, of prosecuting these studies with facility and advantage.

We here find human nature at its lowest point in the woolly-headed savage, who roams his woods in absolute nakedness, deriving a precarious subsistence from roots and fish, and with no other habitation than a cavern or a tree : we can trace the progress of improvement in those whose agriculture is yet in its infancy, who clear a portion of their woods by fire, and take a contingency out of it by planting a little rice in the soil thus enriched by the ashes. We dwell with more pleasure on those rich tracts of cultivation which adorn the slopes of the central districts of Java and Sumatra, where the mountain torrent is arrested in its course, and made to flow over and fertilize successive terraces, on which abundant harvests are reaped. We shall meet with states that have risen by commerce to wealth and eminence, and have now sunk, since her soil has been displayed on other shores. To the historian and the antiquarian, the field here presented is unbounded. The latter will trace, in the languages and monuments, the origin and early history of these interesting people ; he will find the Malayan language diffused, under various modifications, from Madagascar, on the coast of Africa, to the islands of the Pacific ; he will find it connected with Hinduism, by an influx of Sanscrit words ; and will trace the effects of subsequent conversion, in an accession of Arabic terms. In their ancient monuments and inscriptions, he will find proofs of the existence of the faith of Brama, or of Boudh ; and of their greatness as nations, in the magnitude of their remains. He will find temples and sculptures which rival, in grandeur and extent, those of continental India ; and, through the mists of tradition, will discover the faint light of glories that have passed away. He will find languages of singular perfection and richness, that are no longer understood, except by the learned ; in short, he will find abundant proof of a former high state of civilization,

from which they have fallen. The causes of this declension, the vicissitudes they have undergone, and their history in more modern times, when the progress of the Mussulman faith, and of European arms, overturned and threw into confusion the ancient order of things, are subjects not less interesting than untouched. Three centuries of intercourse have given but little information upon these and other interesting points. War or commerce has hitherto absorbed the attention of those who have visited these regions, with some exceptions, which have rather served to excite, than to gratify curiosity. Late years have been more fertile, and have opened the way to further inquiries; and the spirit which has been awakened, should not be suffered to sleep.

It would be endless to point out the desiderata which yet remain to be supplied, or the subjects of interest which yet remain to be investigated. The origin of Bouddhism, as it may be traced in Siam, and particularly Laos, and other countries, not yet visited by Europeans, but with which a commercial intercourse exists, is not the least of these. The objects of science are not less numerous, to say nothing of the vast field which the immense empire of China opens to the speculative mind. Through the means of her native traders, who frequent these seas, and are protected by our flag, we have it in our power to prosecute the most extensive researches; and to communicate, as well as receive, information, which may be reciprocally useful and acceptable. While, as a manufacturing nation, we are compelled to supply this empire with the raw produce of our territories, we can never want an interest in inquiring into the principles and means by which they are thus able to supersede us, even with the advantage of our unrivalled machinery. The Chinese mind itself, the literature and character of this extraordinary people, of whom so little is known, that their place and rank in the scale of civilization is yet undetermined, are questions which have long attracted the attention of the western world. The current of their ideas — the mould of their minds — and the whole bent and direction of their powers, differ so much from our own, that an estimate of them is no easy task. We find them dispersing themselves abroad, and carrying with them a spirit of enterprise and speculation, combined with an industry and prudence, that makes them flourish, and acquire opulence wherever they settle.

Such is the range of inquiry open to the philosopher; but to him who is interested in the cause of humanity, who thinks that the diffusion of the humanizing arts is as essen-

tial to the character of our nation, as the acquisition of power and wealth; and that wherever our flag is carried, it should confer the benefits of civilization on those whom it protects, it will appear no less important, that in proportion as we extend the field of our own inquiry and information, we should apply it to the advantage of those with whom we are connected; and endeavour to diffuse among them the light of knowledge, and the means of moral and intellectual improvement.

The object of our stations being confined to the protection and encouragement of a free and unrestricted commerce with the whole of these countries, and our establishments being on this footing and principle, no jealousy can exist where we make our inquiries. When the man of science inquires for the mineral or vegetable productions of any particular country, or the manner in which the fields are cultivated, or the mines worked, no motive will exist for withholding information; but if, in return, we are anxious and ready to disseminate the superior knowledge we ourselves possess, how much shall we increase this readiness and desire on the part of the natives; and what may not be the extent of the blessings we may, in exchange, confer on these extensive regions? How noble the object, how beneficial the effects, to carry with our commerce the lights of instruction and moral improvement! How much more exalted the character in which we shall appear—how much more congenial to every British feeling! By collecting the traditions of the country, and affording the means of instruction to all who visit our stations, we shall give an additional inducement to general intercourse; while the merchant will pursue his gain, the representative of our government will acquire a higher character, and more general respect, by devoting a portion of his time to the diffusion of that knowledge, and of those principles, which form the happiness and basis of all civilized society. The native inhabitant, who will be first attracted by commerce, will imbibe a respect for our institutions; and when he finds that some of these are destined exclusively for his own benefit—while he applauds and respects the motive, he will not fail to profit by them. Our civil institutions, and political influence, are calculated to increase the population and wealth of these countries; and cultivation of mind seems alone wanting to raise them to such a rank among the nations of the world as their geographical situation and climate may admit. And shall we, who have been so favoured among other nations, refuse to encourage the growth of intellectual

improvement, or rather shall we not consider it one of our first duties to afford the means of education to surrounding countries, and thus render our stations, not only the seats of commerce, but of literature and the arts? Will not our best inclinations and feelings be thus gratified, at the same time that we are contributing to raise millions in the scale of civilization? It may be observed, that in proportion as the people are civilized, our intercourse with the islands will become more general, more secure, and more advantageous; that the native riches of the countries which they inhabit seem inexhaustible, and that the eventual extent of our commerce with them must, consequently, depend on the growth of intellectual improvement, and the extension of moral principles. A knowledge of the languages of these countries, considered on the most extensive scale, is essential to all investigation; and may not the acquisition of these be pursued with most advantage, in connexion with some defined plan for educating the higher orders of the inhabitants? May not one object mutually aid the other, and the interests of philanthropy and literature be best consulted, by making the advantages reciprocal?

There is nothing, perhaps, which distinguishes the character of these islanders from the people of India more than the absence of inveterate prejudice, and the little influence Mahomedanism has had over their conduct and mode of thinking. With them, neither civil nor religious institutions seem to stand in the way of improvement; while the aptness and solicitude of the people to receive instruction is remarkable; and, in the higher classes, we often find a disposition to enjoy the luxuries and comforts of European life, and to assimilate to its manners and courtesies. The states more advanced in civilization have embraced the Mahomedan faith, which still continues to make a slow progress throughout the Archipelago. This faith was not introduced by conquest, but by the gradual progress of persuasion exerted by active missionaries, on a simple and ingenuous people. It is on the Mussulman teachers alone, that they are at present dependant for instruction; but these are now comparatively few, and of an inferior order; many of them little better than manumitted slaves, though assuming the titles of seids and sheiks. When we consider, that the whole of the Archipelago is left open to the views and schemes of these men; that they promise the joys of paradise, in recompense of the slight ceremony of circumcision; and, in this world, exemption from the pains of slavery, to which all unbelievers are

hable; we may account for the facility with which conversion is still effected, and the little impression it makes on the people. Institutions of the nature of colleges were formerly maintained by the native princes of Bantam, and in the interior of Java and Sumatra, particularly at Menangkabau, to which latter a visit was considered only less meritorious than a pilgrimage to Mecca. These colleges have disappeared with the power of the native government which supported them, and their place is very imperfectly supplied by the inferior and illiterate priests who are settled among them. The want of an institution of this nature has long been felt and complained of by the higher orders, and a desire has even been expressed of sending their children to Bengal; but the distance, and want of means to defray the expense, has generally prevented them from doing so. In an instance, however, in which this has taken place, we shall find evidence of the capacity of the people to receive instruction; and are able to form some estimate of the degree of improvement to which they might attain, if similar advantages were enjoyed by all. Shortly after the conquest of Java, two sons of the regent of Samarang were sent to Bengal, where they remained only two years, but returned to their native country, not only with a general knowledge of the English language, but versed in the elements of general history, science, and literature. The rapid progress made by these youths, not only in these attainments, but in their manners, habits, and principles, has been the surprise and admiration of all who have known them. It may be observed, generally, with regard to Mahomedanism in the Eastern Islands, that although the more respectable part of the population pay some attention to its forms, as the established religion of the country, they are far more attached and devoted to their ancient traditions and customs; inso-much, that in most of the states the civil code of the Koran is almost unknown. In many of the countries which have not yet embraced Mahomedanism, such as those of the Battas, and other interior tribes of Sumatra, the islands along its western coast, and the Dayaks of Borneo, it is difficult to say what are their religious tenets. Faint traces of Hinduism are occasionally discovered, blended with local and original ideas; and it has even been questioned, whether some of them have any religion at all.

The inducements and facilities which are thus afforded, suggest the advantage and necessity of forming, under the immediate control and superintendence of government, an

institution of the nature of a native college, which shall embrace, not only the object of educating the higher classes of the native population, but, at the same time, that of affording instruction to the officers of the Company in the native languages, and of facilitating our more general researches into the history, condition, and resources of these countries. An institution of this kind, formed on a simple, but respectable plan, would be hailed with satisfaction by the native chiefs, who, as far as their immediate means admit, may be expected to contribute to its support; and a class of intelligent natives, who would be employed as teachers, would always be at the command and disposal of government. The want of such a class of men has long been felt, and is, perhaps, in a considerable degree owing to the absence of any centre or seat of learning to which they could resort.

The position and circumstances of Singapura, point it out as the most eligible situation for such an establishment. Its central situation among the Malay states, and the commanding influence of its commerce, render it a place of general and convenient resort; while, in the minds of the natives, it will always be associated with their fondest recollections, as the seat of their ancient government, before the influence of a foreign faith had shaken those institutions, for which they still preserve so high an attachment and reverence. The advantage of selecting a place thus hallowed by the ideas of a remote antiquity, and the veneration attached to its ancient line of kings, from whom they are still proud to trace their descent, must be obvious.

The objects of such an institution may be briefly stated as follows:—

1st. To educate the sons of the higher order of natives.

2dly. To afford the means of instruction in the native languages to such of the Company's servants, and others, as may desire it.

3dly. To collect the scattered literature and traditions of the country, with whatever may illustrate their laws and customs, and to publish and circulate, in a correct form, the most important of these, with such other works as may be calculated to raise the character of the institution, and to be useful or instructive to the people.

In order to embrace these objects, it will be sufficient, in the first instance, that an European superintendant and assistant, with three native professors, or head teachers, and a few native assistants, should be appointed to conduct the duties. Hereafter, as the institution becomes more generally

known, and its advantages felt, an extension of this establishment may become necessary. The immediate expenses may be estimated not to exceed two thousand rupees per month, and ten thousand rupees for the construction of an appropriate building.

In the formation of the establishment, the utmost simplicity will be necessary, as well with a view to economy, as with reference to the character and circumstances of the people. The rules for its internal discipline will be few and obvious, and the means of exciting emulation, such as may be best suited to the condition of the students. The establishment proposed will include a native professor in each of the three principal languages, Malay, Bugies, and Siamese, with an assistant in each department; and four extra teachers in the Chinese, Javan, Burman, and Pali languages. The course of education will be the acquirement of such of the above languages as the students may select, together with Arabic, to which the same professors will be competent; and in the higher classes, the Roman character, and English language, will be taught, together with such elementary branches of general knowledge and history, as their capacity and inclination may demand. The extra number of Moon-shees are intended to afford instruction to the Company's servants, and others; and it will be the duty of the superintendant and native professors to form the collections, and carry into effect the third and last object, under such directions as they may from time to time receive.

The more immediate effects which may be expected to result from an institution of this nature, have already been pointed out, and are such as will readily suggest themselves. Native schools, on the Lancastrian plan, have already been established at some of our stations, and may be expected to spread in various directions: connected with these, an institution of the nature now proposed, is calculated to complete the system; and by affording to the higher classes a participation in the general progress of improvement, to raise them in a corresponding degree, and thus preserve and cement the natural relations of society. After what has been said, it is needless to enlarge on the more obvious and striking advantages which must result from the general diffusion of knowledge among a people so situated. The natural and certain effect must be the improvement of their condition, and a consequent advancement in civilization and happiness. The weakness of the chiefs is an evil which has been long felt and acknowledged in these countries, and to cultivate and

improve their intellectual powers seems to be the most effectual remedy. They will duly appreciate the benefit conferred; and while it must inevitably tend to attach them more closely to us, we shall find our recompense in the stability of their future authority, and the general security and good order which must be the result.

There are, however, some results of a more distant and speculative nature, which it is impossible to pass over unnoticed. These relate more particularly to the eventual abolition of slavery—the modification of their more objectionable civil institutions, particularly those relating to debts and marriages—and the discontinuance of the horrid practices of cannibalism, and man-hunting, but too prevalent among some of the more barbarous tribes, as the Battas and Alfours.

It is almost unnecessary to state, that slavery is not only tolerated and acknowledged by the Malay law; but, until recently, it was openly encouraged by the chief European authority in these seas. Batavia, for the last two centuries, has been the principal and fatal mart to which the majority were carried; and the islands of Bali, Celebes, and Nias, are the countries whence the supplies were principally procured. Many thousands of the victims of this lawless traffic were annually obtained in much the same manner as on the coast of Africa, and the trade has always been a very profitable one, and the principal support of piracy. While the British were in possession of Java, the act of parliament declaring the trade felony on the part of its own subjects, was made a colonial law; this prohibition does not appear to have been repealed, and much benefit may be anticipated from the Batavian government not sanctioning the practice by its authority. But when we consider the extent and varied interests of the Archipelago—the number of slaves still in Java—and the right which every Mahomedan exercises, according to his ability, of converting or reducing to slavery every unbeliever he meets with—the extent of the population still unconverted—and the sanction given to slavery by the Malay custom, we can only look for the complete remedy of the evil, by the extension of our influence among the native states, and the effects which a better education may produce on the chiefs.

Throughout the greater part of the Eastern states, the Mahomedan law has never been adopted in its full extent. In some it has been blended with the original customs and institutions, and in others not introduced at all. The laws

regarding debts and marriages are peculiarly illustrative of this; and however, in principle, they may have been applicable to a former state of society, are now, in practice, found to be in many places highly oppressive and injurious to the increase of population. This fact is fully exemplified in the vicinity of Bencoolen, where a large portion of the population is reduced to a state little better than that of actual slavery, on account of debts; and fully one-fourth of the marriageable females remain in a state of celibacy, from the obstacles which their customs oppose to marriage. The former arises from the custom which gives the creditor an unlimited right over the services of the debtor, for any sum, however small: in many cases, the family and relations of the debtor are further liable, in the same manner. In the case of marriage, it may be observed, that the daughters are considered to form a part of the property of the father; and are only to be purchased from him by the suitor, at a price exceeding the usual means of the men. The effects of education may be expected to be felt in the gradual modification and improvement of these institutions, especially if aided by our influence and example. However attached the natives may be to the principles on which these institutions are founded, experience has proved that they are by no means unwilling to modify them, in practice, on conviction that they are injurious in tendency. In a recent instance, they readily agreed to lower the price paid for wives, on the advantage of such a measure being urged and explained to them.

On the subject of the barbarous practices alluded to as common among the wilder tribes, it may be sufficient for the present purpose to state, that the Battas, a numerous people having a language and written character peculiar to themselves, and inhabiting a large portion of the northern part of Sumatra, are universally addicted to the horrid practice of devouring the flesh of their enemies whom they take in battle; and that many tribes of the Dayaks of Borneo, and the Alfoors of the further East, are addicted to the practice of man-hunting, solely for the purpose of presenting the bleeding head as an offering to their mistresses. A man is considered honorable according to the number of heads he has thus procured, and, by the custom of the country, such an offering is an indispensable preliminary to marriage. It is not to be expected that our schools will have any direct or immediate influence on people where such practices are prevalent, but indirectly and eventually, as the chiefs of the more civilized states in their neighbourhood acquire power

and stability, they may be expected gradually to be brought under their influence, and subjected to the restraints of a better state of society.

From this it will appear how much more extensive are the advantages to be obtained from educating the higher classes, to whom alone we can look for effectually promoting the progress of improvement among the lower orders, and for extending the benefits of civilization to the barbarous tribes, who would otherwise be entirely beyond the sphere of our influence, than could be obtained from any scheme which should reverse the order; and commence instruction from the bottom, rather than the top of the scale. In every country the lights of knowledge and improvement have commenced with the higher orders of society, and have been diffused from thence downwards. No plan can be expected to succeed, which shall reverse this order, and attempt to propagate them in an opposite direction, and more especially in countries where the influence of the chiefs, from the nature of the government, must always be considerable.

In affording to such of the Chinese as are settled in the islands a participation in the benefits of this institution, the richer classes are particularly adverted to. Many of these, if not possessed of the advantages of birth, have raised themselves, by their talents, to opulence and a respectable rank in society. These men, at present, frequently send their sons to China for education, for want of an institution of this nature, which would supersede the necessity. A recent establishment of the kind has been formed at Malacca, under the superintendance of an enlightened missionary; and a branch of it is already extended to Singapore. It has been attended with considerable success, but must necessarily be limited in its operation, by its more immediate and direct connexion with the object of religious conversion. The rapid acquisition of the Chinese language, which has been the consequence of this establishment, and the numerous tracts which have issued from its press in that language, give the institution much interest; and the means which have thus been afforded of opening what may be termed a literary intercourse with this peculiar people, are gradually increasing. The advantage of extending the plan on a broader and more general principle, is acknowledged by those under whom it is conducted; and they may be expected, if not to combine their labours with the plan now proposed, at least to give it all the aid in their power. The expense of this branch of the institution will, probably, be borne principally by the Chinese themselves, who are

wealthy enough to do so, and are sufficiently aware of the advantages of education.

Having now shown the extent and objects of the proposed institution, and the field presented for its operation, and pointed out some of the advantages which may be expected to result, it will be sufficient, in conclusion, to remark, that the progress of every plan of improvement, on the basis of education, must be slow and gradual; its effects are silent and unobtrusive, and the present generation will, probably, pass away before they are fully felt and appreciated. Few nations have made much advance in civilization by their own unassisted endeavours, and none have risen suddenly from barbarism to refinement. The experience of the world informs us, that education affords the only means of effecting any considerable amelioration, or of expanding the powers of the human mind. In estimating the results of any scheme of the kind, the advantages must always be, in a great measure, speculative; and dependant on the concurrence of a variety of circumstances, which cannot be foreseen. This is admitted to apply, with its full force, to the institution in question; but when it is considered, that education affords the only reasonable and efficient means of improving the condition of those who are so much lower than ourselves in the scale of civilization; that the want of this improvement is no where more sensibly felt than in the field before us; and that the proposed plan has the double object of obtaining information ourselves, and affording instruction to others; it will be allowed to be, at least, calculated to assist in objects, which are not only important to our national interests, but honorable and consistent with our national character. The outlay proposed is moderate, when considered even with reference to the immediate advantages, to say nothing of those which are of a more remote and speculative nature. One single family of rank, raised into importance and energy by means of the proposed institution, may abundantly repay our labour, by the establishment of a better order of society in its neighbourhood — by the example it may set — and by the resources of the country it may develope. We are not plodding on a barren soil; and while the capacity of the people for improvement is acknowledged, the inexhaustible riches of the country are no less universally admitted.

If we consider also, that it is, in a great measure, to the influence of Europeans, and to the ascendancy they have acquired in these seas, that the decline of the people in wealth and civilization is to be ascribed; and that the same causes have contributed to take away the means of instruc-

tion they formerly possessed, it is almost an act of duty and justice to endeavour to repair the injury done them. The British influence in these seas is already hailed as bringing freedom to commerce, and support to the independence of the native states; and shall we not also afford them the means of reaping the fruits of these blessings? Of what use will it be to protect the persons, and raise the wealth and independence of these people, if we do not also cultivate and expand their minds in the same proportion? Besides the inducements of humanity—besides the consideration of what is due to our national character, shall we not best preserve the tranquillity of these countries, and the freedom and safety of our own intercourse, by improving their moral and intellectual condition? shall we not bind them to us by the firmest of all ties, and build an empire on the rock of opinion, where we neither wish nor seek for it on any other principle?

It may be urged, that the institution here proposed is too limited in its extent, and too inadequate in its means, to embrace the vastness of the objects contemplated. It may be said,—is the improvement of so many millions of the human race to be effected, and the light of knowledge diffused over such extensive regions by means so simple? The objection is, in some respects, just; an establishment on a much more extended scale would certainly have been desirable, but many obstacles have presented themselves to the immediate adoption of any very expensive plan. The object has been to bring it to the very lowest scale consistent with efficiency, in order to avoid the chance of failure were too much attempted in the beginning. Voluntary endowments are what such institutions must depend on for support, but it has appeared unadvisable to commence a plan of this kind in a remote quarter of the world, where its advantages are not yet fully comprehended, on any uncertain calculation which might risk its success. A centre, or nucleus, is wanting, which shall be placed on a footing beyond the reach of contingencies, or accidents; and the support of government is necessary, in the first instance, to give stability and security to the infant institution: this once established, there can be little doubt of its extension, in proportion as the benefits become more and more apparent. The noblest institutions of mankind have arisen from small beginnings, and where the principles are sound, and the benefits of unequivocal application, such a commencement is, perhaps, better than one of more boastful pretensions.

The object, at present, has been, with the least pretension,

to commence an institution which shall continue to grow and extend itself in proportion to the benefit it affords; a situation has been chosen the most advantageous for this purpose, from whence, as a centre, its influence may be diffused, and its sphere gradually extended, until it at length embrace even the whole of that wide field, whose nature has already been shown. That it will spread, may be considered almost beyond a doubt; we know the readiness and aptness of the people to receive instruction—we know that they have had similar institutions of their own, in happier and more prosperous times; and that they now lament the want of them, as not the smallest of the evils that has attended the fall of their power. It is to Britain alone that they can look for the restoration of these advantages; she is now called upon to lay the foundation stone, and there is little doubt that, this once done, the people themselves will largely contribute to rearing and completing the edifice.

But it is not to remote and speculative advantages, that the effect of such an institution will be confined; while the enlightened philanthropist will dwell with pleasure on that part of the prospect, the immediate advantages will be found fully proportionate. To afford the means of instruction in the native languages to those who are to administer our affairs, and watch over our interests in such extensive regions, is surely no trifling or unimportant object. In promoting the interests of literature and science, not less will be its effect; to Bengal, where inquiries into the literature, history, and customs of oriental nations have been prosecuted with such success, and attended with such important results, such an institution will prove a powerful auxiliary, in extending these inquiries among the people of the further East. Many of the researches already begun can only be completed and perfected on this soil, and they will be forwarded on the present plan, by collecting the scattered remains of the literature of these countries, by calling forth the literary spirit of the people, and awakening its dormant energies. The rays of intellect, now divided and lost, will be concentrated into a focus, from whence they will be again radiated with added lustre, brightened and strengthened by our superior lights. Thus will our stations not only become the centres of commerce, and its luxuries; but of refinement, and the liberal arts. If commerce brings wealth to our shores, it is the spirit of literature and philanthropy that teaches us how to employ it for the noblest purposes. It is this that has made Britain go forth among the nations, strong in her native might, to dispense blessings to all

around her. If the time shall come, when her empire shall have passed away, these monuments of her virtue will endure, when her triumphs shall have become an empty name. Let it still be the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light—let her not be remembered as the tempest, whose course was desolation; but, as the gale of spring, reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling them to life from the winter of ignorance and oppression. Let the sun of Britain arise on these islands, not to wither and scorch them in its fierceness; but, like that of her own genial skies, whose mild and benignant influence is hailed and blessed by all who feel its beams.

ORIGINAL LETTERS

FROM PERSONS EMINENT FOR LEARNING OR PIETY.

(Copied from a Collection of Autographs, in the Possession of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, LL.D., of Liverpool.)

I. FROM THE REV. PHILIP HENRY, A.M. TO A FRIEND. (*Date unknown.*)

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I AM glad to hear, by your Father, that God hath been of late at work with your soul, and I hope, it will prove the Good work, which, where hee once begins, hee will bee sure to perform until the day of Jesus Christ. Now, I send these few lines to you, from my affectionate love, & from the true desire which I have of your spiritual and everlasting welfare, to bee your Remembrancer, that you bee sure, by all meanes, to lay a good foundation, for want of which multitudes miscarry and come to nothing; now that foundation must bee layd in sound Convictions of and hearty contrition for Sin, you must bethink your self of the error of your way, in how many things you have offended, and who can tell, in how many? you must lay before you the pure & holy, & spiritual law of God, and if the Commandment come to you, by the Spirit of God working with it, as it came to Paul, *Rom. 7. 9.* it wil make sin to revive, & the reviving of sin, in that manner, wil bee the Death of all your vayn hopes & carnal confidences, you wil then change your note, & from the Pharisees, God, I thank thee, I am not as other men are, you wil cry out with the poor Publican, God bee merciful to me a sinner! ô: the numberless numbers of vayn thoughts, idle words, unprofitable communications, that have past you in any one day.

the best of your dayes! the multitudes of Omissions of Duty to God, to man in general, in particular Relations! the multitudes of Commissions, whereby from time to time you have transgress'd and turn'd aside, in the several Ages & Stages of your life, through which you have pass'd; though you are but yong and, therefore free from much of that guilt which others lye under, yet conclude, I say, conclude, you have enough, & enough again, if God should enter into judgm^t with you, to sink you into the bottomless pit of hell, and, therefore you must enter into Judgm^t with your self, & condemn your self; and if you doe it aright, you shal not bee judged of the lord nor condemned with the world; Bee free & full in your Confessions, & after all you must close with David's, &c. Ps. 19. 12 who can understand his errours, cleanse thou mee from secret Faults! let the streams lead you to the Fountayn, see a Root, a Root of Bitterness in your nature, bearing Gall & wormwood in your life & actions, and bee sure lay the Axe to that & bewayl that & see an absolute necessity of a change, for except you bee born again & become a new creature, that is, except a contrary principle of Grace bee wrought in you to work out that naughty principle of Corruption, by degrees, you cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. And here all the creatures in heaven & earth cannot help you, they must each of them say, it is not in mee, it is not in mee, they have neither a Righteousness for you wherein to stand before God for Justification, nor a Power to give you for the mortifying of one vicious habit or for the performing of any one Act of Acceptable Obedience, but blessed bee God, help is layd for us upon one that is Mighty, Able to save to the uttermost those that come unto God by him, the only Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, and therefore by him you must goe to God, I say, must, or you are undone, for there is no other name given under heaven by which wee can bee sav'd, you must in the sight and sense of your own lost and undone condition in your self, by reason of the guilt which lyes upon you, resolve to cast your self upon the free grace of the Gospel, making this your only Plea at the Bar of his Offended justice, I have sinned but Christ Jesus hath dyed, yea rather is risen again, and in him mercy is promised to the Penitent, and therefore to mee. Doe not suffer the Tempter, nor your own Unbelief, to beat you from this Plea; these will tell you, you are a great Sinner, it may bee a Back-slider after Convictions, and that often, and, therefore, 'tis to no purpose, but doe not hearken to them; say. Faithful is hee that hath Promised,

& hold fast there; say, the worse I am, the more need I have of a Saviour, the more his mercy will bee magnified in saving mee, remember David's Argum^t, Ps. 25. 11. And when you have in this manner by Faith apply'd Christ crucify'd to your soul, you are bound to believe that God doth accept of you, that your sins are pardon'd, and that you shal not come into condemnation; And then your next work must bee, to study what you shal render, to love him that hath loved you first, and out of love to him to forsake all sin, and to buckle to all Duty, to read, hear, & meditate in the word of God, that you may know what the will of God is concerning you & what you ought to doe; and when you know it, resolve to doe it; you'l say, I cannot; I know you cannot, but in this also help is layd up for you in Jesus Christ, if you come to him daily, as you have occasion, in the sense of your own impotency, hee will strengthen you with all might by his spirit in the inner man, hee will plant grace & water his own planting & make it to grow & bring forth fruit, I can doe all things, saith Paul, through Christ strengthening mee, & without him wee can doe nothing; the termes of that blessed Covenant that wee are under are, that wee endeavour to doe as well as wee can, aiming at perfection and wherein wee come short, that wee bee humbl'd for it, but not discourag'd, as if there were no hope, for we are not under the law but under Grace. I am glad to hear, you have those servants of the lord with you, who are better able than I to bee the Directors of your way in this mayn mater, and that God hath given you acquaintance with them & an interest in their love & prayers, which, I hope, you doe prize at a very high rate, and bee sure you doe, upon all occasions, make use of them, and bee guided by them; If you have not jöyn'd in the Fellowship of the holy supper, I would, you should not by any meanes delay to doe it; It is not Priveledge only, but Duty, commanded Duty, & if you love the Lord Jesus, how can you answer for your neglect so long of such a gracious Appointment of his, when you have Opportunity for it; Behold, hee calls you; 'tis one thing to bee unworthy to come and another thing to come unworthily. Hee that is not fit to-day will bee less fit tomorrow; I know those that can witness, though there were Treatyes before, between their soules and the lord Jesus, in order to that Blessed Match, yet the matter was never consummated, nor the Knott fully ty'd till they came to that Ordinance, 'tis a healing Ordinance, God is there sealing to us & wee sealing to him in a precious Mediator, you cannot imagine the Benefits of it and there-

fore, put not off. So commending you to God & to the word of his grace, w^{ch} is able to build you up & to give you an inheritance amongst them that are sanctify'd in Christ Jesus, I rest

your truly Affectionate and
well-wishing Friend,
PHILIP HENRY.

II. FROM THE REV. MATTHEW HENRY TO THE REV. MR.
TALLENTS, OF SHREWSBURY.

Oct. 15, ..94.

HONOR'D SIR,

You can scarce imagine how much I please myself with the interest I have in your affections, signify'd by your frequent kind remembrances, your last endearing lines were by a stranger, it happen'd I was abroad when he call'd, so I saw him not. I am glad of this opportunity though I have no other business but to profess my continued respects for you, and to desire your continued prayers for me. I have a little daughter now about 18 dayes old added to my family, I trust in mercy, you will lift up one Ejaculation for her, that God wil own her for his own, among his *Esthers* (that's her name) his *hidden* Ones. My wife is but weak and low, and recovers strength slowly, but I hope he that hath begun wil perfect in mercy. We are here driving on fair and softly, God grant it may go far, as far as heaven. I *should more hope to see the Impressions of the Word strong and permanent upon others, did I but more experience the power of it upon my own heart.* I had the Bristol articles sent me by Mr. Showers, relating to a General Correspondence. The Min^r in Lancashire concurr'd with them very much, those in Cheshire made several objections, and I am apt to think the thing wil fall to the ground. Mr. Traver's wil give you an account of the Providence which brought one Mr. Isaac Owen a young Preacher, to dy among us lately, in his return from Dublin, towards Mr. Woodhouse. As also of Dr. Sampson's project of a History of Nonconformity, which, if you have acquaintance with this Dr. I hope you wil encourage him to publish. The eyes of the Nation I suppose wil for a while be upon this County and Lancashire, what they wil do with the impeached Gentlemen. I cannot but see it hugely in their favors that they are sent down to be try'd in their own Country, where the evidence must be very palpable indeed if they come off otherwise than well—for I am sure it is not now as while the Tables were on the other side, when all the world saw that Blood was thirsted after.—It is said the Treason will be proved very home, but

it is altogether a secret. We had the assizes here last week, Judge Combs gave a very excellent charge, called the Prot. Dissenters their younger Brethren. I rejoyce to hear Mr. Bryan recovers in any measure, and hope that God will perfect in mercy. Mine and my wife's very affectionate respects to yourself and my dear friend Mrs. Tallents, and to Mr. Bryan, and to good Mrs. Porter. I rest,

Dear Sir,

yours under manifold obligations

MAT: HENRY.

For the much honor'd Mr. Tallents,
in Shrewsbury

These.

III. FROM SIR WILLIAM DAWES, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,
TO THE BISHOP OF LONDONDERRY.

Cecil street, Feb^{ry}.
ye 14th 1718.

MY LORD,

I HOPE this will reach you time enough, to bring you my best wishes & prayers, for a safe voyage to Londonderry, & all manner of happiness there. Your presence, amongst your people & Clergy there, will, I dare say, give new life to them, at this Critical juncture. I should wonder at the Conduct of quartering a Presbyterian Regiment at London. derry, if it were not of a piece with all the methods, which have been used of late for the safety of the Church. God, in his due time, put us into better methods. I will trouble y^r Lordship no longer at this busie time, than onely to desire you to let me hear of y^r health, & the state of y^r Irish affairs, at your leizure, and to believe me to be,

My Lord,

Y^r Lordship's Affect:^{nte}

Brother, & Assured Friend,

W: EBOR:

IV. FROM COLONEL GARDINER TO THE REV. PHILIP
DODDRIDGE, D. D.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,

Leicester y^e 25th of
August, 1770 (1740.)

No body can tell what a day, nor what an hour may bring forth. the one day you gave us great Joy that your children were in so fair a way; and the next morning we had the Mellancholy news of your youngest child being in y^e greatest extreamety. My wife and I do simpathise with you most sincerely, but I hope it shall please God to bring the child from the gates of death, as he has done to our son, for I

bless God we have had very good news about him this morning; I don't think I need to give you the advice I give to every body as well as to myself which is, to prepare for the worst & pray for the best. I hope you have received y^e one I sent you last night by your friend. My wife presents you her service in y^e kindest manner. I need not tell you, my Dear friend y^t I am

Entirely yours,

Ja: GARDINER.

we shall long to hear from you.

V. FROM THE REV. JAMES HERVEY, A. M. TO
MRS. ORCHARD.

MADAM,

BEFORE this can reach your Hands, the most joyfull of all Solemnities will commence. Permit me to pay my most sincere Compliments on the Occasion. Wishing, that You may see many, very many of these revolving Festivals below; & at length, be admitted to enjoy the illustrious Authour of them in the Regions above.

I hope my pretty Godson continues well, and promise myself, that by this time He is become a fine Reader. I don't doubt, but He can say some of his Catechism; & has perfectly learned, and constantly uses his Prayers. How should I rejoyce to see Him! To hear his entertaining Chat. But chiefly to tell Him of his honour'd Papa; and point out, as his little Mind should be able to bear it, his Father's Virtues for his Imitation. This wou'd certainly be the kindest office in the World, & therefore I dare say, his tender Mama is carefull to execute it. So that I the less regret the Loss of this Satisfaction. Be pleased, Madam, to bid Him command my most respectfull Services; and inform Him, that the only Present I can make Him this Christmas, the only Testimony of Affection I can send Him, is the following prayer: "The LORD who made Heaven & Earth, GIVE THEE BLESSING out of Sion!

Miss Orchard & Miss Betsy, I suppose, are almost Mistresses of the Harpsichord by this time. I am sometimes tempted to wish, that the Melody of its strings might reach to Westón; for I have not once heard such an Instrument speak since my residence in these Parts. So little do I go abroad among the Polite. The chief of my Visits are among the serious Poor, who give me leave to talk of CHRIST's Righteousness and Salvation; or else to a few ingenious Clergymen, who are pleas'd to honour me with their Ac-

quaintance, & improve me by their Conversation. I hope the young Ladies, among all their other Accomplishments, do not discontinue their Application to the Scriptures. The Knowledge of that divine Book will be a richer Portion than thousands of Silver & Gold. A conformity of their Hearts & lives to its sacred Doctrines, will be a nobler ornament, than the most costly & splendid Apparel.

My old Friend, I imagine, is grown a perfect woman. And if she grows in Sweetness of temper & innocency of Behaviour, every Body will love her ALMOST as well as I do.

Our Hospital, lately erected at Northampton, is in a flourishing Condition. It meets with the desired Encouragement from the Wealthy, & has done considerable Service to the Poor.

Wou'd you think it, Madam? I am going to venture abroad in publick, and become an Authour. Two Letters, containing Meditations among the Tombs, & Reflections on a Flower-Garden, after many Alterations for their Improvement, & the Revisal of several judicious Friends, are intended for the Press. They are to be comprised in a neat Pocket-Volume. Might the former of these Essays be a Means of awakening some serious Considerations, in the mind of any Reader; of convincing Him of the shortness of Time, the Vanity of the World, the Littleness of every Thing but GOD — Might the other Display some Traces of the REDEEMER'S Amiability, of his complete Sufficiency for the Recovery of Sinners, and prove a means of stirring up in the Peruser & Writer some ardent Longings after his great Salvation, — I should then obtain my End. For in these things is the Wisdom, in these the Happiness of our Nature. — And I cannot think of a properer Conclusion of my Letter, or a more real Expression of my most affectionate Regard for Mrs. Orchard, than to wish Her an abundant Encrease of these Blessings. Which is not only the Wish, but the Prayer, of,

Madam your most obliged humble Serv^t

JAM: HERVEY.

Weston, Dec^r. 22,
1744.

My humble service attends the young Ladies & Mrs. Dodd. If You please to make my Compliments acceptable to your Visitants, I shall acknowledge it as a favour.

To

M^{rs}. ORCHARD
at the Abbey
near Bideford

DEVON

REVIEW.

Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Religious Connexions of John Owen, D.D., Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church, during the Commonwealth. By William Orme. 8vo. London, 1820. Hamilton. pp. 532.

THE talents and learning of Dr. Owen—the extensive reputation which his writings have obtained—the station he occupied in the church, and in the principal University of the land—the times in which he lived, and the important events in which he took an active part, conspire to give unusual interest to a faithful and well written memoir of his life; and though this has long and unaccountably been suffered to remain a *desideratum* in the literary and religious world, the work before us has, at length, very ably and satisfactorily filled up the void.

Dr. Owen appears to have been a lineal descendant—for in a Welsh genealogy what can we say beyond appears—from Kewelyn ap Gwrgan, prince of Glamorgan, lord of Cardiffe—a scion of the last branch of the five royal tribes of Wales. Mr. Orme informs us, that this Welsh prince was vice-chamberlain and baron of the Exchequer, about the middle of the reign of Henry VIII.; and that he continued so until the 8th of Elizabeth; but an ancient manuscript life of this great man, in the possession of one of the editors of this Work, gives those united offices to Lewis Owen, of Dolgelly, Esq., undoubtedly the same person with the Lewis Owen, of Kwyn, near Dolgelle, a gentleman of about £300. per annum, from whom our biographer derives the doctor's pedigree, and who is stated by both these conflicting authorities to have been sheriff of Merioneth. He lived, according to our MS., "in great credit and authority in the time of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and queen Mary, as appears by their letters to him, and John Winn ap Meredith, of Gnedi, Esq., (where those letters are kept), who were both very active in apprehending felons and outlaws; who were exceedingly increased by the civil wars of York and Lancaster, and thereby keeping the country in peace and quietness." To his zeal in this important, but ungracious service, he fell, however, a lamented victim; for in returning from the assizes at Montgomery, he was slain "at a place called Dugsed," says Mr. Orme; but "in the woods of

Monthrey," records our unknown author, where "a cross was erected to his memory, which still goes by the name of the Gate of the Baron's Cross." Such, at least, is Mr. Orme's account; but our MS. simply states, that "his friends have since raised a monument in the place where he was murdered, with an inscription declaring the manner of his death." We learn also from it this additional characteristic feature of the times,—for the event occurred long before the abolition of wardships, and its attendant consequences of barterings for daughters and for marriages, as for any other article of traffic, that the occasion of Mr. Owen's journey—there is no other ground for styling him a baron, than that he was a baron of the Exchequer, which our author does not represent him to have been—was "to treat with the lord of Monthrey, for his daughter in marriage with John, his eldest son." This person was the great-great grandfather of Dr. Owen, whose father, Henry Owen, was rector of Stadham, in Oxfordshire, and a strict and zealous puritan in the early days of the reformation of the English church from those grosser relics of popery, which, for a long period after it became professedly Protestant, adhered but too closely to its rites and ceremonies, and mingled for a while even with its doctrines. By such a father, there can be little doubt, but that his children, of whom John was the second son, were regularly initiated into the first rudiments of education, and most probably beneath the paternal roof; whence the subject of this memoir was, at an early age, removed to the house of Mr. Edward Sylvester, the master of a private academy at Oxford, who seems to have been an able and diligent grinder for the University—for hired makers of verses, and polishers of essays, and of themes, for stupid or for lazy scholars, were not altogether unknown even in those days—and to have had the still higher honour of numbering amongst his pupils bishop Wilkins, Chillingworth, and Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Margaret professor of divinity during the Commonwealth, and afterwards a celebrated Non-conformist minister. Such was the early maturity of Owen's talents, and such the diligence with which he availed himself of the advantages of so able an instructor, that at the age of twelve he was admitted a student of Queen's College, Oxford. There, as previously at school, he had a very useful and most powerful incitement to activity and perseverance in his studies—the conviction that from the scantiness of his father's income, he would have to make his way through the

world by his own exertions, instead of having it smoothed for him by riches, which he would not have to accumulate, but to enjoy:—

“ Nothing, perhaps,” observes our author with great justice, “ is more unfavourable to genius and industry, than being born to a fortune already provided. It diminishes or destroys that excitement which is absolutely necessary to counteract our natural indolence; while it too often encourages those feelings of pride and vanity which are destructive of application and success. Hence, while the heir to titles and to wealth has often passed through the world in inglorious obscurity, the younger son has frequently supported and increased the honours of his family. Most persons who have risen to eminence in any profession, have given early promise of future distinction. There are, indeed, exceptions to this remark. Many a fair blossom has gone up as dust, and the seed sometimes lies so long under the surface, that all hope of its resurrection is given over; when some powerful cause suddenly quickens the latent germ, and develops the energies and beauties of the future plant.” [p. 10.]

The latter part of these judicious remarks applies not to the development of Dr. Owen's talents—for they at all times seem to have shone forth with conspicuous lustre, but they will soon appear to have a very obvious bearing upon the direction which they took, and the mode of their exhibition; for during the greater part of his residence at the University, his mind was very slightly, if at all, impressed by religious principles, whilst his only ambition was to shine either in church or state, he cared not which, provided he could shine. Compared with his own aggrandizement, the honour of God, and the good of his country, were with him, as they still are with but too many, matters of very secondary importance. To this object he bent all the energies of his powerful mind; for it, in the quaint language of our MS., “ he plyed his studies hard,” and certainly plyed them most successfully. Under the tuition of Thomas Barlow, one of the ablest linguists of his time, then a fellow of Queen's College; but afterwards its provost, during the vice-chancellorship of his pupil, Owen studied mathematics and philosophy with great diligence; pursuing, as a recreation, the study of music, under the celebrated Wilson, whom he afterwards made professor of that science in his *alma mater*. “ This,” as Mr. Orme very truly remarks, “ shows that the men of that period were neither so destitute of taste, nor so morose and unsocial as they have been often represented.” He also, at once diverted his mind, and strengthened his body, by

devoting a portion of his time to a variety of robust exercises, such as leaping, throwing the bar, ringing of bells, &c.; diversions which none will condemn, but those who know not what hard study is; and, therefore, can have no right to determine what relaxation should be. In the case, before us, that relaxation was the more needful, in that whilst pursuing his studies, so great was his ardour, so unabated his diligence, that for some years he did not allow himself more than four hours' sleep in the course of the twenty-four:—

"It is impossible," says Mr. Orme, "not to applaud the ardour which this application discovers. The more time a student can redeem from sleep, and other indulgencies, so much the better. But it is not every constitution that is capable of such an expenditure; and many an individual, in struggling beyond his strength for the prize of literary renown, has procured it at the expense of his life, or of the irreparable injury of his future comfort. Owen himself is said to have declared afterwards, that he would gladly part with all the learning he had acquired in younger life, by sitting up late at study, if he could but recover the health he had lost by it*. He who prefers mercy to sacrifice, requires nothing in ordinary circumstances beyond what the human system is fairly capable of bearing." [p. 13.]

We transcribe these sensible remarks, in the hope that they may arrest the attention of some young man thoughtlessly pursuing a path, leading through withering flowers to an early tomb. The experience of Owen should not be recorded—his unavailing regrets, in as far as he was himself concerned, ought not to be preserved in vain. He being dead, yet speaketh; and one, who had he but profited by his error,—in zeal, in learning, in devotedness to the cause of God, and the salvation of immortal souls, might have followed in his steps, in the sudden close of his active and honourable career, at the age of twenty-four, reads to us a lesson more impressive, because more new. To Henry Kirke White, we could add the names of more than one of the partners of our studies, the companions of our youth, who, in catching with too great avidity at the laurel wreath to bloom upon their youthful brows, have clenched in a grasp that could not be unloosed, the cypress garland of the grave.

At sixteen, Owen took his bachelor's, and, at seventeen, his master's degree; and two years after the latter period, an event occurred, which had an important influence on his future destiny. About the time that he first appears to have

* *Gibbon's Life of Watts*, p. 161.

become the subject of religious convictions, though how they were produced we have no means of ascertaining. Laud, the celebrated archbishop of Canterbury,—whose subsequent fate no one could have had occasion to regret, had he been deprived, instead of being beheaded,—in the fury of his zeal for pomps and ceremonies, which, if not directly popish, were very closely allied to them, in his quality of chancellor of the University of Oxford, one of the many good things which he had monopolized, established by statute some superstitious rites, to which the members were required to conform on pain of expulsion. His recent convictions, and his early education in the principles of the Puritans, united in all probability in inducing our young graduate, then but just of age, deliberately, but resolutely, and we may add heroically, to embrace an alternative ruinous to his prospects of worldly advancement; as he then was, and had, indeed, for some time been, principally dependant for his support upon an unmarried uncle, whose high church and king prejudices were not very likely to be gratified by his nephew's quitting the University—until he unexpectedly returned to be its head; or as Mr. Orme has it, with an affectation as needless as it is childish, “until He who disposes equally the lot of nations and of individuals, sent Haman to a scaffold, and restored Mordecai to fill his place”—a figure defective, by the way, in two points, besides being ridiculous; inasmuch as Haman was exalted on a gibbet, whilst Owen never did fill the place of Laud. On his compulsory secession from Oxford, little, if in any degree less disgraceful to that University, than was the subsequent expulsion of the immortal Locke, Mr. Owen having, shortly before, received orders from bishop Bancroft, lived for some time with sir Robert Dormer, of Ascot, in Oxfordshire, as tutor to his eldest son; and afterwards became chaplain to lord Lovelace, at Hurby, in Berkshire. This, no doubt, is the “person of honour,” whom our manuscript authority mentions as having, though a partizan for the king, used Mr. Owen with much kindness. The latter, on the first breaking out of the civil wars, had embraced the cause of the parliament; a measure which he, no doubt, adopted from the clearest convictions of his conscience, since by it he knowingly forfeited all his expectations, by espousing sentiments diametrically opposite to those of his uncle, who was so incensed at his conduct, that he bequeathed the fortune, which he had always intended for his nephew, to another; leaving him in the full

enjoyment of his new republican notions, without a sixpence to support them. Under these circumstances, we cannot wonder that his spirits were depressed, though his resolution was unshaken, and his sense of duty clear. His former friends grew cold; some of the butterfly train of his admirers—they too called themselves his friends—had, indeed, taken an earlier flight; for immediately after the change in his religious sentiments, and his general views, became apparent to his college companions, those who had been intimate with him, “looking on him,” says the MS. we have so often referred to, as infected with Puritanism, forsook him; upon which, in connexion with his retirement from the University in consequence of this change, we are further informed, on the same authority, “a violent melancholy seizes him, to such an extremity, that for a quarter of a year, sometimes he avoided all manner of converse, and it was rare if a word could be drawn from him; and when he spoke, it was with such disorder, and in such extravagant terms, as not seldom exposed him to the wonder of some, contempt of others, and pity of the most. This melancholy was heightened by a sense of sin; many were the tumults and troubles of his mind, with respect to his spiritual state. And thus he continued for the space of five years: in which time God perfected his conversion, and brought forth judgment unto victory; settling his mind in that sweet serenity and calmness, as sufficiently recompensed his past sorrows.”

There is something so extraordinary, so indicative of the workings of Providence in its great designs, by the humblest and the most unlooked for means, in the history of this happy and most important change, that we shall give it in detail, as it is well related by Mr. Orme. On his patron and himself openly espousing the two opposite sides in the civil war, which issued in the public execution of Charles I., and the temporary establishment of a commonwealth, they both proceeded to London; the former to join the standard of the king, the latter to seclude himself in obscure lodgings in Charter House Yard; where, says the unknown writer whom we last quoted, “he was a perfect stranger, neither knew, nor was known of any.”

“During his residence in the Charter House,” writes Mr. Orme, “he accompanied a cousin of his own to Aldermanbury Church, to hear Mr. Edmund Calamy, a man of great note for his eloquence as a preacher, and for his boldness as a leader of the Presbyterian party. By some circumstance, unexplained, Mr. Calamy was prevented from preaching that day. In consequence of which, and of

not knowing who was to preach, many left the church. Owen's cousin urged him to go and hear Mr. Jackson, the minister of St. Michael's, Wood Street, a man of prodigious application as a scholar, and of considerable celebrity as a preacher. Owen, however, being seated, and unwilling to walk further, refused to leave the church till he should see who was to preach. At last a country minister, unknown to the congregation, stepped into the pulpit; and after praying very fervently, took for his text, Matt. viii. 26. 'Why are ye fearful? O ye of little faith!' The very reading of the text appears to have impressed Owen, and led him to pray most earnestly that the Lord would bless the discourse to him. The prayer was heard; for in that sermon, the minister was directed to answer the very objections, which he had commonly brought against himself; and though the same answers had often occurred to him, they had not before afforded him any relief. But now Jehovah's time of mercy had arrived, and the truth was received; not as the word of man, but as the word of the living and true God. The sermon was a very plain one; the preacher was never known; but the effect was mighty through the blessing of God." [pp. 27, 28.]

To this account the document in our possession enables us to make but few, and those not very important, additions. Mr. Owen's cousin is there described as "Mr. Owen the brewer," and he himself as "under disgust of mind, waiting in a convenient pew the coming of the minister," whom he expected to be Mr. Calamy. Mr. Jackson is represented to have been "then preacher at Faith's under Paul's," but whether he was so we cannot say, though our author may, perhaps, think it worth while to ascertain. It is stated also, that Mr. Owen made diligent inquiry after the country minister, whose plain discourse was rendered so useful to him, but without success; and, at the end of the narrative, the following remarks are made: "When his melancholy first seized him, besides other troubles that came upon him, viz. his being forced from the college, and the loss of his uncle's estate, a visible impairing of his health followed it, and many distempers invaded him; though till then he scarce knew what sickness meant, but was of a vigorous strong constitution; but this sermon proves a powerful cordial, that curing the distempers of his mind, much contributed also to the restoring him to his outward health."

The same obscurity which envelopes, and must envelope, until that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open, and the works of every man shall be made known, the humble instrument, if not of John Owen's conversion, at least of his establishment in the faith, and of his being made

a partaker of the consolatory influence of the Gospel, conceals from us also the spot on which he himself first commenced his labours as a minister of Jesus Christ. It was most probably in London, but in what part, and to what church, none of his biographers have told us, and none now can tell. There is reason to suppose, that his appearance as a preacher and an author were cotemporaneous, or nearly so; and the *imprimatur* to his first work, the "Display of Arminianism," bears date March 2, 1642. This work evinces great ability, and a considerable knowledge of the long agitated controversy, both amongst English and foreign writers, on the decrees of God; divine foreknowledge; Providence; the nature and resistibility of divine grace; original sin, and other knotty points of divinity, which have formed the groundwork of disputes in the Christian church, long before the names of Calvinist and Arminian were known as division points, though certainly more extensively and more acrimoniously prevailing since. It discovers also a severity in many of its parts, which the author's present biographer ascribes, not so much to his own temper, as to the licentious freedom of the writers he opposes, and his strong conviction of the dangerous tendency of their opinions. Were these admitted, however, as excuses for the want of Christian charity, and of the common courtesies of life, in the conduct of a theological controversy; in his case, they might be in all others; for what champion for any particular creed, or favourite doctrine, who dips his pen in gall for its defence, but thinks the hard blows, and knotty points, of his opponents, licentious freedoms, and feels thoroughly satisfied of the dangerous tendency of their tenets? But let such men, instead of vainly endeavouring to shelter themselves beneath the erroneous practice of an Owen, bear in mind this admonition of his biographer, alike applicable to him and to them:—

"It is the duty of all who know the Gospel, and especially of those who preach it, to watch the progress of error, and to endeavour to obstruct it; but it is of infinite importance that this should be done with Christian temper, and by the employment of those weapons which Christianity sanctions." [p. 35.]

Nor was this the only important error in the first production of this great writer's pen; for in his epistle dedicatory to the Committee of Religion, he implores the interference of parliament to check those divisions, and schisms, and factions, of the church, which are but too often the subversion

of the commonwealth; though he soon imbibed more correct sentiments on this important point, and learnt, and maintained, that the state has nothing to do with the errors of the church; which can only be rectified by the light of truth, not the arm of secular might, nor by the sword, unless, indeed, it be the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. This book, says our MS. authority, "was very much taken notice of, and highly approved, and laid the foundation of his rising;" which is there somewhat more minutely stated than by Mr. Orme, in the following words: "Some time after the publishing of it, Mr. White, who was the chairman of the committee for Scandalous Ministers, sends one morning early to Mr. Owen's lodgings, who, inquiring for him, was brought up into his chamber, he asks him, 'Sir, are you the author of the Display of Arminianism?' he replied, 'Yea,' and desired to know why he asked; the man tells him, 'Mr. White presented his services to him, and desired to speak with him.' Mr. O. was surprised, being wholly a stranger to him. The man observing this, replied, 'Sir, I have a commission from Mr. White to offer you a living (at Fordham) in Essex, if you will accept it; and then he will excuse you the trouble of coming to him.' This living was void by the sequestration of the incumbent (for the parish had articulated against him, and petitioned the committee for his removal, which was done;) and the messenger told Mr. O. that he had order from Mr. White to assure him that he should be presented to the place, and he would procure his confirmation therein. The messenger from Mr. White was one of that parish to which he invited Mr. Owen, and Mr. O. consenting, the man pursues the affair with that expedition; that the same day he returns with an order of parliament for his settling in that living: and Mr. O. comes down to the great satisfaction, not only of that parish, but of the whole country." This presentation Mr. Orme characterizes as doing much credit, both to the committee who made, and the divine who accepted it; and as far as the mere presentation is concerned, we agree with him in this opinion. But he is very shy of entering into any examination of the mode in which the vacancy was created — the sequestration of the right of the former incumbent, who, according to Walker, the historian of the suffering clergy of those days, was a person of great learning, religion, sobriety; and we are bound to take for granted that he was so, until the contrary is proved; which has never been attempted. What, then, was his crime? He was denounced by the committee for purging the church of scandalous and insuf-

ficient ministers—and for what? Doubtless, such of our readers as are but partially acquainted with the history of those times will conclude, that a *scandalous* minister must mean a drunken, gambling, horse-racing, cock-fighting, hunting parson; such as there always have been in the church, and such as we have reason to know, that here and there, at least, still are there, to the disgrace of their diocesan, and the great detriment of religion. But, besides the clergy who encouraged or countenanced, by words or practice, any “Whitsun-ales, wakes, morris dances, May-poles, stage plays, or such-like licentious practices”—scandalous enough we admit, though greater scandals were, and, we fear, still are permitted in some churches calling themselves reformed—such ministers and schoolmasters are, by the ordinance for their ejection, declared to be *scandalous* in their lives and conversations, as had publicly and frequently read the Common Prayer Book; and those were to be accounted *ignorant* and *insufficient*, as should be so declared and adjudged by the commissioners in any county, or by any five of them, together with any five or more of the ministers appointed their assistants. Such was the sort of *scandalous* minister who was thrust out of the living to which Owen was presented; certainly, great unquestionably as were his talents and his merits, by might, and not by right. For such scandals, and such alone, were hundreds ejected from their cures; many of them, without any provision, cast upon the world with their relations, “either,” in the words of one of their number, “to begge, steale, or starve.” This is a point of history, a characteristic feature of the times, too prominent and important to permit, if, indeed, any consideration could warrant, a Dissenter in passing it by in silence, because they were Dissenters who did the wrong. Such are not our notions of justice, or of the truth of history; such never has been, and, we trust, never will be our course. For his own sake, we wish there had been a less strongly marked tendency to this partiality in our author’s pages.

The acceptance of this living, of course, finally connected Mr. Owen with the presbyterian party, who had then seized, *manu forte*, on the benefices and revenues of the church. He seems not however—indeed, from his own account of it, it is certain, that he had not hitherto bestowed much attention on points of church discipline, save only as far as the question of episcopacy was concerned; but removing to Coggeshall, about a year and a half after his first coming into Essex, on the death of the sequestered minister of Fordham, and the presentation of another by the patron, he

was cast, for the first time, into the society of the Independents, whose views of ecclesiastical government he maturely considered, and eventually adopted. The principal ground of his dislike to that of Presbyterians was "its intolerance, or persevering hostility to liberty of conscience," the worst feature in its character in those times, and which, as Mr. Orme very truly remarks, "ultimately ruined the body" in this country. Convincing,—we had almost said, and as certain active partizans on behalf of their immaculacy, where none were immaculate, have thought it necessary to be very wroth with our author upon this point, we will say most damning—proofs of their indulgence in this unchristian disposition, are adduced from Edwards's "*Gangrena*," and "Casting down of the last and strongest hold of Satan; in *A Treatise against Toleration*;" the "*Dissuasive*" of principal Baillie; and professor Rutherford's treatise "against pretended liberty of conscience." In these, toleration is characterized as "the grand design of the devil—the fundamental sin, having in it all errors and all evils."

"It is," says one of the writers referred to, "against the whole stream and current of Scripture both in the Old and New Testament; both in matters of faith and manners; both general and particular commands. It overthrows all relations, political, ecclesiastical, and economical. And whereas other evils, whether of judgment or practice, be but against some one or two places of Scripture or relation, this is against all—this is the Abaddon, Apollyon, the destroyer of all religion, the abomination of desolation and astonishment, the liberty of perdition, and therefore the devil follows it night and day; working mightily in many by writing books for it, and other ways;—all the devils in hell, and their instruments, being at work to promote a toleration*."

This is strong language most certainly; clear also, intelligible, and not to be mistaken. Mr. Orme might, however, easily have produced much more from other authors, quite as strong; but he has forborne. We would forbear also, but the charges of bitterness, partiality, and injustice on this point, which have been elsewhere brought against him, in the very spirit which is complained of, induce us just to refer the partizan advocates of the mildness and the tolerance of Presbyterians in past ages, to the conduct and the sentiments of their great apostle, Knox, in his justification of the murder of cardinal Beaton, because he was a papist and a heretic; in his triumphant appeal to his

* Edwards's *Gangrena*, part i. p. 58.

followers, to tell him, during the height of their influence; "quhat knawn messmonger, or pestilent papist, durst have been seen in publick, within any reformed toun within the realme;" and well they might not, when he goes on to tell us, "that none within the realme durst more avow the hearing and saying of mess, than the theves of Liddisdale durst avow their stouth in the presence of ane uprycht judge;" and that after some priests in the westward had been apprehended for this enormous offence; intimation was "maide unto uthers, that they should neyther complene to quein nor counsaill, but should execute the punishment that God has appoynted to idolaters in his law, by sick meanes as they mycht, quhairever they should be apprehendit." What was their interpretation of that punishment—what their definition of idolatry, we may gather from an authority that cannot be gainsayed—the act of the Scottish parliament against the mass, passed about this time, namely, on the 10th of July, 1560, in which it is "statute and ordeined," that "no maner of person shall say mess, nor yet hear mess, nor be present thareat, under the pane of confiscatioun of all their guidis, and punisching of thair bodies, at the discretion of the magistrates within quhais jurisdiction sick persones happin to be apprehended, for the first falt; banisching of the realm for the second falt; and justefeing to the deid for the third falt." Such are the tender mercies of John Knox. Pass we to the proofs of those of his followers, when their faith was the predominant one in England, as well as in Scotland. In the first address of the commissioners of the estates of Scotland to the English parliament, lord Loudon, the chancellor, says, "Let us beware of tolerating all religions, which is the ready way to have none; for there is nothing more divine in God than unity, and nothing more diabolical in the devil than division; who, therefore, is known to the vulgar, by his cloven foot, to be the father of division*." In one of their despatches home shortly after this conference, they accordingly report, "concerning religion, we have expressed the desires of the kingdom of Scotland, and given a testimony against toleration†." In the same spirit, and in the same unequivocal terms, in a remonstrance addressed to the house of commons, they complain, that "strong endeavours are used to overturn the whole work of reformation, to cast off the ministry, and introduce a toleration of all religions and forms of worship; and so in effect to destroy the cause wherein both nations have been engaged, and

* Several Speeches of the Earl of Loudon, &c. p. 21.

† Thurloe's State Papers, iv. 111.

frustrate all the ends of the solemn league and covenant *." As mildly, as charitably, and as unreservedly, do the framers of the "Declaration of his majesty's forces on foot in the kingdom of Scotland, under the earl of Glencairne," exclaim: "The party of sectaries setting up their idol of toleration, that abomination of desolation, hath introduced innumerable swarms of sects and heresies, defacing the truth of religion, and destroying the tender vine planted by the right hand of the Most High"—(so very modestly do they state the divine origin of presbyterianism, and the horrid impiety of dissenting, or from its doctrines or its discipline)—"to the reproach of the Gospel, the endangering of the souls of many thousands of simple and unstable, the hinderance of reformation according to the covenant, and the advantage and rejoicing of the enemies of true protestant religion †."

These are a few, and but a few, of the decided protests of the official representatives of the lay presbyterians, against all toleration of any creed or form of worship but their own: turn we now to those of the clergy, and we shall find that they have as little in them of the spirit of their divine Master, or the gospel of peace, charity, and love. In "A serious and faithful representation of the ministers of the Gospel, within the province of London, to the general and his council of warre," we thus find them venting their complaints: "Instead of preserving the truth and purity of religion and the worship of God, we fear you are opening a door to desperate and damnable errors and heresies against the truth of God, and to many licentious and wicked practices against the worship and ways of God. How is religion made to stink by reason of your miscarriages, and like to become a scorn and a reproach in all the Christian world! Was it once a crime of the highest nature to countenance Arminians or connive at papists, and can it now be commendable, instead of a few errors, to allow (as we fear some amongst you endeavour) a total impunity and universal toleration of all religions? Be not deceived; God is not mocked." In another petition presented to both houses of parliament, the divines of the assembly, the regular representatives of the church, earnestly pray, in the same spirit, amongst other things, "that the bold venting of corrupt doctrines, directly contrary to the sacred law of God, and religious humiliation for sinne, which open a wide door to all libertinisme and disobedience to God and men, may be speedily suppressed every where, and that in such a manner

* Thurlow's State Papers, iv. 109. † *Ib.* i. 511.

as may give hope that the church may be no more infested with them.”—“That all the monuments of idolatry and superstition, but more especially the whole body and practice of popery, may be abolished.” A third proof, and it shall be the last of this official nature which we will quote, may be found in the sermon delivered at the coronation of Charles II., at Scone, in 1650: “According to the second article of the covenant,” the preacher there reminds his sovereign, lest he should forget the Christian lesson, “the king is bound, without respect of persons, to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, heresie, schism, and profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness;” and therefore, he goes on to add, “popery is not to be suffered in the royal family, nor within his dominions; prelacy, once plucked up by the root, is not to be permitted to take root again; all heresy and error must be opposed by him to the utmost of his power; and by the covenant, the king must be far from toleration of any false religion within his dominions.” What is meant by false religion is sufficiently evident from another part of the preacher’s sermon, in which he specially admonishes his royal auditor, to look carefully to the conduct of “sectaries, great enemies to the kirke, and to all the ordinances of Christ, and more particularly to presbyterian government, which they would have altogether destroyed.” “A king,” he adds, “should set himself against these, because they are enemies as well to the king as to the kirke, and strive to make both fall together*.”

We shall give one, and we give but one, extract from the writings of an individual divine, and that is from “Pagitt’s Heresographie; or, a Dissertation on the Heresies and Sectaries which have sprung up in these latter times.” There we are told, in the true spirit of the sect and the times—for these, be it remembered, in all our observations upon the intolerance of this or any other party, we never separate, as they never should be separated—that “heresies which are blasphemous in doctrine, or dangerous to the state, deserve death; the reason is because they corrupt the faith.” What more, we ask, could the most bigoted papist desire to be acceded to him; what more sweeping denunciation could the pope, in his supremacy, publish to the world; or the Vatican, in its zeal for the promulgation of the only true faith, and the suppression of all false doctrine, thunder forth? But let us follow a little further this protestant

* Douglas’s Account of the Coronation, p. 7.

divine in his definition of the duty of a civil magistrate and a Christian, with regard to those who, on some points of faith or doctrine, may hold different tenets to his own. "If such as do poyson waters and fountains," he argues, "at which men and beastes drinke, deserve capitall punishment; how much more they that, as much as in them lyeth, go about to poyson men's souls?" Accordingly, he implores the help of the parliament,—he invokes, in the name of God, the aid of the secular arm, to extirpate popery, prelacy, and other heresies, from the church; and, for this purpose, reminds them, that "the plague is of all diseases the most infectious; the plague of heresy is greater, and you are now in greater danger," he goes on to add, "than when you buried five thousand a week: you have power to keep these heretics and sectaries from conventicles, and sholing together to infect one another. Fire is dangerous: I have seen your diligence and dexterity in quenching it in the beginning: heresy is as dangerous as fire; use your best endeavours to quench it before it consumes us." In another part of his work, he as liberally and as mildly characterizes the Quakers as "a desperate, furious, bloody kennel, who, in the general liberty, as it is called, of tender consciences, but indeed hereticall and atheisticall professions, have infected many innocent, harmless souls, and will, if in policy they be not suppressed, perhaps ere long, root out all piety, order, and humanity amongst us."

From opinions and testimonies against toleration we proceed to acts and deeds; and considering the short time that the Presbyterians held the chief authority in England, the following entry in Whitelocke* will, we should presume, be considered a sufficiently striking and decisive proof of the manner in which they would have exercised it against those who differed from them in matters of doctrine or of discipline. "The day of the monthly fast, in the evening, the house met, and received a report from the committee of plundered ministers, of the blasphemies of one Paull Best, who denied the Trinity of the Godhead, and the Deity of Christ and the Holy Ghost; the house ordered him to be kept close prisoner, and an ordinance to be brought in to punish him with death." From that punishment he was only saved by the intervention of matters of deliberation, affecting the continuance of the power of his persecutors still more nearly than their faith.

From facts and opinions, it is natural that we should turn

* *Memorials*, p. 191.

to the inferences to be drawn from them; but here we shall not exercise our own judgment, but refer to the sentiments of Presbyterians themselves, or rather to those of an historian of the sect—we use not the term offensively—a man no less distinguished for candour than for learning, and of whom any religious body justly might be proud. It can scarcely be necessary to add, that we here refer to Dr. Cooke of Laurencekirk, who, in speaking of the conduct of the founders and early supporters of Presbyterianism in Scotland, very fairly admits, that “they arrogated a right to decide upon what the fundamental maxim of the Protestant religion declared should be left to the decision of all who examined it; and they justified, in as far as similar conduct could justify it, the atrocious cruelty of the (Roman Catholic) priesthood to those unhappy men who had been convicted of heretical pollution*.” “That its establishment,” he elsewhere adds†, with the same genuine adherence to the truth of history, “was too much connected with intolerance; that the antipathy to popery, and the nature of the opposition made to it,”—he might have added, and afterwards to the various sects of Dissenters, “were illiberal, cannot be doubted. All this, however, was the fault of the times.” To this short but important sentence, we cordially subscribe, and wish the reader to carry it with him, as we turn us from the Scottish kirk to the Independents of our native isle.

Our limits will not permit us to follow our author through his elaborate dissertation on the origin of this portion of the Christian church; but justice and impartiality require that we should advert to the claim which he sets up on its behalf, of having been the first religious body who openly declared for and firmly supported that leading principle of religious liberty,—a full and free toleration of all opinions on matters alike of doctrine and of discipline. Certain it is, however, that Luther, Zuinglius, and some others of the early reformers,—certain it equally is too, that even Catholics, when smarting under the pains and penalties of their inconsistent Protestant rulers, advocated the same principles, though the practice of but too many of them belied their profession; as we are fully satisfied was, until comparatively of late years, the case with all religious parties when in power, not excepting even the Independents; though, from the very nature of their ecclesiastical government, and the want of any regular union, either to defend their own rights, or to attack those of their opponents, they would, in the very nature of things, (the Quakers ex-

* Hist. of the Reformation, ii. 334.

† Ibid. iii. 315.

cepted, whose is the honour of having been the only consistent advocates of toleration and the rights of conscience) their inconsistencies would be the least glaring, and of the least frequent occurrence. Yet let it not be supposed that they were either faultless, or that their sins in this respect were few. Whilst their leaders could maintain from the pulpit and the press, propositions so revolting to the very first principles of religious liberty as that "the prince ought to compel all his subjects to the hearing of the word of God, in the public exercises of the church*;" whilst they could arraign the conduct of the ecclesiastical commissioners of the times for punishing "the most execrable idolatries but with prisons and forfeiture, making it a pecuniary matter, contrary to God's word," instead of punishing them with death, as "capitall mischieffs," so punished by the laws of God†; whilst they could denounce the common naming of the days of the week as idolatry, and the use of the catechisms of the established church as blasphemy against the person of Christ‡, it must be conceded to the opponents, who point out these anomalies in their principles, that, as far at least as the individuals who maintained such opinions are concerned, it may truly be said of the new light which they pretended to have within them, great indeed was its darkness. At the same time, it must be remembered, that, though a work of Robinson's, on which Mr. Orme mainly relies for proof of the correct views on the subject of toleration of the Brownists, the immediate ancestors unquestionably of the Independents, maintains a sentiment so directly subversive of them, as that "godly magistrates are by compulsion to represser publique and notable idolatrie§;" yet, inasmuch as these are but the sentiments of individuals, though leaders and teachers of the sect, it is admitted, and therefore fairly to be presumed to declare the sentiments of a great part of its members, they never can have the force of those public declarations of large and generally recognised bodies, which, amongst the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and other sects, pronounce authoritatively the opinion of the community. These, from the very nature of the constitution of their churches, can scarcely, at any period, not even at the height of their power, have existed amongst the Independents, and will therefore be vainly searched for now. Some curious documents partaking the

* Barrow's Plain Refutation, pref.

† Barrow's Brief Discovery of the False Church, 108, 165, 212.

‡ Ib. 132, 177.

§ Justification of Separation, p. 142, 143.

nature of the instruments referred to as evidence of the views of the Presbyterians, are indeed to be found in the neglected historians of the period, and in scattered pamphlets treasured up only in the libraries of the curious; and a few of these we shall quote, as nearly as possible in the order formerly pursued. The first of them is a "declaration of the Lord Protector and both houses of parliament, for a day of solemn fasting;"* which states, that "these nations are overspread with many blasphemous and damnable heresies against God himself, and his glorious attributes; against the Lord Jesus Christ, his person, his offices, and his merits; against the Holy Spirit; against the word of God, the only rule of faith and life, by denying the authority thereof, and crying up the light in the hearts of sinful men, as the rule and guide of all their actions; besides many other abominable errors which have opened a wide door for the letting in of the most horrible contempt of the ordinances and institutions of Jesus Christ, of the ministers and ministry of his glorious gospel, together with the growth of gross ignorance, atheism, and profaneness of all sorts, for which the land mourns. And that which makes these abominations the more national, (and gives us the more cause to be humbled for them), is," continues this curious state paper, "the too much remissness and connivance of the civil magistrates, (to whom belongs the care of maintaining God's public worship, honour, and purity of doctrine, as well as of punishing all sins against the second table), in permitting the growth of these abominations, by suffering persons, under the abuse of liberty of conscience, to disturb the public ordinances, and to publish their corrupt principles and practices to the seducing and infecting of others." This catalogue of heresies is assuredly quite extensive enough to include whatever its framers chose; and though framed by Cromwell and his parliament during the triumph of Independency, contains any thing rather than a recognition of the rights of conscience, or a toleration of all sentiments in religion. But at the same time that it is the most sweeping protest against toleration, it is not the only one which we have been able to discover in the worm-eaten records of the times. In a "representation of divers well affected persons in and about the city of London, to the parliament and council of the army in 1649," application is made for "strict laws and courses for the punishing and restraining of all atheism, profaneness, heresy, idolatry, schism, and popery;" and nearly all the

* Somers's State Tracts, col. i. vol. iv. p. 458.

petitions of those days presented in favour of liberty of conscience, or boasting of its establishment, in as far as the toleration of certain sentiments is concerned, have a saving clause to the same effect. Thus, in an "address of the justices of the peace, gentry, ministers, and many of the freeholders of the county of Chester," presented to Richard Cromwell soon after his succession to the Protectorate, a hope is very prominently expressed, "that God had designed him in special mercy to the advancement of his glory, the propagation of his gospel, the vindication of his truths against heresie, errors, schism, the encouragement of magistracy and ministry," &c.; whilst in another, "from the gentlemen, ministers, and freeholders of the county of Northampton," presented on the same occasion, his highness is entreated to "consecrate the riches and forces of his dominions to the service of Christ against his enemies*."

We will not, however, multiply instances under this head, but proceed to the acts of the parliament of the commonwealth, after the Independents became the prevailing party there. From the Memorials of Whitelocke, confessedly the most impartial historian of these times, and himself, there is every reason to believe, a real friend to toleration, when its real friends were very few, we find that "the house debated the point of liberty of conscience upon the new government, and agreed to give it to all who shall not maintain atheism, popery, prelacy, prophaneness, or any damnable heresy to be enumerated by the parliament†." Changing the word parliament for general assembly, convocation, or the pope, and what more could the most bigoted Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or even Catholic, require? Nor is this a solitary legislative enactment upon the subject during the Protectorate; for, on the 22d of July 1650, an act passed "against atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions, and the unlawful meetings of such persons;" and on the 8th of October 1653, the house voted that there should be "a declaration giving fitting liberty to all that fear God among themselves, without imposing one upon the other, and to discountenance blasphemies, damnable heresies, and licentious practices‡." Nay, so jealous were they of their authority in things spiritual, and of their power to restrain the liberty of conscience, which every man enjoys as a natural right, that they resolved, "that

* Catalogue of the places where Richard Cromwell was proclaimed, p. 32, 51.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 566.

‡ Ib. 465, 566.

to bills touching liberty of conscience the Protector should have a negative, but not to bills suppressing heresies*.” That province was to be peculiarly and exclusively their own. How they exercised it in enacting laws we have already seen, and proof will not be wanting of their readiness to execute them.

We will pass on first, however, to the ministers of the sect; because it may be said, that in these intolerant proceedings and declarations they could have no part. In “a petition of several churches in the county of Gloucester to the Lord Protector,” preserved in Nichols’s State Papers †, we have complaints of “the body of a corrupt, ungifted, and scandalous ministry, yet left standing”—(that of the church of England stood not then; the Presbyterian must, therefore, have been intended;) “blinding and hardening the people against the work of reformation,” and these the Protector, and “all the faithfull ones,” were required to witness against, and to remove; the remonstrants adding, that “there should be no covenants made with these hardened enemies against the Lord and his people.” In another clerical petition, contained in the same book ‡, request is made to parliament, “that those lawes and statutes, which tend to hinder godly, conscientious people, from serving God according to their light, may be repealed; provided that this does not give liberty to any popish and superstitious course, nor yet (by any meanes) to those that contemne the ordinances of Jesus Christ, whose most dangerous and destructive principles,” say the petitioners, “(as we humbly conceive) call upon the nursing fathers of the church not to suffer them to vent their damnable blasphemies in any place of the nation.” That they might not vent it, they recommend resort to a measure, from which every Englishman in our day, whatever may be his religious sentiments, creed, or party, will, we should hope, instinctively revolt; namely, “that the presse may be regulated, and so a stoppe set to all libellouse and abusive pamphletts that dayly come forth to the great prejudice of the Gospell, and the just grieve of many godly people.” The Catholics and Episcopalians would, doubtless, be included in these prohibitory clauses of the Independent *magna charta* of religious rights; and that the Presbyterians would not have escaped their operation, in the event of their rivals gaining an undisturbed ascendancy, seems, from cotemporaneous documents, to be, at least, a

* Whitlocke’s Memorials, p. 614.

† P. 146.

‡ P. 129.

matter of very strong suspicion. Thus, in a letter to Cromwell, preserved among the state papers of the times, the churches of Kent very distinctly express their hopes, that "wilful, rigid, Presbyters will never warme a sea in the supreme trust more." From their conduct whilst in power, this was a very natural wish for an Independent to form; but we doubt very much whether, had the connexion of the Congregationalists with the government been of longer continuance than it was, the Presbyterians would not have had abundant cause to rue its accomplishment. It has, indeed, been contended by the advocates for the superior tolerance of the Independents, that the very fundamentals of their discipline as churches forbade the establishment of their sect as the religion of the state; and certainly, as Independency now exists, and is understood, this is reduced to a self-evident proposition. We, however, have reason to doubt whether this was as demonstrably the case with the practical Independency of the middle of the seventeenth century, the era of Cromwell, its great patron, and of the commonwealth; however enlightened might have been the views and conduct of Dr. Owen, and a few individuals of the body. In confirmation of this opinion, unpalatable we doubt not as it will be, in common with the whole train of reasoning and of evidence pursued in this article, to the thick and thin advocates of the immaculacy of the denomination, we refer to the address of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin, the friend of Owen, and one of his colleagues in the headship of houses at Oxford; who, on presenting, at the levee of Richard Cromwell, on his succession to the protectorship, the confession of faith of the Independents, "in the name and by the appointment of the officers and messengers of above an hundred congregational churches, from several parts of the nation;" addressed the then head of the state in the following remarkable, and very intelligible terms: "And now we present to your highness what we have done, and commit to your trust the common faith once delivered to the saints. The Gospel, and the saving truths of it, being a national endowment bequeathed by Christ himself at his ascension, and committed to the trust of some in the nation's behalf, committed to my trust (saith Paul) in the name of the ministers; and we look at the magistrates as *custos utriusque tabule*, and so commit it to your trust, as our chief magistrate, to countenance and propagate*." The men who

* Catalogue of the places where Richard Cromwell was proclaimed, p. 25.

could avow these sentiments had not certainly the foundation stone to lay, on which all persecution for religious opinions rests—for, acknowledging the right and duty of the secular power to interfere in matters of faith and conscience, they left it to their own passions, and prejudices, and bigoted views, to rear on that anti-christian foundation whatever superstructure of exclusion and intolerance they might hereafter choose.

With individual opinions upon these points, for brevity's sake, we will not trouble our readers, though easy it were to furnish them with strong ones. Facts, however, are admitted to be stubborn things, and to facts we must appeal. In 1650, the parliament ordered the author, printer, and publisher of a book recommending the observance of Saturday; instead of Sunday, as the Sabbath, to be imprisoned and otherwise punished; sentenced one Clarkson, who had published an impious and blasphemous book, called the *Single Eye* (a treatise, we should presume, from its title, for we have never seen it, to have denied the doctrine of the Trinity) to be sent to the house of correction, and afterwards banished; his book, as was directed also in the preceding case, being burnt by the common hangman. About the same time, they imprisoned an anabaptist, for absurdly pushing the doctrine of election to its extreme limit, by maintaining that God could not damn him. In the following year, a soldier was cashiered, by their authority, for asserting that God was reason, as the perfection of reason he may, without heterodoxy, be said to be. The well known case of James Naylor, a fanatic, certainly fitter for Bedlam than for martyrdom, deserves also to be referred to; for though his conduct, from its actual disturbance of the public peace, and avowed tendency to overturn all authority, called for some punishment or restraint, it was, it must be recollected, for his blasphemy, (equalled in our own days by Johanna Southcott and others, who sank unpunished into obscurity or to their graves,) that he was delivered over to the secular arm, and, in its mercy, suffered the barbarous punishment of having his tongue bored through with a hot iron, with which a brand was also set upon his forehead, in addition to a sentence to the pillory, whipping, and perpetual imprisonment. It was only, indeed, by fourteen voices, that his life was saved. Some of the ordinances of parliament having forbidden the observance of Christmas day, Cromwell himself, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Whitelocke, who very properly reminded him, that such a procedure was con-

trary to the liberty of conscience, which he and his friends professed to maintain, directed the dispersion of some religious meetings on that day, by an armed soldiery, a party of whom, in September, 1649, rode into the church of St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, with their pieces cocked and swords drawn, to take a minister into custody, and carry him to Whitehall; for no higher an offence than that of reading the book of common prayer. On this occasion, they fired at random among the crowd, shot an old woman in the head, wounded about forty more of the congregation, and rifled and plundered them of their clothes, and hats, and other "spoils of the Egyptians." These are a few of the acts and monuments of Independent ascendancy in England, to say nothing of the rigorous treatment of the Catholics, against whom, unhappily, established precedent might be quoted for their wrongs — the state of wretchedness and want to which at least thirty thousand individuals were reduced, by the proscription of the rites and liturgy of the established church, the blame of which the Presbyterians may at least divide, — and the excessive severity exercised towards the Quakers, whose actual disturbance of the public worship of others certainly merited some punishment, though infinitely short of that indiscriminate persecution of the sect, as a sect, which visited 3170 of their first members with imprisonment, setting in the stocks, whipping, confiscation of their goods, and other wrongs, in the great majority of instances inflicted entirely for conscience' sake. From these wrongs, thirty-two are said, indeed, to have died in prison or elsewhere. But in New England the sect, there called Congregationalists — a name the most appropriate to its peculiar discipline of any by which it was ever known — earlier attained to power, and held it longer, than in the mother country. There, indeed, it can alone be said ever to have been established; and it escaped not the vices of all previous religious establishments, at least in their earlier days; — the love of domination, and that persecuting spirit which is not of Christ, or of his Gospel, but of the world, and he who of its powers is the prince. It is necessary, therefore, to glance — and our limits will permit us but a glance — at the transatlantic proceedings of those churches with which no candid Independent can deny the identity of his sect. Their laws excluded from all offices of the state, from eligibility to vote at elections, or to serve on juries and even from being made freemen, every person who was not a member of some

church approved by the civil magistrate *. There members of the established churches of England and of Scotland, though excluded from partaking the ordinances of the church, (and consistently enough excluded, we admit, if permitted to communicate elsewhere,) were compelled, under a heavy fine, to appear every Lord's-day as fellow-worshippers with congregations, to whose discipline, at the least, they could not conscientiously conform; and for respectfully stating their intentions to appeal against those oppressive grievances, if not corrected by the colonial government, to the parliament of England, the courts of that government most iniquitously sentenced six of their number to fine and imprisonment †. A Presbyterian also—for the sufferers just alluded to were Episcopalians—was imprisoned for thirteen months, for venturing to question the scriptural origin of the Independent church; a most dangerous experiment in the right of exercising liberty of conscience and of speech, in a country in which a law existed worthy of the Vatican or the Inquisition, enacting, that “any person falsely charging any congregational minister with error, should be punished by the secular courts, according to the quality and measure of the offence; that all others,” adds the ordinance, “may fear to break out into such wickedness ‡.” As liberal and as tolerant, but not more so, were the laws of the New England Congregationalists against heresy; in one of which, introduced by this correct and broad avowal of the principle of religious freedom, that “no creature is lord or has power over the faith and consciences of men,” they most inconsistently enact, in the very teeth of their own declaration, “that to restrayn, or provide against, such as may bring in dangerous errors or heresies, tending to corrupt and destroy the soules of men, it is ordered; that if any Christian shall goe about to subvert or destroy the Christian faith or religion, by preaching, publishing, or maintaining any dangerous errors or heresy, or shall endeavour to draw or seduce others thereunto, every such person so offending, and continuing obstinate therein after due means of conversion, shall be fined, banished, or otherwise severely punished, as the court of magistrates, duly considering the offence, with the aggravating circumstances and dangers likewise, shall judge meet ||.” Of what were dangerous

* Robertson's America, iv. 292. Newhaven's Settler in New England, p. 22.

† Neale's Hist. of New England, p. 215.

‡ Ib. 28.

|| Ib. 24.

heresies the civil magistrate was thus constituted the sole judge, and to his discretion was also left the punishment of such as he should brand as heretics. But other statutory enactments give us very satisfactory evidence that the limits of free inquiry and belief were there abundantly straight, for whoever denied the baptizing of infants was banished the jurisdiction of the state; or professing the Christian religion, but denying any book of the Bible to be the word of God, was to be fined and punished as the court thought fit. A recantation of error, in the latter case, limited the fine of the offender to £10., but if he relapsed into heresy, he was to be put to death, or be banished, as the court should determine. The knowingly bringing in a Quaker, or heretic of any kind, subjected the offender to be imprisoned until he gave security for carrying him away; whilst the concealment of any such noxious people was visited with the merciful fine of forty shillings for every hour of their stay. Going to a Quakers' meeting-house was an offence finable in the sum of ten shillings, and dispersing or concealing their publications in that of five pounds for every book. Ordinances were indeed passed, and most rigorously executed, for the banishing of the members of this persecuted sect, on pain of death if they returned*. Describing them in such terms of Christian moderation, as "that accursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world, called Quakers," their importation was prohibited under the penalty of one hundred pounds, whilst such as rose among themselves were to be imprisoned; severely whipped, and forbidden all conversation with their fellow-creatures; and on a second offence, if males, they were sentenced to lose an ear, and to be kept in the house of correction until sent away at their own charge; and for the third, to lose their other ear. Females were to be whipped and imprisoned as the men; and whether males or females; on offending for the fourth time, they were to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and to be imprisoned until sent away at their own expense†. But another ordinance went further still; for it provided that "every inhabitant of the jurisdiction withdrawing from church assemblies, and, instead thereof, frequenting private meetings of their own, or adhering to, or approving of, any known Quaker, or condemning the practice or proceedings against Quakers, should be committed to prison for one month; and if they did not afterwards voluntarily depart the colony, but refused

* Neale, p. 683. † Ib. 296, 7; Wynne's *Brit. Emp. in America*, i. 79.

to retract and reform their opinions, were to be banished, on pain of death if they returned *." The severe — we are justified in saying, the barbarous — laws already quoted, are those of the state of Massachusetts: in the colony established under the Plymouth patent, whoever saw a Quaker was obliged to give immediate notice to the nearest constable, though he should live six miles or more from one, under pain of subjecting himself to the discretionary punishment of the court; and the constable receiving such information was required forthwith to apprehend the proscribed heretic, however harmless and inoffensive his conduct might have been, and if he did not depart the district, to whip him and send him from it, to wander where he might be whipped and cast out again, if indeed a worse fate did not befall him †. Such being the mild letter of the laws enacted by the Congregationalists of New England, we shall content ourselves with an instance or two of the spirit in which they were executed. Women holding the proscribed opinions of the Quakers were not saved by their sex, or by any regard to decency, from smarting under the lash of the executioner, at the cart's tail or the public whipping post. Numbers of both sexes were banished for life, many of them after being branded with the letter H. for heretic, and R. for rogue, for as rogues and vagabonds they were treated, and were legally described ‡. Two of their female preachers were stripped and exposed, in the most indecent manner, to a considerable degree of torture, in the vain and ridiculous expectation of discovering upon their persons tokens of witchcraft, a crime, for which, in 1692, no less than nineteen persons were executed and 150 imprisoned, besides two hundred others who were under accusation. In 1658, three Quakers lost their ears, and in the two next years three men and one woman of this persuasion were put to death, the bodies of two of the former being afterwards thrown into a pit in an open field, from which they were not suffered to be removed ||. Several others were condemned to this extreme punishment of the law, merely for the heretical opinions which they held and promulgated, when a stop was put to the outrageous and unchristian proceedings of their Independent persecutors, by a letter from their high church; or — for such, we doubt not, that at heart he was — rather from their

* Neale, p. 307.

† *Ib.* 321.

‡ *Ib.* 683. *New England Judged*, 138, 366. *Whiting's Truth and Innocency Defended*, 18.

|| *Ib.* 292, 523. *New England Judged*, 91.

popish king, soon after his restoration*. Nor was their severity confined to Quakers, for, in pursuance of their declared intention, of tolerating no faith or worship but their own, they banished a popular minister from one of their towns, for maintaining, amongst other heretical and erroneous opinions, that which their descendants most unwarrantably assert to have been as a fundamental in their tenets, that "there should be a general and unlimited toleration for all religions, and that to punish men for matter of conscience was persecution†." Having also assembled a synod, (for synods were perfectly consistent with the notions of Independence held by many of the body in the seventeenth century,) in 1637, in which they sweepingly condemned eighty-two opinions, chiefly of an antinomian tendency, they fined several persons who maintained them; imprisoned others; and banished sixteen of them, who, being by the rigid execution of that sentence compelled to seek a shelter in the wild deserts of the country, were tomahawked and scalped by the Indian tribes; a fate which befel not a few of the New England sufferers for conscience' sake‡. We will not multiply instances of the practical intolerance of the sect in America, for no multiplication surely can be needed to justify the adoption of the conclusion of an eminent historian of that country, that "the people who, in England, could not bear being chastised with rods, had no sooner got free from their fetters, than they scourged their fellow-refugees with scorpions||." With equal truth and justice does another, and a still more eloquent writer on the same subject observe, "With an inconsistency of which there are many such flagrant instances among Christians of every denomination, that it cannot be imputed as a reproach peculiar to any sect, the very men, who had themselves fled from persecution, became persecutors, and had recourse, in order to enforce their own opinions, to the same unhallowed weapons, against which they had lately remonstrated with so much violence§."

The facts — the laws — the public declarations — to which we have appealed, with a view of proving that the Independents of former ages are by no means exempt from the imputation of intolerance, which lies alike heavily on all — or at least so nearly alike, that the degree of intolerance is

* Neale, p. 313-15; New England Judged, 339, &c. Rose's Observations on Fox's Hist. ap. xxxix.

† Robertson's America, iv. 300.

‡ Neale, p. 172; 8.

|| Douglas's Summary, i. 434.

§ Robertson's America, iv. 216.

not worth disputing about, and may be pretty accurately determined by the degree and continuance of power which each sect enjoyed — are too conclusive, in our apprehension, to need any copious citations of the opinions formed of their conduct by cotemporaneous writers. One or two, however, for the sake of impartiality, we cannot but select. In reference to the barbarous punishment of Naylor, and those who held his tenets, one of the writers of the times very pertinently asks, whether other sects “have any good assurance they may not hereafter be dealt withal after the like manner? And whether the several professors amongst us, that by the national faith shall be concluded unorthodox, may not, from those beginnings and other foundations already laid, expect to receive the like entertainment at the hands of this generation, as the godly and faithful followers of Christ have, at the hands of the worldly powers and national church in times past*?” From New England, a letter, written about the same time, observes, in a similar strain, “We must now have a state religion, such as the powers of this world will allow, and no other; a state ministry, and a state way of maintenance; and we must worship the Lord Jesus as the world shall appoint us; we must all go to the public place of meeting in the parish where we dwell, or be prosecuted†.” But we appeal to authority still higher; the remonstrances to Cromwell’s government of Cromwell’s son, Henry, the lord deputy of Ireland, one of the few, the very few, consistent Independents of his time, and a man whose views of toleration — whose character and conduct — would do honour to any sect or any cause. In one of his letters to his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, he very justly asks, “Will not the laws of an imposing Independent or Anabaptist be as imposing as the laws of an imposing prelate or presbyter? Dear brother,” he adds, with an earnestness which does equal honour to his head and heart, “let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their plagues. Let it be so carried that all the people of God, though under different forms, yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their birth-right and civil liberty, and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another‡.” These are the sentiments of a real friend to toleration on its broadest basis, shackled by no ifs or buts, exceptions or limitations: but we may be satis-

* Narrative of the late Parliament. Harl. Miscel. iii. 245.

† Neale, 331.

‡ Thurloe’s State Papers, vii. 454.

fied by another of this enlightened statesman's letters to secretary Thurloe, urging upon his father's government tenderness to sectarians, that these were not the generally received opinions of the party which then had the upper hand. Speaking of his success in suppressing, by mild measures, the excesses of the Anabaptists in Ireland, he remarks, "The Independent was then above measure pleased, and the fresh joy of being newly delivered from the reign of the Anabaptists, gave him no leisure to think of setting up for himself, which nevertheless all parties will attempt in their turn*."

With this sagacious observation of the young lord deputy of Ireland, we shall close the evidence on both sides in the litigation between the Presbyterians and Independents, which others have provoked, and argued in the true spirit of advocates; and which we wish to sum up with the impartiality of the judge, though we have been under the necessity of clothing ourselves in another and less dignified character, whilst collecting as *amici curiæ* much important evidence, which neither of the litigants adduced: and we have done so at great length, not only because Mr. Orme has made the point at issue a most prominent feature in his work, but because, chiefly upon it, he has been outrageously assailed by the champions of Presbyterian perfection; though on the score of intolerance we have shown, we would hope, even to their satisfaction, that their ancestors in olden times were, at least, in *pari delicto* with the Independents, whose gross incongruities of practice and profession we attempt neither to vindicate nor excuse. But we have a higher object in view—an exposure of the folly of men of any sect contending warmly, and too often bitterly, for the exemption of their party from vices and inconsistencies, which they agree in admitting, in as far as all other parties are concerned, were common to the age. If intolerance be not consistent with the Independency of the days in which we live, (as most assuredly it is not) what interest or motive has an Independent to distort the clear evidence of history, — to stoop to quibbles and to quirks, to prove that this was also the case with the practical Independency of two hundred years ago? Unquestionably he has none, save it be that inordinate self-love, which in every thing with which *we* are connected, would give *us* the pre-eminence. The like reasoning applies, of course, to Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and to all. We,

* Thurloe, v. 348.

at least, have acted upon it in referring to the past history of the sect to which we naturally feel the strongest preference, without caring what may be thought of us by its unreasonable zealots for having done so. Would those zealots of every church, established or protected, (alas! though, that for any protection there should be need)—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent, but do their best to carry the tolerating principles of their sect into the practice of their lives, they would be much more profitably occupied, both for themselves and for others, than in raking up the musty records of the intolerance of those who differed from them, in ages gone by, never, we hope, to return. That we ourselves have followed their example, we readily admit; but every one must perceive, in a moment, that we have done it but to repeat to the angry claimants for pre-eminence, where pre-eminence, as a body, there was none, the admonition of our Saviour, "He that is without sin amongst you cast the first stone;" "cast the beam," we should in some cases be justified in adding, "out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

Holding, or at least endeavouring thus to hold, the scales with an equal hand; and reading the records of the ages that are past with the eye of the historian, not that of the partizan, whilst we reply to the false accusation which has been advanced against Mr. Orme, of having purposely and uncandidly suppressed the fact of there having been, in Holland, a Presbyterian church established by law, which recognised and acted on the principle of toleration, before the Independents existed as a body to recognise it—by referring to the treatment of Grotius and Vorstius, for abetting heretical opinions, both of whom were exiled, and one had a chance of being hung; and to the position subversive of all toleration, adopted even by the synod of Dort, that heresy was cognizable and punishable by the civil magistrate;—on the other hand, we would remind the writer whom upon this point we defend, that to deny the connexion, we will even say the identity, of the Congregationalists of New England with the Independents of the mother country, in order to get rid of the argument derivable from their persecutions, is a subterfuge of which a candid historian should be ashamed. They had synods, says Mr. Orme: and so had the Independents of the Commonwealth, with the approbation of Dr. Owen himself, or something of a similar nature under another name. O! "but it is not the name," he afterwards con-

tends, "but the spirit and conduct, which discover the system to which we belong." This is begging the question with a vengeance; and amounts to nothing more or less than an assertion that Independent churches disavow persecution—*ergo*—no persecutors could be Independents: a mode of getting rid of the inconsistencies between profession and conduct, which, if allowed, would exculpate every sect from every crime that has been laid to their charge. But Mr. Orme appeals to fact in proof of the non-identity of these two bodies, and the tolerant spirit of the English Independents; citing in support of his position a remonstrance of the ministers of London in that connexion with their American brethren, against their persecuting proceedings, and exhorting them to desist from such unchristian courses. This very interference—this very epithet of brethren, must give the go-by to the question, in as far as the identity of the two bodies is concerned, on which no one acquainted with the history, the manners, the parties, and the language of those times, could seriously entertain a doubt. The Independents of Great Britain, and the Congregationalists of New England, are essentially one and the same sect now; and they were so in every thing that respected the marks of their distinction from other sects, a hundred and fifty, or two hundred years ago. The remonstrance of the former body to the latter is, therefore, to be treated as a communication from one branch of a sect to another; and it is observable, that even that protest against intolerance contains a high commendation of "the care and vigilance of a very worthy magistracy to countenance and protect" the congregational ministry, though that very magistracy were the chief authors of all the wrongs inflicted upon other sects. In entreating that ministry, and their hearers, "to suspend all proceedings in corporal restraints, or punishments on persons that dissent from them;" the qualifying expression "rigorous" is also prefixed to the word "proceedings," and what should be thought rigorous who was to determine? But the date of the remonstrance deprives it of all, or of nearly all, its weight as evidence of the tolerant disposition of the Independents as a body, even at home. That date is the 25th of March, 1669, nearly seven years and a half after the letter of Charles II. to the governor of New England had commanded these persecutions to be stayed. At this very time, the authors of the declaration in favour of toleration were smarting under the rigorous laws enacted against them by the English parliament, where the high church and king party had again got

the ascendancy; we may readily conceive, therefore, that they felt for others similarly situated: and it was their manifest interest to protest against religious persecutions of every kind, as we could produce proof after proof of every party, Catholic and Protestant—Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy men and all, having done more or less unequivocally, when they have been groaning under its pressure; though they have unhappily forgotten, or widely departed from the principle, when in their turn they had the power to oppress. In vain, therefore, do we look for any interference of the Independents of England to check the intolerant proceedings of their brethren in America, during the fifteen years, at the least, in which they were hanging, branding, flogging, banishing, fining, imprisoning, those whom they denounced as heretics at their pleasure, until the king's letter checked them in their course; although during nearly the whole of that period those Independents had great power and influence in England, and for a considerable portion of it could have secured the effectual interference of its government. But, instead of this, for near eight years longer, they passed over these enormities in silence; and it is not until they are rigorously persecuted themselves at home for conscience' sake, that they think it necessary to bear their testimony against still severer persecutions, on the like ground, by their "brethren" abroad.

With this remark we close the controversy, protesting, however, against any inference being drawn, either from what we have said, or what we have produced in evidence, on either side, to the prejudice of the fullest admission, that both amongst the Presbyterians and Independents (and without partiality we may add, especially the latter) individual writers may be found, who advocated on a very broad, though few, perhaps, on the broadest basis, the sacred principles of the rights of conscience, which, a few ages after, began to be more ably and more fully urged; until they were, at length, theoretically adopted by nearly every sect, and acted upon to a great extent by the legislature of the land. In the foremost rank of these, unquestionably, stood Owen; and had Mr. Orme satisfied himself with asserting *his* claim to this honour, without claiming it so exclusively as he does for the sect to which the doctor and his biographer alike belong, we should not have had so long a digression to make from the regular course of the narrative before us; on which our observations now must needs be brief indeed, a circumstance which we the less regret, from our general

concurrence alike in the correctness of its author's facts, and the justice of his remarks.

In reverting to the personal history of Dr. Owen, we cannot but venture a remark, that the gradual change which took place in his sentiments on religious liberty, abundantly proves what were the general opinions on the subject, at the time. Thus, after he had become an Independent, he describes toleration "as the alms of authority;" and long afterwards talks of the people of God "enjoying rule and protection as they are fitted for employment," forgetting who has said, that "his kingdom is not of this world."

Whilst residing at Coggeshall, where he continued for some time, useful and beloved as the pastor of an Independent church and congregation there, Dr. Owen was introduced, at the siege of Colchester, to Fairfax, at whose house Cromwell afterwards introduced himself to his acquaintance. The fairest prospects of promotion were thus opened to his view, had he been an ambitious man to avail himself of them; which, however, he was not. But honours forced themselves upon him. He was more than once called from his retirement to preach before the parliament and the army; and was selected for the difficult task of improving, by a discourse to the former, the execution of the king, the day after that event took place. His enemies, and the enemies of the sect to which he was an ornament, have referred to the sermon then delivered as a proof of his approval of this unjustifiable act; but no such approval is to be found in any part of it. When he printed it, as he did immediately after, he annexed to it his celebrated treatise on Toleration; one of the earliest, though not the best essays on that important subject; for it contains some positions on the duty of the magistrate in supporting ministers who preached the truth, and in discouraging all external inducements to embrace erroneous tenets, at variance with the more correct views upon those points adopted in the present day. At the earnest request, almost at the command, indeed, of Cromwell, he afterwards accompanied that general as chaplain to his army, both to Ireland and Scotland. In each of those countries he preached with considerable success, and in the former essentially promoted the cause of learning, by correcting the abuses which had crept into the government of Trinity College, Dublin, and placing it on a respectable footing. In 1651, he was called to render the same services to his *alma mater*, Oxford, the parliament having appointed him, in the course of that year, to the deanery of Christ Church; from which, and from the vice-

chancellorship, Dr. Reynolds, who had been put into those offices by the Presbyterian party, was removed, for refusing to take the engagement to be true to the government without king, or house of lords. Had the system of Independency been then what it is now, Owen could never have accepted this office, to which was attached some considerable portion of the temporalities of the church. But such was the fashion of the times; and hence Milton had but too good ground to reproach the Independents with the inconsistency of the dependence of their ministers on a state hire in religion. Whilst in this situation he preached several times before the parliament; once on the thanksgiving day for the battle of Worcester, when he was more abusive of the Scotch than was his wont in his public discourses; and another time, at the funeral of Ireton, of whom he seems to have entertained a high,—we strongly suspect too high, an opinion. In 1652, Cromwell, as chancellor of the University of Oxford, appointed Owen his vice-chancellor; an office which he filled for five years with distinguished ability, highly to his own credit, and equally to the advantage of the body over which he presided. Two years after his nomination, whilst in London, attending a meeting of some of the leading Independents and Presbyterians, convened by Cromwell, for the purpose of effecting an union between the two parties, the University conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. Such, at least, is Mr. Orme's account of the manner in which his diploma was obtained; and it is, probably, the correct one. From our MS. it would appear, however, that he himself stood for it in the regular way; and as it contains rather a curious anecdote, we will transcribe the passage:—"Not long after which (his coming to Oxford) he takes his degree of doctor of divinity. But some of the Drs., who had not much kindness for him, did intend to baffle him when he came to dispute, thinking he had been so long absent from the University, that he would be unready both in speaking Latin, and in disputing. The night before, a friend of his having the information of this design, acquaints Mr. O. with it; upon which he prepares himself more thoroughly for the encounter, while he was at Edinburgh, conversing constantly with the learned men of the College, and others, in Latin and in disquisitions. He was better prepared than they were aware of; and keeping them to the strict rule of disputation, he managed y^e whole exercise with such exactness as frustrated their expectations."

In his government of the University he evinced great liberality of sentiment and conduct, bestowing the livings in his gift, principally upon Presbyterians; and even suffering the proscribed Episcopalians to meet together for worship opposite to his own door, though urged by many to prevent their doing so. He carefully corrected all abuses, and encouraged learning in every possible way; even taking poor scholars into his house, and supplying them with money from his own pocket, to enable them to pursue their studies. He was also a diligent preacher, generally officiating every Sunday morning at St. Mary's church, where the members of the University attend, and at Stadham, his native village, where he had some private property, in the afternoon. Whilst holding this office, he also acted as one of the tryers for the ejection of scandalous and insufficient ministers, in which situation he did himself great honour, and the church and the world real service, by rescuing the learned Dr. Pocock from the barbarian hands of some of his fellow commissioners, who were about to eject that celebrated oriental scholar from his living, as a scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient minister. Such was the conduct of some of the Independent tryers, the frequent injustice of whose proceedings is scarcely atoned for by the good which they avowedly did in many cases, and by their having had in their number such men as Owen and Howe, without whose judicious tempering of their zeal with a little knowledge and discretion, their conduct would have been still more objectionable than it was. That of Dr. Owen himself, would seem, however, in another respect, to have been rather inconsistent with his professed love of retirement; and the duties of his office as a Christian minister. We allude to his standing for the representation of the University in parliament in 1654, though he sat as its member but a short time, the committee of privileges deciding against his fitness, from his being in the ministry. In that decision we think them right; for certainly the less a minister of the Gospel has to do with secular affairs, the better will he be able to attend to those spiritual ones which are his peculiar province. The evil of not attending to a separation clearly laid down, according to our view of the subject, in Scripture, exposed the doctor to much misrepresentation, and also placed him in situations by no means accordant with his sacred functions. Thus we find him very active in raising troops and securing prisoners, and performing, as some of his enemies not inaptly imputed, the duties of a major-general, rather than a teacher of the Gospel of peace. On the appoint-

ment of Richard Cromwell to the chancellorship of the University, Dr. Owen was superseded as vice-chancellor by Dr. Conant; owing his dismissal from the office he had so faithfully discharged, to his having drawn up the petition presented to the house of commons by the officers of the army against Cromwell being appointed king.

The remaining incidents in his public life are his activity in the formation of the Savoy Confession of Faith; his connexion with the Wallingford-house party, by which Richard Cromwell was forced to resign the protectorate, which we believe, by the way, to have been more of a political nature than Mr. Orme is disposed to admit; the assistance which he gave to the restoration of the long parliament; his unsuccessful journey as a commissioner to the army, to know the intentions of the wary Monk; and finally, his dismissal from the deanery of Christ Church, to make way for Dr. Reynolds, when the Presbyterians again had the ascendancy in parliament. With that dismissal terminated his connexion with affairs of state, and the public politics of the time, in which he had long taken an active part; one, indeed, which Mr. Orme himself admits to have been in some measure injurious to the full and faithful discharge of the duties of the Christian ministry.

On the remainder of his life, as far as the character of this great and excellent man is concerned, we confess that we look with more unmingled satisfaction, though to him it was perhaps a harder path. We can cast, however, but the merest glance upon its incidents. Retiring, on his deprivation, to Stadham, he preached there to a small congregation, many of them from Oxford, until he was driven thence by the militia of that city, and other persecutions raised against him; when he removed from place to place for safety, repairing at last to London, where he employed his time in preparing for the press many of those works which have immortalized his name. Some of them, in favour of the Dissenters and toleration, he was compelled to publish anonymously. So uncomfortable, indeed, did he feel himself in England, as well he might do in those times, that he readily accepted a call from one of the congregational churches of Boston, in Massachusetts, to become their pastor, though he was prevented going to America, it has been said, by a prohibition from the government. The Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, unconstitutional as it was, freed, however, both Owen and his fellow-sufferers from the most grievous of the restraints to which they had been long, and most unjustly subjected,

and he openly preached in London, where he was for some years pastor of the Independent church and congregation assembling in Bury Street, amongst whom were several noblemen, and persons eminent for their rank, and for the part which they had taken in public affairs. Over these he continued to preside until his death, which happened, at his country seat at Ealing, on the 24th of August 1683, in the 67th year of his age. His remains were deposited in Bunhill Fields, followed to the cemetery of the despised and persecuted Dissenters, by the carriages of 67 noblemen and gentlemen, besides many mourning coaches, and persons on horseback; an abundant proof how much he must have been honoured through life, and lamented at his death.

On his character we have not room to expatiate, nor is there any necessity for our doing so, for all the defects which his bitterest enemies attempted to point out in it, have already been considered; and its excellencies, who does not know? If any such there be, we gladly refer them to the pages of Mr. Orme, where that character is fairly and ably drawn at length. His merits as a writer are also too generally admitted, and too correctly estimated, to require any notice at our hands of his works, which were numerous and elaborate beyond any conception, which, without such proof, we could have formed of the labours of an individual mind. Diffuseness, prolixity, redundancy of thought and of expression; a style perplexed by long sentences, and encumbered by epithets ill chosen, and often unnecessary; these are the defects to be set off against the many eloquent and touching passages,—the forcible reasoning,—the stores of learning, which his writings profusely exhibit. With all his faults, when shall we see his like again?

Turning from Dr. Owen to his biographer, it would be the height of injustice to close this lengthened article without expressing the high gratification with which we have perused Mr. Orme's interesting memoir. In an age in which this species of writing has been more successfully cultivated than in any other, we hesitate not in characterizing this work as one of the very best pieces of biography which has for some years been produced. The critical analysis of Dr. Owen's works which it contains, is as creditable to its author, as it will be useful in the highest degree to theological students, and to the general reader; whilst the notices of cotemporary writers, and of persons who took a part in the public affairs of the times, possess no ordinary interest. The reflections interspersed throughout the volume are also, generally speak-

ing, at once pertinent and judicious. The book, however, has some defects; and, earnestly and even somewhat anxiously hoping to see a second edition of so valuable a work, we shall direct the attention of its author to a few of the errors in his style which we have remarked, and could wish to see corrected. The sentence at page 3, "No harm, however, can arise from noticing, when it can be done with any degree of certainty, the particular line of the Adamic race, to which a respected individual owed his birth," is affected in the extreme; so ridiculously so, indeed, as to border upon the bombastic. "A most important, but little understood and unjustly abused right," (p. 101), is a sentence composed of awkward compound epithets, very easily altered for the better. We could not but smile at the singular anachronism occurring at p. 169, where Mr. Orme, in giving the address of Dr. Owen to the University, puts into his mouth a passage from Terence, in the avowed translation of the elder Colman, who was not then in being. There is also as much pedantry in the following short sentence as we recollect to have met with for some time. "When he discovers *latet anguis in herba*, he makes no scruple to drag it out, and to strangle it." We recommend Mr. Orme to pursue the same course here, and in some other passages of his work, where scraps of Latin seem to be introduced, for no other purpose than to show that he understands the language. Some proofs of illiberality; some instances of the operations of party spirit, utterly inconsistent with the impartiality of the biographer, and the historian, have also attracted our notice, and we deem it our duty to point them out, at least for the re-consideration of Mr. Orme. Dr. Samuel Fell, the Margaret professor at Oxford, was too respectable and too learned a man to be characterized merely as "a parasite of Laud's." At page 300, is a passage also on Popery, too long to quote, but which, in our estimation, breathes somewhat of that intolerant spirit which Mr. Orme so unequivocally and so justly condemns throughout his work. Reviling, we would remind him, is not the way to convert; nor proscribing a sect, to root out its errors: yet "followers of the beast" is one of the mild terms by which he designates the Roman Catholics. We had not thought that any one living, who had read the history of his country, would, for a moment, believe the wicked and factious calumny which ascribed the fire of London to that religious body; though in this we are deceived, for Mr. Orme seems to think that it was only "perhaps unjustly," laid to their charge. Let him carefully read the evidence upon the

subject, and he will expunge his qualifying expression, and subscribe with us to the truth of Pope's well known couplet,

“Where London's column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts its head, and lies.”

He will act prudently also in re-modelling a passage at page 309, about “high churchmen in a rage;” as zealous partizans of all sects, in a rage, are pretty much the same irascible and amusing beings.

Don Juan. 4to. London, 1819. Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars. pp. 227.

THE duty of a reviewer is but half performed in pointing out to his readers the merits of good books, unless he, with equal fidelity, warns them against encumbering their libraries with bad ones. And if this is the case where the literary merits of a work only are concerned, still more imperatively and closely does the duty press upon him, when he is called to protect them against the moral taint of vicious principles, clothed in all the charms that a depraved genius can give them, or concealed with all the subtlety of an infernal minister of destruction in a mortal garb. To some of these productions we have, therefore, determined to revert, and had selected for the commencement of our *index expurgatorius* two, we might indeed say three, works of Lord Byron and Bysshe Shelley, companions and fellow-workers in iniquity, (if to debauch the mind and deprave the heart,—if to destroy the surest safeguards of virtue here,—the only hopes of happiness hereafter, be iniquitous,) and fellow-candidates for the just recompense of such a prostitution of the noblest gift of heaven, in a future state of rewards and punishments, in which they are too enlightened to believe; though, with the devils, they shall believe, and tremble too. An unforeseen accumulation of matter in another department of our work, compels us, however, most reluctantly, to limit our present remarks to the first part of *Don Juan*, the production of Lord Byron's muse, to which we have thus referred; leaving to our next Number the completion of the castigation of himself and his worthy friend, in which we promise them that they shall not be spared. For that Number our unwillingness to leave the biographical memoir which we had commenced incomplete, induces us also, as the least of two unavoidable evils, to take out of the sheet for which it already was composed, our notice of a work of Hogg's, (his Mountain Bard) in which he

unhappily has proved himself an hamble, but too shameless imitator of the wretched school, to whose leader we now direct, for a short time, the attention of our readers.

The career of this nobleman, as a poet and a man, has been alike singular, though on the latter we shall, for the present only, forbear to enlarge. In the year 1807, he first appeared before the public, as the author of "Hours of Idleness; a Series of Poems, Original and Translated. By George Gordon, Lord Byron, a minor." This juvenile production gave at least as flattering promises of future excellence, as is usually to be found in the first production of a youthful poet; yet, for some reason or another, at which we never could form a nearer guess than that its author was an Englishman, a young man, and a lord, the wise men of the north,—a phrase, courteous reader, by which we doubt not that you will be aware of our intention to designate those gigantic critics, the Edinburgh Reviewers,—thought proper to wreak upon it their direst vengeance. "The poesy of this young lord," they told the public, whose oracle they assumed to be, "belongs to that class which neither gods nor men are said to permit." "His effusions," they go on to add, "are spread over a dead flat, and can no more get above or below the level, than if they were so much stagnant water." Poems "without even one thought;" "hobbling stanzas;" "things, and other things called translations;" these are a few of the laudatory epithets of a critique, concluding with this very witty and complimentary conceit, "again we say, let us be thankful; and, with honest Sancho, bid God bless the giver, nor look the gift horse in the mouth." In a previous part of that choice and very curious article, after having most obligingly assured his lordship, that nothing but a regard to the saying of Dr. Johnson, that "when a nobleman appears as an author, his merit should be handsomely acknowledged," could induce them to give his poems a place in their review, they bestow on him their friendly counsel, that "he do forthwith abandon poetry, and turn his talents, which are considerable, and his opportunities, which are great, to better account." To that advice his lordship did not think proper to attend, but at once astounded the world, and confounded his critics, by publishing the "English Bards and Scottish Reviewers," a poem as caustic in its satire, as nervous in its language, and as merciless in its vengeance, as any that the English language then had, or yet has, produced. To that indignant philippic the reviewers vouchsafed not to reply: a still severer one was threatened, and they were silent, until the appearance of the

two first cantos of *Childe Harold* afforded an opportunity which they eagerly embraced, of soothing the irritated bard. The lordling was now a lord, a peer of parliament, and, worse and worse, a most decided Whig, a fact of which his reviewers had previously been ignorant, and which they learnt but when it was too late to repair the grievous mistake into which they had been led. Now light burst in upon them; the film was removed from the prophetic eye; and he who could neither write poetry for gods nor men, now wrote verses all worthy of the gods. Scott only could come near him, and even Scott was his inferior. His "lines without a single thought," suddenly, and as by magic, expanded into poetry, "full of considerable power, spirit, and originality," giving "promise of future excellence," say these infallible judges of literary excellence, and of poetical talent, "to which it is quite comfortable to look forward." Overpowered by the beauty of the prospect which met the enraptured gaze of the seers, on their second peep into futurity,—and second sight is unerring in a Gael,—when they came as critics to pronounce again upon the poetical career of the minor lord, his defects were converted into excellences, and, as did the sprites, and fays, and elves, at the crowing of the cock, so, at the lash of his unsparing satire, did lord Byron's tamenesses and hobblings; lines without a thought, and things without a name, vanish into air. His irreligious opinions were merely "not more orthodox than his political;" his "speaking without any respect of priests, and creeds, and dogmas, of all descriptions,"—such "sentiments" as the reviewers would "have thought not likely to attract popularity in the present temper of the country;" and his "doubting very freely of the immortality of the soul, and other points as fundamental," but one of "the disadvantages under which this poem lays claim to the public favour," which, notwithstanding this little demerit, if demerit it may, indeed, be called, they very confidently bespeak on its behalf. Nor ends the marvellous revolution here; for in the poems of the noble lord, whose effusions they resembled but to dead flats and stagnant pools, they now everywhere discovered "a singular freedom of thought and expression;" thought before, it will be recollected, he had none; "a great force and felicity of diction, the more pleasing that it does not appear to be the result either of long labour or humble imitation; a plain manliness and strength of manner infinitely refreshing, after the sickly affectations of so many modern writers, and reconciling" these candid, gentle, willing to be delighted writers,

"to the asperity into which it sometimes degenerates, and even in some degree to the unamiableness upon which it constantly borders." But even this was not enough for the *amende-honorable*, we will not call it, for neither in its French or English acceptation, can the term honourable be applied to any thing so dastardly, so crouching, and so mean,—as in the excess of their newly inspired admiration, the in-offensive beings doubt whether there is not even "something *piquant* in the very novelty and singularity of that cast of misanthropy and universal scorn" which they could not but reckon as "among the repulsive features of the composition." From the year 1812, when this extraordinary, and, we would fain hope, unique recantation, for such it is in substance, if not in form, was published, down to the year 1821, in which we write, the Edinburgh Reviewers have been amongst the staunchest of lord Byron's admirers, the most shameless pal-liaters of the grossly immoral and irreligious tendency of his productions; though on both these points the Quarterly has not left them far behind. A smile has, indeed, been occasionally excited upon our countenances by the awkward attempts of the latter to reconcile its avowed respect for the laws and established religions of the country, with that gentle and most tempered measure of censure upon my lord Byron for his daring contempt of them, and of all that is good, which was necessary to secure the continued imprint of "John Murray, Albemarle Street," to the very saleable productions of so irascible a being. His lordship, in one of his wayward fits, for which, in charity, we hope that he is not at all times accountable, determined to put the compliance of his publisher and his critics to a severer test, by sending over to the former the two first cantos of *Don Juan*, a poem which, in spite of all his remonstrances, and we have reason to believe they were urgent and repeated, Mr. Murray was compelled to purchase and to print, or to hand its titled author over to some other publisher, to make as much of the thousand after thousand copies of his works, as, notwithstanding all his liberality in purchasing the copyright,—and no bookseller, we are persuaded, has more,—he had done of those which he published. The temptation certainly was strong, the loss actual and incidental; in case of an obstinate refusal, great and certain; the long hesitating publisher yielded to the licentious bard, but he had grace enough left not to put his name upon the title-page of a work, of which, we honestly believe, that he was thoroughly ashamed. Thus did the publisher of the Quarterly act in this emergence; but how,

acted its editor—how did the Edinburgh Reviewers, as guardians of the public taste and morals, proceed? To their disgrace, their lasting discredit, be it spoken, they deserted the post of duty; afraid of speaking what they thought, lest lord Byron, in the one case, should be offended, or Mr. Murray injured, in the other, by what they said. Three years have rolled by since the first appearance of this most disgraceful production; and both the leading journals of the day have, in the interim, bestowed their usually abundant meed of praise upon subsequent productions of his lordship's pen, without any the most distant allusion to this objectionable poem. We tread not, however, in their steps; for with infinitely humbler talents, we trust that we are actuated by far better principles, and, therefore, fearless alike of lord Byron, of his mercenary or self-interested critics, and of the whole host of his indiscriminate admirers, we advance boldly to a charge infinitely more easy to substantiate than to meet.

Don Juan, the hero of his lordship's tale, is as complete a rake, as entire a sensualist, as the world ever saw, or the prurient imagination of the most abandoned writer ever formed, or could form, in its wildest fits. Yet his debaucheries are not enough to satisfy the depraved taste of lord Byron, but he must e'en paint the father and mother nearly as bad as their hopeful son, and introduce them in his poem, for the mere purpose of making them the vehicles of conveying to the world the poison of his own immoral principles, and his irreligious sentiments; with here and there a hit or two at his deserted and injured wife, too plain and palpable for any one to mistake, however his lordship may have found it convenient to insinuate, rather than to put upon record, an evasive denial of the application. This dastardly conduct must disgust every one who has had the misfortune to read through the five cantos of this most objectionable and nondescript production. Silly and incidentally are these blows usually struck; and subtly, most subtly, is the poison of which we have spoken, instilled into the minds of youthful readers, the likeliest to be injured by it, and the least likely to beware of the danger to which they are exposed, where the object of the author seems but the raising of a smile at a ludicrous association of ideas, when, in fact, it is to level the distinction between virtue and vice—between the evil and the good. Few are the proofs of this assertion,—few, indeed, the extracts from this poem, of any description, which we, in justice to our readers or ourselves, can admit into our pages; but even to the titled profligate before us justice must not be denied, and that he may have it, we

will transcribe the following sneer at that character, on which, above all others, save that of the Christian, from which, in the female sex, this cannot be severed, the happiness of life depends—a virtuous and a modest woman; a race of which, could his lordship's wishes and principles prevail, even a specimen would not, we are persuaded, be found amongst us.

“ In short, she was a walking calculation,
Miss Edgeworth's novels stepping from their covers,
Or Mrs. Trimmer's books on education,
Or “Cœlebs' Wife” set out in quest of lovers;
Morality's prim personification,
In which not Envy's self a flaw discovers,
To others' share let “female errors fall,”
For she had not e'en one—the worst of all.
Oh! she was perfect past all parallel—
Of any modern female saint's comparison;
So far above the cunning powers of hell,
Her guardian angel had given up his garrison;
Even her minutest motions went as well
As those of the best time-piece made by Harrison:
In virtues nothing earthly could surpass her,
Save thine “incomparable oil,” Macassar!
Perfect she was; but as perfection is
Insipid in this naughty world of ours,”—

But we will not continue the ribaldry, which finishes with an infidel sarcasm on the innocence of Paradise, expressed in a wonder, how, without sinful indulgences, our first parents “got through the twelve hours.” At *his* wonder we wonder not, who, for the mere sake of ridiculing the Bible, and bringing, in as far as the wit which he has perverted to his destruction, and would do to that of others, can do it,—religion into contempt, could impiously write and print two such lines as these:

“ 'Tis strange—the Hebrew noun which means ‘I am,’
The English always use to govern d—n.”

Of the use of the one of these words, as well as the other, thus strangely, and we will add blasphemously, united, for the jingle of a rhyme, and the pointing of a jest—of the person, too, and the thing, which in Scripture they denote—if he repents not heartily of having written these lines, as we fervently hope he may—his lordship may hereafter have a more accurate knowledge than he now possesses, or chooses to avow; and will assuredly have it to his cost. Unless, also, he shall partake in that annihilation, in which,

from his writings and his conduct, we cannot but conclude that he believes, he will then learn, that he might have given a more correct representation of the character of an individual who kept, and regularly visited, his mistresses, without dreaming that "his lady was concerned" in his proceedings,—(he, by the way, could, perhaps, give a local habitation and a name to this sketch of his pure imagination,)—than is contained in the following stanza of his poem:—

" Yet José was an honourable man,
That I must say, who knew him very well ; —
And if his passions now and then outran
Discretion, and were not so peaceable
As Numa's (who was also named Pompilius),
He had been ill brought up, and was born bilious."

This is very comical, and may, too, be very witty: its morality, the fashionable world, in its practice at least, does not condemn, though those who have any regard to the mere decencies of life will not venture openly to defend it; but were the noble author of the stanza by chance to open a Bible at the passage which honest Latimer turned down for the perusal of his lascivious king,—in the sentence, " Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge," both as a poet and as a man, he might find a short, but rather an awkward comment on his text. Amongst the mistresses of this libertine husband — innocent, harmless creature as he is — seems formerly to have been numbered the mother of Juan ;—for it would ill have suited with the poet's views to degrade the sex which he pretends to love, to admire, and to adore, into the mere slaves of instincts, (for the passion which he delineates is little or nothing more,) the instruments of gratifications possessed in common with the brute, to suffer the rigid virtue of this lady to have been any thing but a pretence,—and to treat his readers with the rich banquet of a triple adultery, her son becomes the seducer, or the seduced, of her gallant's wife. Such is the plot of the first canto of this celebrated poem; and in filling up an outline so boldly imagined, in outrage of all morality and decency, to say nothing of religion, his lordship has evinced a contempt of every thing that is correct and decorous in society—a fertility of imagination and licentiousness of expression in all that is the reverse—a grovelling delight in whatever is vicious and impure—a hatred of all that is good, forming, we would hope, a part of the privilege of the peerage, as we do not recollect to have met with any thing approaching to

it since the days of the profligate and abandoned Rochester, whom, if he pursues his present infatuated career, we would warn lord Byron that he may hereafter equal in infamy, as he now excels him in talent. He could set the table in a roar; he could poison the public mind, and debauch its taste, with his libidinous jests, and his indecent tales; he, like his brother lord, could laugh at priests, and revile the oracles of the living God—but a time came, and happy was it for him that it did come, in which he saw the error, the vice, and the folly of his ways, and, in the bitterness of his soul, cursed the days and the years which he had devoted to them. His covert commendation of the irreligion of Lucretius, the obscenity of Juvenal and Martial; his envying the transgressions of Augustine to sneer at his confessions; his blasphemous use of the name of the Most High, and his daring and contumelious jestings with his word; his bold reviling and bolder taunts at all religion, and denial even of a future state, and the resurrection of the dead; his profane applications of Scripture, and profaner parodies upon it; his impure double entendres, and hints, and sudden omissions, worse almost than any expression could be; his ridicule of chastity and conjugal fidelity; his open justification of adultery and lasciviousness, or his artful palliation of them as mere peccadillos; his subtle underminings of the foundation of female virtue; his contempt for all reformation and repentance,—vices which we fearlessly charge even upon the first canto of his licentious poem, (and we regret that the complete exhaustion of the little space we had left, will not permit us now to take notice of the second,) will, at all events, have treasured up for lord Byron ample food for the bitterest remorse of conscience, if conscience here should be permitted, in mercy, to do its work;—or it may, and who can say that it will not? be of the most dreadful and yet unavailing torments of a death-bed, when the envied, yet the truly pitiable being, amply furnished with all the blessings that this world could afford, and above all, richly endowed, beyond most of his fellows, with intellectual gifts of the sublimest order, at thirty confesses that he “has spent his life, both interest and principal,” long, perhaps, before he has attained the sixty years to which he seems to look forward,—to avail ourselves of one of his own lines, with the single exception of an oath, or expletive in the nature of one,—

“Will find a dreadful balance with the devil.”

MEMOIRS OF THE RT. HON. SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART.,
G.C.B., F.A.S., &c. &c. &c. PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL
SOCIETY OF LONDON.

(Continued from p. 266.)

Two days after their arrival, in taking their first excursion into the interior, he so thoroughly surprised and alarmed the natives by firing at some ducks, and killing three of them at a shot, that they fell suddenly to the ground as if they had been shot themselves, though they soon recovered from their panic. The accident, however, nearly produced more serious consequences; for one of the natives remaining behind at the English encampment, taking the report of the gun for a signal of a breach of the peace, hastily snatched a musket from the sentinel, whom the men left in charge, at the direction of the officer in command; fired in amongst a hundred of them, and killed the thief, without, however, either slaying or wounding any of the others. It was with some difficulty that confidence was restored after this unhappy event; but it was at length completely so, and in a great measure through the conciliatory conduct of our naturalist, whose prudent advice and suavity of manners were frequently very serviceable to the commander of the expedition, during a stay of three months amongst the islands of the Southern Seas. This was especially the case in checking the dishonest propensities of the natives, and procuring back the articles they pilfered, amongst which was the quadrant fixed on the sands for astronomical observations, which, after a pursuit of several miles, he recovered from the thief, at whom, however, he was first obliged to present his pistols,—and with it, several articles previously stolen from the tent, which the ship's company had pitched upon the shore. Upon this, as upon all occasions, to avail ourselves of the language of the historian of this voyage, “he declined neither labour nor risk, and had more influence over the Indians than any of the other persons attached to the expedition.” To him, indeed, they always applied in every emergency and distress; and generally acting as the market-men of the company, when any misunderstanding had arisen between the inferior officers and sailors and the natives, his mediation was highly important in soothing the offended Indians into a grant of a supply. Increasing however at length in confidence and familiarity, they gave Mr. Banks the name of *Tapare*, to Dr. Solander that of *Terano*, and to captain Cook the nearer synonyme of *Toote*. Towards the first, in particular, they carried, indeed, their kindness and politeness rather too far,

as several of the Otaheitean belles made advances to him, and gave him proofs of their regard of a nature, and attended with ceremonies not only inconsistent with European notions of decorum, but with that native modesty, as we are apt to call it, of the sex, which most assuredly had no existence here. Amongst these ladies was Oberea, queen of the island, who honoured Mr. Banks with a very marked share of her regard, though it was not by any means confined to him. Determined to acquire as accurate a knowledge as possible of the manners of so singular a race, this enterprising naturalist witnessed one of their funeral processions, on the only condition on which he could be permitted to do so, that of taking a part in it, in the fantastic and half naked guise of the native mourners, to resemble whom the more closely, he was stripped of his European dress, and smeared over with charcoal and water, from the top of his head to his waist, until he was as black as any negro. Previous to leaving the island, he planted in it the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, and other shrubs and trees which he had collected at Rio Janeiro; having before distributed a liberal supply of each species to the natives, which they had sown with success, the plants appearing in a very flourishing condition when they left the island; and the Indians being so pleased with their growth, as to be very importunate for a further stock, which, to the extent of his means, was granted them. From Otaheite, which they left on the 13th of July, the adventurers sailed for the neighbouring isles, and in a vain attempt to land at one of them, Mr. Banks was exposed to the attack of the natives in attempting to board the boat in which he was embarked, a design they were only deterred from executing by the discharge of fire-arms over their heads, which induced them immediately to leap overboard, and swim to shore, one of them being slightly grazed by a musket ball before he reached it. Accompanying the party who first landed in New Zealand, as, indeed, he did all parties of discovery, he wounded with small shot a native who had snatched away the hanger of the astronomer, and who was afterwards killed by a musket ball fired by one of the officers of the ship; others of this hostile and warlike band being wounded with small shot, as they advanced, evidently with no friendly purpose, towards the English visitors. At Gable-end-Foreland, on another part of the coast, they effected, twelve days after, a peaceable landing, were kindly received by the inhabitants; and ranging the bay without interruption, our naturalists found many rare plants, and also some birds of exquisite beauty; but in returning to their ship at night, in one of the canoes of the

Indians, through not knowing how to manage it, they were overset in the surf, but neither they nor their companions, six in number, sustained any other injury than a thorough ducking, the natives very kindly undertaking their safe conduct to the ship. In various other botanical excursions made from time to time in different parts of these coasts, they succeeded in collecting a great variety of plants altogether unknown to Europe. Mr. Banks, in his quality of general chapman, bartered also with the natives for specimens of their clothes and arms, now preserved as curiosities in the British Museum, for which he chiefly gave them paper, an article they seemed highly to prize. Landing on the 29th of November, in a bay a little to the westward of Cape Bret, both he and Dr. Solander took an active part in the affray occasioned by the manifest disposition of the armed natives, assembled to the number of some hundreds, to attack the party from the Endeavour, each of them discharging their guns loaded with small shot, by which some of the Indians were wounded, though they did not disperse until the ship's broadside fired a few cannon shot over their heads. At Queen Charlotte's Sound, the former of these gentlemen received from one of the natives the fore-arm of a man whom he and some of his cannibal companions had lately devoured as an exquisite repast, seven of their enemies having been killed in battle, and all of their bodies thus brutally disposed of. One of their heads, that of a boy of about 17, he afterwards purchased, the brains only being eaten, though the owner disposed of it with much reluctance, and could not, by any temptation, be prevailed upon to part with a second trophy of the prowess of his tribe. Human bones, the flesh of which had been eaten, were afterwards offered to be sold in great abundance. In his botanical pursuits on these savage coasts, Mr. Banks and his companion were not unsuccessful, discovering, as they did, several plants entirely new to them. Just as they were taking their departure from the sound, he observed also several mineral substances, which led him to conclude that on a minute examination, some valuable ores might be found on these coasts. The great quantity of plants obtained by the diligent and continued researches of the naturalists who had voluntarily attached themselves to the expedition, on the east coast of New Holland, induced its commander to give to it the name of Botany Bay; little imagining at the time that the spot inhabited by a savage tribe, who fled from their approach, would, in forty years, become a populous colony of Europeans, most of them banished from their country for en-

gaging in pursuits very different to the peaceful ones of science. The neighbouring woods, the trees of which were luxuriant and large, abounded with birds of exquisite beauty, particularly those of the parrot tribe. Crows similar to those of England were also found here; and about the flats of sand and mud at the head of a most convenient harbour, were abundance of water fowl, most of them altogether unknown in Europe, the most remarkable being a large black and white one, much larger than a swan, and in shape resembling a pelican. Landing on other parts of the island, they found the true mangoes of the West Indies, and in their branches many nests of a remarkable kind of ant as green as grass, who, when the branches were disturbed, came out in great numbers, and gave the offender a sharper bite than he liked to feel. Ranged upon their leaves, side by side, like a file of soldiers twenty or thirty together, they saw also small green caterpillars in great numbers, their bodies thick set with hairs which, when they touched them, were found to sting like a nettle, giving a more acute, though less durable pain. Here also was found a tree yielding a gum like the dragon's blood, though contradicting by the comparative small quantity of gum upon them, the generally received opinion that the hotter the climate the more gums exude. The large birds seen at Botany Bay were also still plentiful, especially those supposed to be pelicans, though they were so shy that they could not get within gun-shot of them. From the sea, which seemed to abound with fish, they dragged up amongst other shell-fish a large proportion of small pearl oysters, which led them to hope that a pearl fishery might hereafter be established here, with very great advantage. They caught also, not far from shore, where the water was too shallow for other fish, a vast number of crabs; some of them, in several parts of their body, coloured with the brightest hues imaginable; and two of their species, at the least, entirely new. In a climate so fruitful in the productions of nature, they found also upon the branches of some of the trees, ant's nests, made of clay, as big as bushels, inhabited by myriads of white insects of this tribe, of a most diminutive size. Millions of butterflies filled meanwhile the air, which was, indeed, so crowded with them, that they were seen in inconceivable numbers in every direction, whilst the neighbouring branches and twigs were covered with others not upon the wing. In places quite dry, they discovered also a small fish of a singular kind, about the size of a minnow, having two breast fins, by the aid of which it leaped along as fast on land as upon

water, for neither of which elements it seemed to have a preference — or, if for either, for the land. Where stones stood above the surface of the shallow water, so as to oppose its progress, it chose rather to leap from stone to stone, than pass through the water; several of them being seen to cross puddles in this way till they came to dry land, when, bounding like a frog, they leaped away. In the passage from Trinity Bay to Endeavour River, the ship struck on a rock, and sprung a leak, which, after the crew had been kept in a state of the most dreadful anxiety for near two days, was providentially stopped by the incessant exertions of every hand on board, in which Mr. Banks bore his part. Whilst she staid to refit, this indefatigable naturalist made several excursions along the country adjacent to the river, shooting some exceedingly beautiful pigeons; and making other additions to his valuable collection, which, however, after all the labour he had bestowed, all the risks he had run in obtaining it, had nearly been lost to the world; for on heaving up the ship to repair her bottom, his collection of plants, which he had removed into the bread room for greater security, were found to be under water. By his indefatigable care and attention, and that of his intelligent assistant, most of them were, however, restored to a state of preservation, though others were irreparably spoilt and destroyed. A little way up the country he found several nests of the white ants of the East Indies, the most pernicious insects in the world; they were pyramidal in their forms, very much resembling the supposed Druidical stones of England. Along the shore, on the opposite side of the harbour to that in which the ship was laid up, he discovered also innumerable fruits on the beach, many of them such as no plants which he had seen in the country could have produced. These, and all the vegetable productions which he found in the same place, were incrustated with marine productions, and covered with barnacles; sure signs that they must have come far by sea. On a hunting party in the interior, he saw in the woods several strange animals, some of them of the wolf kind; but could not succeed in killing or catching any, though a few days after lieutenant Gore was so fortunate as to kill one, hopping upon two legs, the most curious they had seen, and which proved to be the kangaroo.

Before the ship left New Holland, some of the natives, enraged because they were not suffered to take away from the vessel a turtle which they wished to have, set fire to the grass in the neighbourhood of a tent of Mr. Banks's upon the shore, which he reached but in time to save it from

a destruction which, if it had been threatened but a short time before, must have been dreadful in its effects, as the powder of the ship had been removed from it but a day or two; and the store tent in its neighbourhood, with the many valuable things it contained, had been on board but a few hours. In a tedious navigation, along a dangerous coast, the Endeavour had nearly been cast away; and her crew had many perils to encounter, and hardships to endure; from which, of course, Mr. Banks could not be exempt. Arriving, however, in safety, at length, in an opening, not improperly named Providential Channel, our intrepid naturalist landed on the neighbouring shore, to follow his favourite pursuits; and was gratified by the collection of many curious shells and *mollusca*; beside several species of coral, and amongst them the rare and valuable one called *Tubifera musica*. On the whole, his visit to New Holland, and especially to the eastern coast of it, named, by captain Cook, New South Wales, very materially increased his collection; and so accurate were his observations, that he was enabled to furnish, for the account of the voyage afterwards communicated by authority to the public, a very full description of the natural history of the country. On landing with the captain and boat's crew on New Guinea, Mr. Banks had to bear his part in resisting the unprovoked attack of the natives, who darted their lances at them from a kind of ambush; and were only driven back by the fire of balls from the muskets, whose discharge of small shot seemed neither to alarm nor deter them from the continuance of their hostility. Prevented from landing here, the expedition proceeded to the other and more civilized islands of the Indian Archipelago; and on that of Java, Mr. Banks was laid up at Batavia, with a tertian fever, caught in his humane attendance, in the isle of Kuypor, or Cooper's Island, on Tupia, an Otaheitan chief, who had accompanied them thus far on their voyage; but who fell a victim to the disease, which in this unhealthy climate attacked several officers and men of the expedition; and deprived those engaged in it of their surgeon, when most they needed his assistance. The recovery of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who was attacked before him, was very slow; and would not, in all human probability, have been effected at all, but by their removal into the interior, where they could only procure attendance, by buying each of them a Malay woman for a slave; the tenderness of the sex making them, even under such untoward circumstances, good nurses, where nothing could procure attention from the male inhabitants, bond or free. To the unwholesome, stagnant, and putrid air

of this ill constructed town, and ill managed region, seven of the crew fell victims; and when the Endeavour weighed anchor to leave it, forty of her company were in a very feeble condition, from the sickness they had contracted there. Their unavoidable continuance here for between ten and eleven weeks, afforded opportunities, however, of which our naturalists failed not to avail themselves, to procure a description of the productions of the island; which the more recent, and more extensive and accurate works of sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, and Dr. Horsfield, have entirely superseded. In their passage thence to the Cape of Good Hope, the seeds of disease imbibed in this pestilential clime appeared with most threatening symptoms, in dysenteries and slow fevers. The subject of this memoir was again amongst the sick: for some time no hopes were entertained of his recovery; and the condition of the crew soon became so truly deplorable, that the ship was nothing better than an hospital; in which those who were able to crawl about at any rate, were too few to attend the sick, who died so rapidly, that scarce a night passed without a dead body being committed to the sea; and ere they reached the Cape, their number was further decreased by the loss of twenty-three, amongst whom was Mr. Banks's painter in natural history, and another of his retinue. By the attention which he received here he himself recovered, however, so completely, that on their arrival at St. Helena, he improved a stay of three days to refresh, by making the complete circuit of the island, and visiting the most remarkable places upon it. On the 10th of June, 1771, they discovered the Lizard Point of their native land; and about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 12th, came to anchor in the Downs, precisely a year, nine months, and sixteen days, from their departure from the English shore. The official papers connected with the voyage were immediately given to the lords of the Admiralty, by whom the compilation of a regular narrative of its incidents and discoveries was intrusted to the celebrated Dr. Hawkesworth. To him Mr. Banks freely communicated the accurate and circumstantial journal which he had kept of the events of the voyage, containing a great variety of incidents which had not come under the notice of captain Cook; with descriptions of the countries and people which they had visited, their productions, manners, customs, religion, policy, and languages, much more full and particular than could be expected from a nautical man. He furnished also many practical observations on what he had seen and learnt, besides permitting such of his drawings, taken by the

artists, as were thought the most striking and important, to be engraved, for the illustration of the voyage, published with the journals of those previously performed under the successive direction of commodore Byron, captain Wallis, and captain Carteret; in 3 vols. 4to., in the year 1783. He appears not there, however, in any case as the narrator of the incidents of the last of these four voyages; but waving all claim to distinction, on account of the material assistance furnished by his communications to the compiler of the narrative, he permitted the whole to be related in the person of captain Cook. It is but justice, however, at once to his modesty and his merit, to transcribe the sentence with which, after informing the public of the nature and extent of its obligation to Mr. Banks, Dr. Hawksworth, the editor of these volumes,—generally, but erroneously, called his voyages,—closes his prefatory remarks: “It is, indeed, fortunate for mankind, where wealth, and science, and a strong inclination to exert the powers of both for purposes of public benefit, unite in the same person; and I cannot but congratulate my country upon the prospect of further pleasure and advantage from the same gentleman, to whom we are indebted for so considerable a part of this narrative.”

We have thus minutely extracted from the extended memoir of the important discoveries of captain Cook on this lengthened voyage, whatever related to the personal conduct and pursuits of Mr. Banks; in order that our readers might be enabled to form an accurate judgment of the labours and privations which he underwent in the cause of science, and of the services which they enabled him to render to it—points on which justice has seldom been done to him, nor, indeed, can it be, but by such an investigation. On the extensive collection of specimens illustrative of every branch of natural history, which he made during an absence of nearly three years from his native isles, in regions, many of them never visited before by civilized beings, and nearly all of them now, for the first time, laying open their abundant stores to the researches of the philosopher, it is not easy to set too high a value. At the time his merits were duly estimated; for on his return to England, Mr. Banks was received in every circle with the respect and kindness due to the man who had rendered, at such imminent personal risks and privations, essential service to the cause of science. On the 10th of August, about two months after his arrival, both he and Dr. Solander were introduced by sir John Pringle, then president of the Royal Society, to his late majesty, at Richmond; and were honoured with an

interview of some hours' length. On this occasion they presented to their sovereign many seeds of rare and unknown plants, collected in the course of their voyage, for the royal garden at Kew; and which, as might be expected from the urbanity that so eminently distinguished our late lamented monarch, and the delight which he always took in whatever was curious or new, especially in the vegetable kingdom, were most graciously received.

Nor ended his services to that branch of science to which he had specially devoted himself, by actual observations on the natural history of foreign countries, here; for after but a very short stay at home, he began to make preparations for accompanying his old companion, captain Cook, in an expedition fitted out in the beginning of 1772, to attempt to reach the Southern Continent, so long supposed to exist, though vainly sought for by navigators, until chance seems lately to have thrown its discovery in the way of a much humbler individual. His establishment was formed upon the most extensive scale; Zoffany, the painter, was to accompany him, under the express patronage of his majesty; and for their accommodation, and that of the rest of Mr. Banks's suite, orders were given by the Admiralty for fitting the ships out with every convenience that could possibly be furnished to them. Those orders were scrupulously obeyed; but the *Resolution*, the ship commanded by captain Cook, having sailed from Long Reach for Plymouth on the 10th of May, was found so very crank, even in the smooth water of the river, from the additional upper works with which she had been furnished, that she was obliged to be taken into Sheerness to have her extra cabins cut away, and such alterations made in her fittings-up, as were necessary to render her sea-worthy. These alterations totally deranged Mr. Banks's plans; taking from him, as they did, the room and accommodation necessary for the establishment he had formed; but so anxious was government still to secure his valuable services, that his friend, lord Sandwich, the first lord of the Admiralty, and sir Hugh Palliser, another of the board, went themselves to Sheerness, to superintend the alterations in the ship; and, if possible, to render it still convenient for the reception of the naturalist, his companions, and attendants. This being found incompatible with the safety of the vessel, and the success of the geographical objects of the expedition, our enterprising philosopher most reluctantly abandoned his intention of accompanying it; though he did not finally do so, until the early part of June; on the 11th of which month, the *Messrs. Foster*,

father and son, were appointed the scientific attendants of the expedition, upon a much smaller scale of preparation, to which, however, the subject of this memoir gave all the assistance in his power; and the experience he had gained in the former voyage rendered that assistance, and the judicious advice by which it was accompanied, peculiarly valuable. Unwilling, however, to be inactive, or have made such extensive preparations in vain, he chartered, at £100. per month, a ship for Iceland, and embarked in it, for the purpose of examining the productions of a country, at that time scarcely known to the rest of Europe, in company with his former companion, Dr. Solander, and Dr. Van Troil, Captain, then Lieutenant Gore, one of the former officers of the Endeavour, another lieutenant in the navy, and the late Dr. James Lind, of Edinburgh, whom he prevailed upon to be one of a party, whose charges, together with those of the whole expedition, he entirely defrayed. Nor could those charges have been slight; for in addition to the persons already named, he was accompanied by three draughtsmen, and two writers, whom he had engaged for his projected South Sea expedition, and seamen and servants, to the number of forty in the whole. In their way, the scientific voyagers visited the western isles of Scotland; and were the first to describe to the world those singular columnar stratifications of Staffa, which, great as is the curiosity they have since excited, were, at that time, unknown to the geologist. In these wild regions of the British isles, of which Englishmen knew little more than they now know of the least frequented ones of the Southern Seas, or the Indian Archipelago, they examined also several other natural phenomena, which had escaped the notice of ordinary observers. On reaching, on the 28th of August, their ultimate destination, and the chief object of their voyage, their expectations of new and abundant stores for gratifying their thirst after fresh discoveries in the various kingdoms of nature, were fully realized; and accurate observations of various arctic plants and animals, the volcanic mountain, the boiling fountains, the siliceous incrustations of Iceland, materially enlarged their knowledge, and enabled them to add much to the general fund. Their journey to Mount Hecla occupied them twelve days, the distance from Basstedr, where they anchored, being considerable, and between three and four hundred miles of it lying over an uninterrupted track of lava. On the 24th of September they reached the summit of this celebrated volcano; theirs, in all probability, being the first human footsteps that, from the creation of the world, had

ever been imprinted there. Attempts to reach the height had hitherto been prevented, partly by superstition and want of curiosity in the natives; and, in part, by the extreme difficulty of ascent, which a late eruption of the mountain had, in some measure, diminished. One singular phenomenon which they observed in this portion of the then *terra incognita* of the world, deserves to be noticed; — their having experienced, at one and the same time, a high degree of heat and cold; for when at the summit of the mountain, — a spot of ground about twenty yards in length, and eight in breadth, entirely free from snow, though its sandy soil was wet from recent melting of the ice, — Fahrenheit's thermometer stood constantly at 24° in the air, though when placed upon the ground, it suddenly rose to 153° . After completely investigating every thing curious in the island, our voyagers set sail for Britain; and arriving at Edinburgh in November, immediately proceeded to the metropolis. Of the singular caves of Staffa, of the island, indeed, itself, Mr. Banks, on his return, published a brief, but interesting, account; as did his companion, Van Troil, some curious letters upon Iceland.

This was the last voyage in which Mr. Banks engaged; the remainder of his days being spent in England, chiefly at his seat in Lincolnshire, and his house in town; though he occasionally passed a short time with his friends, who were numerous, not only in the scientific world, but amongst persons of fashion and of rank. Elected a member of the Royal Society, some time previous to his voyage to the South Seas, he was a constant attendant at its meetings; and during the long course of years in which he was connected with that institution, he contributed several interesting and valuable papers to its memoirs. Still ardent in the pursuit of science as ever he had been when he encountered such dangers in her cause, he opened and kept up an extensive correspondence with some of the most illustrious of the foreign philosophers, especially with those who had made any of the branches of natural history their more immediate study; and whilst his house in London, the noble library which he had collected there, the catalogue of which filled four octavo volumes; and a most extensive cabinet of whatever was curious in nature, or ingenious in art, were thrown open with the utmost facility of access to every scientific man at home, we cannot be surprised, that both in England and abroad, Mr. Banks speedily became distinguished as one of the first naturalists, and most liberal patrons of science, of the age. His high reputation in these points procured him, as we have already stated, the honour

of an introduction to our late lamented and venerated king, who ever after his first acquaintance with his merits as a philosopher, and his character as a man, exhibited towards him a partiality, as well founded as it was flattering; took great delight in his society; and, on all occasions, most zealously promoted his interests and his views. He particularly consulted him on the subjects of gardening and farming, pursuits to which he is known to have been extremely attached; and would often send for him to give his advice on these points, keeping him in conversation upon them for three or four hours at a time; and walking, as he did so, in his gardens, and the adjacent country, as many miles. This distinguished countenance was not, we may be assured, without its influence in advancing the subject of this memoir to the presidency of the Royal Society, on the resignation of sir John Pringle, in 1777; in consequence of a dispute on the relative merits of pointed and blunt conductors of the electric fluid; when his warm adherence to the reasoning of Dr. Franklin upon the subject, most unaccountably exposed him to the marked displeasure of the royal family, and more especially of its then illustrious head, who unhappily either could not, or would not, distinguish the support of a theory of the American philosopher, from an approval of the sentiments of the American republican, or, as his majesty ever held Dr. Franklin to be — one of the most active and determined of the American rebels. The seat of his successor was far, however, from being an easy one; for though by his devoted and successful pursuit of an extensive, if a particular department of science, he was, perhaps, as well qualified for the high station to which he was elevated, as the distinguished physician, and medical philosopher, who retired from it; whilst his liberality and zeal in furthering the pursuits of science, and the dedication of his ample fortune to these objects, gave even the advantage to his claims, it is not to be dissembled, that too much of favouritism and court influence were apparent in an election, which would otherwise have not only been unobjectionable, but peculiarly proper. It was some time, however, before the smothered discontent burst into a flame; but the marked, and, therefore, the imprudent, preference given in the meetings of the society under the new president, to papers on natural history, heaped up additional fuel on materials already sufficiently combustible; and in Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. David's, afterwards of Rochester, the malcontents, whose leaders were chiefly, if not entirely, mathematicians, found a person every way fitted to fire the train. Under him, therefore, a regular and rapacious

opposition to the president was commenced, and continued for some time, in a spirit most unworthy the men of letters, and the philosophers who engaged in it. So high, indeed, was the dispute at one time carried, so warm the language which those embarked in it employed, that at one of the meetings of the society, Dr. Horsley publicly and openly asserted, that "Science herself had never been more signally insulted, than by the elevation of a mere *amateur* to occupy the chair once filled by Newton." In another speech, delivered whilst the object of his merciless attack filled himself the chair, in threatening a division of the society, he thus repeated and enlarged upon this indignant vituperation: "Sir, we shall have one remedy in our power, if all others fail; for we can, at last, secede. When that fatal hour arrives, the president will be left with his train of feeble amateurs; and this toy upon the table (pointing to the mace), the ghost of that society, in which Philosophy once reigned, and Newton presided as her minister." Previous to the delivery of the last severe philippic, the original breach had been widened by the dismissal of Dr. Hutton, professor of mathematics in the Royal Military College at Woolwich, from the office of secretary for foreign correspondence, on a charge of neglect of duty, which was not substantiated, at least to the satisfaction of his friends; and as his dismissal certainly originated in party feelings, it most probably had little, if any, foundation in truth. The opposition party in the society, of which he, as one of its most eminent mathematical members, had been a leader, succeeded, indeed, in carrying a vote of thanks to him for his services. A similar resolution was moved in favour of the president, but violently opposed by some of the leading and most eminent men in the society; amongst whom Dr. Hutton, baron Maseres, and Mr. Glennie, distinguished themselves by the very strong terms in which they expressed their dissent. In bitterness as in eloquence, they were, however, far excelled by the bishop of St. David's, who, upon this occasion, delivered a speech replete with the virulent invective and unbridled indignation, of which we have just given a specimen. They failed, nevertheless, in their object; the president, once firmly seated in the chair, could not be driven from it: and, in the course of a few years, by his suavity of manners, liberality, and gentlemanly conduct, he succeeded in calming the storm, and allaying even the appearance of discontent. On the 29th of March, in the year 1779, he altered his condition, by espousing Dorothea, daughter and coheirress of William Weston Hugesson, Esq., of Provender, in the parish of Norton, Kent; a lady by whom

he had no issue, and who still survives him. This union occasioned not, however, any alteration in his habits, in as far as the patronage of science was concerned. His house in Soho Square was still thrown open to her votaries, and he became every year more and more decidedly the centre round which were attracted the native philosophers of the country, and those whom the spirit of research brought hither from foreign lands. The latter, especially, always met with the most hospitable reception in his house, in which a weekly *conversazione* was regularly held during the sitting of parliament, and of the Royal Society; where new discoveries of every kind were communicated and discussed; rare and curious specimens of the various productions of nature, and the ingenious works of art, exhibited; and plans suggested and arranged for the general diffusion of scientific information. Then, as at all times, his unique collection of books and specimens, illustrative of the various branches of natural history, were open to the inspection of the curious in those departments of science, who had never any difficulty in procuring access to these copious and invaluable sources of information.

There is one feature, however, in these scientific parties, which, highly useful as we admit them to be in the diffusal of knowledge, we should be abandoning our principles were we to pass it over in silence, or without the reprobation which it merits. They were uniformly held on the evening of the Sunday; and were regarded, there is every reason to suppose, by many of their attendants merely as an agreeable method of killing time, which hung heavily on their hands, when the law closed to their access the theatre and the opera house; and the decencies of life would not permit the majority to finish the day, began by a formal attendance at church, at the card table, or the dance. But even where this was not the case, the subjects discussed were not of a nature to fulfil, but, on the contrary, directly to violate the command of Him who has hallowed the Sabbath to himself, and who will one day make strict inquisition as to the manner in which its sacred hours have been spent. Whilst the titled, the learned, and the rich, spend a large portion of those hours in their scientific *conversazioni*, where any thing but religion is discussed; in musical parties—sacred the selection is called, because the name of God is taken in vain upon the profanest tongues;—in riotous living, gluttonous feasts, and drunken carousals; to say nothing of their crowded gambling-houses, and private card-tables, more secretly attended—it is a farce, and worse than a farce, to

expect the reformation of the public morals by royal proclamations for the discouragement of vice, or societies for its suppression, by the prosecution of butchers, and bakers, and grocers, for opening their shops, or selling their pennyworths of goods on the Sunday, or the condemnation of tipplers in the ale-house, or loungers in the streets and the fields on that holy day. These things ought certainly to be looked to in every Christian land; but we ought not to overlook the weightier matters, and higher violators of the laws.

In the year 1781, Mr. Banks was created a baronet; and a few years after he received at the hands of his sovereign two very flattering marks of his regard, in being made a member of the Privy-council, and invested with the order of the Bath, of which he was one of the first civilian knights. These honours brought him into closer contact with the nobility and the court, and he improved his increased acquaintance with the higher orders, to enrol many of their members in the society, at whose head he was placed, not, however, without subjecting himself to an imputation, for which there was, perhaps, some slight foundation, of preferring the claims of rank and title to those of merit. In other ways, however, he converted his influence with the great to the advancement of science, whose cause, it is extremely doubtful, whether he injured by introducing to the honour of an F.R.S. some few noblemen, ranking higher in birth than in science, and having more of pecuniary than intellectual wealth. Thus was formed, in a great measure by his instrumentality, the African Association, a society instituted for the purpose of encouraging researches in a quarter of the globe in which the discoveries made within the last twenty years, important certainly as they are, have been dearly purchased by the loss of Ledyard, Houghton, Lucas, Mungo Parke, Pedder, Ritchie, Grey, names to their country and to science dear. This society more immediately originated with a Saturday's club, meeting at the St. Albans Tavern, and of which, besides himself, the late earl of Galloway, the marquess of Hastings, general Conway, sir Adam Ferguson, sir William Fordyce, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Stuart, the late bishop of Llandaff, lord Carysfort, and sir John Sinclair, were members, who, on the 4th of June 1788, formed themselves into a society for the purpose above mentioned, subscribing five pounds each for three years. Sir Joseph Banks was on the same day elected one of the first committee of four; and at one of their earliest meetings, he introduced to them the enterprising adventurer, Ledyard, then just returned from his bold and perilous attempt to cross the Russian

dominions, and Kamtschatka, on foot, for which purpose he had been liberally supplied with pecuniary means by sir Joseph himself, through whose introduction he soon became the first agent of the new association. The favourable ear which government would naturally lend to a person thus connected, and honoured with the distinguished favour of the sovereign, enabled him also to render essential services to our colonies, into several of which, in the West Indies, he got the bread fruit tree of Otaheite introduced, and it bids fair to surpass, both in nourishment and utility, the plantain of those tropical climes. The establishment of an English settlement in New South Wales, was owing, in a great measure, to the earnestness with which he urged the fitness of the spot for the purposes which government had in view; and through life, he took a deep interest in its welfare. At his recommendation also, the extensive shores of New Holland were explored with considerable advantage to the country whose enterprising navigators first bestowed particular attention upon it, and to the progress of science, which first conducted his footsteps to its distant, and then unfrequented shores. Nor did he limit the exertion of his influence to the benefiting of his own country: soon after his return from Iceland, he made representations to the Danish government, in consequence of which a very material amelioration took place in the political and social state of the population of that island. In 1796, he exhibited another proof of his acting on the liberal and philosophical principle that science is of no country or clime, in powerfully and successfully supporting the claims of the republican government of France, to a collection of objects of natural history formed by Labelardie, in the expedition under D'Entrecasteaux in search of La Perouse, but which had fallen into the hands of the English government, by whom it was honourably restored. The zeal with which the president of the Royal Society had pleaded for the restoration, did not go unrewarded; for as soon as the return of peace opened a communication between the two countries, he was chosen a member of the French Institute, an honour the more gratifying, as he was the first foreign associate elected by that body. Of this honour, sir Joseph Banks was not a little proud, and the very warm terms in which he acknowledged, as "the highest and most enviable literary distinction which he could possibly attain," his election as an associate of what he termed "the first literary society in the world," gave great offence to some of the members of the Royal Society, and even to his royal patron himself; to whom neither the republican

appellation of citizens, with which the president's letter is commenced and concluded, nor the esteem which he professes in it to have entertained for the French nation, "even during the most frightful convulsions of her most terrible revolution," were phrases likely to be peculiarly gratifying. His old inveterate opponent, bishop Horsley, gladly availed himself of what might fairly be considered an excess of gratitude, to address, under the signature Miso-Gallus, to the new associate of the institute, a letter, at any rate, not remarkable for its mildness, as in it he accused him of servility, disloyalty, irreligion, and falsehood; and characterised the institute, into which he was so proud of being admitted, as an embryo exotic academy of robbers and revolutionary philosophers. The ferment, however, soon subsided, and sir Joseph Banks continued, without further interruption, to the period his death, his liberal patronage of every plan for the promotion of science, and the improvement of his countrymen.

Of the board of agriculture, he was a zealous member; and so attentive was he to the objects for which that board was framed, and so well skilled in them, that his late majesty intrusted him with the chief management of his favourite breed of Merino sheep. By the drainage of the fens in Lincolnshire, which he very warmly promoted, he doubled the value of his estates in that county; and he was so much of a practical agriculturist, as to be enabled, soon after the great scarcity of 1801, to write a very sensible pamphlet on the cause and prevention of blight in wheat, to which that scarcity was mainly attributed. In 1804, he was very active in forming the Horticultural Society, to whose transactions he was a contributor of several papers, explanatory of his mode of cultivating several scarce but useful productions, particularly the American cranberry, the paper upon which, in the first volume of their Memoirs, gives an interesting description of the garden and orchard at his sub-urban villa of Spring Grove, on Smallberry Green, a country residence which he took on lease about the time of his marriage, as a convenient retreat, now that unremitting attention to the duties of his station would not permit his spending much time at his distant seat in Lincolnshire. He proposed, also, to conduct at this place his horticultural experiments, with more convenience to himself and advantage to the public. For thirty years, he also employed, at his own expense, a draughtsman, whose sole business it was to make sketches and finished drawings of all new plants that presented their flowers and fruits in the royal gardens at Kew, and this artist he continued in this employment, on a salary, left

as a legacy in his will, of £300. per annum. To the Caledonian Horticultural Society he was also a valuable contributor, by his purse, his influence, and his pen.

During the latter years of a life thus assiduously devoted to the service of science, the subject of this memoir suffered severely from the gout, whose paroxysms were for a while relieved by a recourse to the celebrated *Eau Medicinale*, but which soon failed in its effects. Ginger, in large quantities, had previously been resorted to for some years, until, to use his own phrase, he "had fairly exhausted all its virtues." His life was now speedily exhausting, though he continued to exist for some time, with a body nearly bent to the ground, and so tortured by disease, that he could take no exercise at home but in a Bath-chair, and was carried to his coach on a cushion suspended by strings, supported by two footmen. From this undesirable state of existence, he was released by death, at his house in Soho Square, on the 9th of May, 1820, having attained the eighty-first year of his age.

By his will, he has left his library and valuable collections in natural history to the British Museum, after the death of his present librarian, Robert Brown, Esq., to whom he gave the use of them for life, together with an annuity of £200., subject to the conditions of his making the library his chief place of study; assisting in the superintendence of the royal botanical gardens at Kew; making London his principal residence; and undertaking no new charge that might otherwise employ his time. Dying without issue, he willed his estates, after the death of lady Banks, to the hon. James Hamilton Stanhope; sir Henry Hawley, and sir Edward Knatchbull, Baronets, distant relatives of his own, or of his wife. His personal property was sworn to be under £40,000. in value.

In his earlier days, sir Joseph Banks exhibited a manly form; he was tall and well built, with a countenance expressive of dignity and intelligence, and an eye that beamed with kindness. His manners were courteous, frank, engaging, unaffected; his conversation was replete with instruction, without levity, yet sufficiently vivacious. His information was extensive, and he knew how to use it to advantage. In private life his character was highly respectable; his charity was diffusive, and his condescension great. We fear, however, that he was too much linked in with the disciples of the new school of philosophy, to have known as much as we should wish him to have known of vital Christianity.

A large subscription has lately been set on foot to erect a statue in his memory in the British Museum.

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND INTELLIGENCE.

IN pursuance of the promise contained in our last, we now resume the Rev. Ward Stafford's interesting address, at that portion of it which must be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen, inasmuch as it relates to seamen, for whose spiritual and moral improvement, we rejoice to know, that so much has lately been done, and is still doing, amongst us:—

“ But there is another class of the destitute, whom it is more difficult to supply. I refer particularly to our seamen, who, in consequence of their character and circumstances, have been regarded as almost beyond the reach of hope. The principal difficulty arises from their having no permanent place of residence. Should any particular number of them unite together, and establish a school, or erect a church, or should this be done for them by their friends, who live on shore, they could not enjoy the benefit. Their employment obliges them soon to be at the distance of hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands of miles. They are constantly moving in different directions, constantly changing associates. While at sea they are in such small companies, that they cannot ordinarily either supply themselves with a preached Gospel, or be supplied by their employers. Even in the Millennium we cannot suppose that the Gospel will, to any great extent, be preached on the ocean. This renders it indispensable, that the principal attention should be paid to them while in port. God has kindly adapted the dispensations of his grace to the condition of his creatures. At sea they do not need the same attention. They are then removed from many of those temptations to which they are exposed while on shore. Considering, therefore, their character and circumstances, it is evident, that the means of grace with which they are supplied must, in a sense, be common property, to which all seamen shall have an equal claim. In order to their improvement and salvation, it is proposed —

“ First, That in every sea-port there should be a marine school, by which seamen may be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, navigation, and other branches of learning. Strange as it may seem, a large number of them are unable to read. This is not, however, generally the case in respect of those who come from parts of the country, and of the world, where particular attention is paid to the education of the rising generation. But seamen are from all parts of the country, and from all parts of the world. Though their stay in a single port, at one time, is but short; yet all the time which they spend, in all the ports they enter, is very considerable. It is estimated, that they are in port

one-fourth part of the year, or three months out of twelve. During a considerable part of this time they are wholly unemployed. Were schools established, and proper efforts made to interest them in the subject, we believe they would gladly embrace the opportunity. Those who needed it would soon learn to read, while the more enterprising would wish to attend to other branches, particularly to navigation, if for no other reason, that they might be promoted to higher stations. Were they thus instructed on the land, they might, by the aid of books, and their more knowing companions, pursue their studies while at sea. Observations on the manner in which a school of this description should be conducted, must be omitted. A library also should be connected with the school. Most seamen are destitute, not only of the Bible, but of all other books. Many who have carried books to sea with them have lost them, by shipwreck, or in some other way. Were a library established, to which seamen, under proper restrictions, could have access, numbers would employ, at least, a part of their time in reading. If by these, and other means, they can be furnished with employment while in port, much towards their reformation will be accomplished; for we are confident, that the want of employment is one great reason why so many of them resort to haunts of vice.

"Secondly, As another means of benefiting our seamen, Bible societies should be established, of which they shall be the active members. Every person acquainted with their moral state knows, that most of them are destitute of the Bible; and that those who are not destitute, are supplied in a manner by no means the best. Human nature is such, that it is almost impossible, that a seaman should take the same interest in the Bible where he has it in common with a whole crew, compared with what he would, provided he had a copy of his own, obtained by his own industry, and from his own society. By means of such a society, a record also may be kept, and testimonials may be given, which will gain them employment in preference to the profligate. As the Bible is almost the only means of instruction with which they can be supplied when out of port, we trust that they will not be permitted to leave our shores without this compass, this pole star, to direct them to the haven of eternal rest*. If it be important, that their minds should be enlightened by human knowledge, and that the Bible should be put into their hands, it is still more important, that the Gospel should be preached to them. In what manner can it be done? In answer to this inquiry, which has occasioned great and tender solicitude in the minds of some, who have thought of seamen, who have wept over them, and prayed for them, it is proposed,

* Since this report was read, a marine Bible society has been organized, and the subject discussed more at large in the addresses to merchants and masters of vessels, and to seamen, which are before the public.

" Thirdly, That in large sea-ports churches be erected expressly for their accommodation. This, it is conceived, is the only way in which they can extensively enjoy a preached Gospel. It is said, that they may be accommodated in other churches, and in them may hear the Gospel. In answer to this, it may be observed, in the first place, that there is no provision for them. The few seats which are not occupied by private families, are occupied by the poor, whom we always have with us. No provision whatever has been made for seamen, as a class of men by themselves. They have been forgotten, or entirely neglected. But, in the second place, were provision made for them in our churches, it would not remove the difficulty. They regard themselves, and they are regarded by others, as an entirely separate class of the community. They do not mingle with other people. Their very mode of life excludes them from all society, except that of their companions: With them they necessarily and exclusively associate while at sea. When in port they have no other acquaintance, and have but little occasion or inducement to form any, except it be that which, though very limited in its duration, is extremely pernicious in its consequences. They have no places of resort, except those which frequently become the grave of their property, their morals, their happiness, and their souls. They are most of the time strangers in a strange place. As they have generally become ~~such~~ in consequence of being neglected, and as no distinction is made between the sober and the profligate, they are strangers whom all feel at liberty to despise. Those of them who are respectable, and such there are, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they labour, have a high sense of propriety, and will not be guilty of intrusion: hence they have a natural aversion to enter our churches. Another barrier is their dress. Their dress is almost universally different from that of other people. When they enter a church, they are known and marked as sailors; they attract the notice of no small part of the congregation; and most of them would sooner face the cannon's mouth than that thoughtless, supercilious gaze, which betrays equally a want of civility to the stranger, and of reverence in the house of God. Many have told me, with strong emotions, that they supposed people thought they went to church to mock at religion, or from some other improper motive. There is another reason why they do not more frequently go to church. It is a fact, and one at the recital of which the persons concerned ought to blush, that they have been turned out of our churches when they have entered! They have received no invitation to take seats*—the pews have been closed against them—and they, in some cases,

* This we can easily conceive to be the case in our English churches; but, we believe, that the latter part of the sentence can have no application on this side the Atlantic.—*EDIT.*

have been informed, that there was no room for sailors. Such was not the manner in which they were treated by the Son of God. On account of this treatment, many have not been to church for years. When one is thus treated, it influences a whole circle of his companions: consequently, seamen are impressed with the idea, that there is no room for them in our churches, and that their presence is not desired. By the testimony of masters of vessels, and sailors themselves, this impression is almost universal. This is the reason which they generally assign for not attending public worship. Will it be said, that this impression may be removed by making provision for them, and inviting them to attend? Suppose, that in every church in the city, there was provision for a certain number of seamen, so that in all the churches, all the seamen who come to the port might be accommodated; how could they be distributed according to the provision made in each church? They are strangers; they usually remain in port but a very short time. Should they be disposed to go at all, under such circumstances, the probability is, that most of them would go to but few places. They love to be together, they go to church in companies. In this case, a part of them would find no accommodation. They might spend a considerable portion of the time of divine service in wandering from one place to another. Should they enter a church, and not find a seat, they would be mortified. These considerations, with the fact, that they have a strong reluctance to go to a church to which others resort, would effectually close against them the doors of the sanctuary. But such provision is not made for them; and we confidently assert, that it will not be made, till that day when all shall feel, and love, and act as brethren. Further, it is the opinion of a large number of masters of vessels and seamen, who have been consulted during the past year, not only in this, but in some other ports, that this is the only way in which the Gospel can be effectually preached to seamen. Almost every individual, to whom it has been made known, has appeared highly gratified with the plan, and expressed a strong desire that it might go into effect. The plan has received the approbation, not only of seafaring people, but of a considerable number of respectable merchants, clergymen, and others. Were it known to seamen, that, whenever they entered a large sea-port, they would find a church, many would be induced to attend, by the influence of early education, by curiosity, a desire to see their companions, and to be like other people, or the pride which they would take in an institution of their own. Though drawn by such motives, the preaching of the Gospel might, nevertheless, become to them 'the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation.' Many, we trust, would be influenced by higher motives; a desire to worship God in obedience to his command, to hear the glad tidings of salvation, and learn the way to heaven.

"The expense of such an establishment would, at first, be considerable. But when we consider the number of seamen, and their unparalleled liberality, we cannot doubt that they would, in the end, amply support, by their contributions, the preaching of the Gospel. When we take into view the importance of the subject in all its relations, and the interest* which has already been manifested, we believe that the time is not far distant, when in every large sea-port, the sanctuary will unfold its doors, and welcome to its blessings our brethren, 'who go down to the sea in ships, who do business in great waters;' that, as they 'see the wonders' of the Lord 'in the deep,' they may, in his earthly courts, behold the greater wonders of redeeming love.

"But all human efforts for the salvation of the destitute will be of no avail without the blessing of God. Means in themselves are powerless. In a field like this, 'a Paul may plant, and an Apollos water,' in vain: God alone can give the increase—God alone can raise to spiritual life these multitudes, who are 'dead in trespasses and sins.' We mention, therefore, as an indispensable requisite to the accomplishment of this work—

"6. CONTINUAL AND EARNEST PRAYER TO GOD. From what God has revealed in his word, as well as from his dealings with his church, we have reason to believe, that prayer is the great medium, through which the influences of the Holy Spirit descend. Though 'the Lord promises to inhabit the ruined places, and plant that which was desolate,' he assures us that he 'will be inquired of by the house of Israel to do it for them.' With the commands of God on this subject, every Christian must be familiar. On the precious promises which he has made to support and encourage his people in their labours, and which are scattered throughout the sacred pages, as glowing gems in the midst of others of inferior lustre, all must have dwelt with peculiar delight—with lively emotions of hope and joy. It is our Saviour who hath said, 'That if two of you shall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father who is in heaven.' It is he who has assured his people, that their heavenly Father is more ready to give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him, than parents are to give good gifts to their children. The examples of Moses, of Abraham, of Jacob, of David, of Daniel, and of a host of ancient worthies, urge and encourage us to the performance of this duty. Though Christ 'spake as never man spake'—though he had power to turn the 'hearts of the children of men,' even as the rivers of waters are turned,' he did not neglect to pray; he did not think of accomplishing his work without prayer. On that consecrated mount, by the devoted city of Jerusalem, he

* "A subscription for a seamen's church was, sometime ago, opened in this city. How much has been subscribed it is not in my power to state; enough, however, to justify the belief that such a church will be erected." This expectation has since been realized.—EDIT.

spent whole nights in holy wrestling with his Father. In this, as in other things, he has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. The efficacy of prayer is strikingly illustrated in the case of the disciples, soon after they had beheld their divine Master ascend into heaven. From Olivet, they returned into the city; 'they went up into an upper room,' and there they 'all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.' Immediately after this, Peter goes out, and preaches to the hardened Jews. The windows of heaven are opened; the influences of the Spirit descend—in a single day, thousands are converted, and added to the church. Similar has been the effect of prayer in every age. Never, I believe, have we, as a society, or in smaller companies, set apart a season for prayer, which has not been followed by more or less of the operations of the Holy Spirit; some have been awakened; serious impressions, which have been previously made on the minds of others, have been deepened, and individuals have been brought into the kingdom of Christ. 'The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness.' Let us, like the disciples, *continue* in prayer; let us also, like them, *be of one accord*. Respecting union in prayer, we have much reason to be encouraged. Our brethren, in other places, unite their prayers with ours, on occasions like this*. Let us, then, be deeply impressed with the sentiment, that the work in which we are engaged is the work of God; that without his blessing it can never be accomplished. Let us remember, that it is in our closets that we are to gird on the armour—that it is there we must gain strength to wield the weapons, to fight the battles of the Lord:

'Satan trembles when he sees
The weakest saint upon his knees.'

If we can engage God to be with us, we need not fear. 'More are they that are with us, than they that are against us.' Though the enemy should come in like a flood, 'the Lord will lift up a standard against him.' Before we, in any way, engage in this holy warfare; especially before we visit the habitations of the poor and vicious, let us, with our Bibles and tracts, retire to our closets, and there endeavour to gain some idea of the magnitude of the work—of the wretched state of those whom we are about to visit; and, in view of their present misery, and that to which they are approaching—in view of that great day, when we shall meet them at the bar of God—and in view of our own insufficiency, let us lift

* "The societies which have been formed for the same object in Boston and in Charlestown, Mass., and it is believed, the one in Charleston, S. C. have their quarterly prayer meetings on the same day with the society in New-York. Should other societies be formed, it is hoped that the prayers of all will, at the same time, ascend as incense, and mingle before the throne."

up our hearts to God for his Spirit to prepare the way before us, and render the means effectual. There let rivers of waters run down, because of the slain of the daughter of God's people — there let us mourn over the ravages of sin, the desolations of Zion; and while we look around upon the slain, and ask, with heartfelt solicitude,

‘ And can these mould’ring corpses live,
And can these perish’d bones revive ?’

let us, with holy importunate resignation, exclaim : —

‘ That, mighty God, to thee is known,
That mighty work is all thine own,

‘ — if thy Spirit deign to breathe,
Life spreads through all the realms of death,
Dry bones obey thy powerful voice,
They move, they waken, they rejoice.’”

With this important admonition, equally applicable to English as to American Christians, we must, however, again quit for a while this interesting stranger, in order to lay before our readers extracts from a variety of communications, with which our transatlantic friends and correspondents have furnished us since the appearance of our last Number. And we would first advert to the proceedings of the General Association, held at Colchester, in June of the last year, from whose minutes we extract the following resolutions; as honorable to the ecclesiastical body by which they were passed, as they will, we doubt not, appear singular to most of our readers, as little familiar as we confess ourselves to be with the proceedings and deliberations of such assemblies :—

“ The Rev. Messrs. Taylor and Hewitt were appointed a committee, to devise means for the suppression of the intemperate use of ardent spirits. The committee reported the following resolutions, which were adopted :—

“ 1. That one minister in each district association be appointed an agent to collect information, within his limits, on the subject of the intemperate use of ardent spirits; and to communicate the same to the committee named in the next resolve.

“ 2. That the Rev. Messrs. N. W. Taylor, N. Hewitt, and C. A. Goodrich, be a committee, to present to the agents the several topics on which information is desired; to receive such information; and make report to the General Association, at their next annual meeting.

“ *Voted*, That this association view, with pleasure and approbation, the efforts which have been made, by benevolent individuals and peace societies, in this country, and in Europe, to lead Christians to a consideration of the real spirit of their holy religion, and of their true interests on this important subject.” [pp. 6, 7.]

In the same spirit they remark, in their report on the state of religion:—

“ The General Association have still to mourn, in many instances, the intemperate use of spirituous liquors; and an increasing disposition among many to violate, and in others to tolerate the violation of the Lord's day; and other vices, which threaten the best interests of civil society.” [p. 22.]

We wish that the same evils were less prevalent on this side the Atlantic, and that more trouble were taken to point out, and to correct them. Conceiving also that they have a like general application to the present state of religion, religious controversy, and philanthropic exertion, in England as in America, we extract for the entertainment, and, we hope, it may prove for the edification of our readers; the following useful admonition, contained in the pastoral address of the General Association of Massachusetts, assembled at Beverley, June 27, 1820:—

“ We feel ourselves obliged most solemnly to warn you against the influence of those fashionable errors, which, as they are specious in their pretensions, accommodated to the pride and indolence of the heart, insidious in their progress, and paralyzing in their effects, threaten, in modes extremely various, and many of them perhaps unsuspected, your faith, your purity, and your happiness. In the neighbourhood of enemies of the Gospel, in whose affability, boasted liberality, and high claims to literary distinction, you find much to divert your eye from the corrupt mass of their principles, you are liable to lose, by degrees, that keen and vigilant perception of the value of truth, without which, evangelical doctrines can have no fixed hold on the understanding, the conscience, or the affections. It is thus, we doubt not, that many orthodox men, and orthodox churches, have been carried, by imperceptible gradations, from the firm basis of scriptural Christianity, to that deceitful ground, where every step is hazard, where confidence perpetually yields to distrust, and where the hopes of a religion for sinners, are dissipated and forgotten, amidst the enchantments of a visionary philosophy. Were not the task invidious, we might illustrate this observation by examples;—we might point you to individuals, and to congregations, over whose ruins Piety now weeps, as she remembers the glory whence they have fallen. With these instances before you, you will not think us too apprehensive, or too importunate, when we press upon your solemn attention, the injunctions of inspiration to steadfastness in the faith, and its warnings against apostacy. ‘ Buy the truth, and sell it not. — Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines; for it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace. — Earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints. — If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.’

“Forget not, however, the perilous tendency of religious controversy on the temper of beings, who, though they may be upright in their general design, are yet far from perfection, and whose zeal for the honour of God may be debased by earthly mixtures, as well as more directly counteracted by the cautious policy of a spurious and temporising prudence. It is an attainment much too rare, though certainly of very great importance, to combine, in equal proportions, a detestation of error, with pity for its propagators, and an unyielding tone of vindication, with such meekness and humbleness of mind, as shall repel at once the slightest suspicion of personal, or party feelings. Easy indeed, it may be, in this polite age, to select such phrases, as shall add poignancy to sarcasm and contempt, by arraying them in the borrowed forms of gentleness and candour; but to avoid actual asperity, is no less difficult now, than it was in other times, when the decencies and refinements of polished society imposed no restraints on the cogency, or the passions of debate. While, therefore, we would warn you against that indifference to truth, which claims the praise of charity, we would at the same time remind you, that genuine kindness to the opposers of the doctrines you profess, will serve as effectually to recommend them, as to secure your own happiness. ‘The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men. — In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth. — Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice.’ By the spirit of controversy, you may be led to lay an undue stress on a profession of soundness in the faith, disconnected from those fruits in the life, which prove its genuineness and importance. The peculiar doctrines of the Gospel are, in their nature, eminently practical, and it is because they are so, that they appear with such prominence in the word of God, and have engaged in their support the wisest and the best men of all ages. Yet there is danger, in the heat of disputation, of overlooking the grand circumstance, which makes them worth defending; of satisfying ourselves with ‘the form of sound words;’ and of even regarding a scriptural creed as the highest, if not the only, evidence of piety. This is an evil, of which we, as well as the churches of older countries, have had too much reason to complain; and it is surely time, not only that we had waked to a conviction of its magnitude, but that we had exerted ourselves in pursuit of an antidote.

“By the writings of some of our ablest divines, whose souls now rest with God, we have been guarded against Antinomianism in its grosser forms; and few can be found, who would maintain a theory of religion, directly subversive of holiness. Since, however, the best notions in the head cannot, of themselves, correct the errors of the heart, it becomes us seriously to inquire, whether that opposition to the strictness of obedience, which gave birth to the speculations of Agricola, does not manifest itself among us under more

specious pretexts. Have we not reason for the fear, that, in some cases, enmity to the obligations of morality, seeks, with a strange inconsistency, to conceal itself behind the mask of devoted attachment to the truth, and even of zeal for that inward experience, which, when genuine, cannot fail to extend its influence to the whole system of human conduct? How otherwise can we account for the paradoxical union, too often observed, between the most evangelical sentiments, and a neglect of social duties; between a conversation the most spiritual, and habits the most worldly; between the most fervent prayers for the propagation of the Gospel, and a parsimonious withholding of all pecuniary aid for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom? Among the professed friends of vital godliness, we are justified in looking for whatsoever is amiable in the intercourses of private life, and magnanimous in public spirit, as well as for firmness in religious principle, and eminence in the exercises of devotion.

" In this apostate world, it has been too generally true, that every event propitious to Zion, has been attended with circumstances, which, through the operation of corrupt human passions, have had an opposite tendency; and the remark is, we fear, not wholly inapplicable to the grand impulse, given in our day, by the Providence and Spirit of God, to the labours of Christian philanthropy. The present, we justly say, is the era of benevolence; and in our admiration of the glories which invest it, we feel a kind of revolting from the contemplation of evils, either apprehended, or actually witnessed, in a state of the world so consoling to the bosom of charity. Our regard to your welfare, brethren, is, however, too sincere, to permit us to pass over them in silence. Without duly reflecting on the difficulties to be encountered, in the great work of evangelizing all nations, you are liable to be discouraged in well-doing, from a want of immediate success, equal to your wishes, and to the view you may entertain of the means which have already been employed. To guard you against a relaxation of your efforts, it is only necessary that your ears should be open to the command of God, enjoining upon you unwearied perseverance; and your eyes steadily directed to those promises, which insure the eventual triumph of the Gospel over all the false religions of mankind. Reverencing his authority, believing his word, you will never grow irresolute; you will wait in hope for a rich return of your liberalities and your prayers; and you will hail the least tokens of his favour with more than the joy of harvest. It is truly to be lamented, that any exhortations upon this subject should now be necessary. It may well cause our tears to flow, that, after the slumber of centuries, the church should still need excitement to redeem her lost honour; and that any who have come up to the siege of Jericho, should be disheartened, or alarmed, because the wall has not been overthrown, and the city surrendered, on the first sounding of the trumpets. We are not afraid, indeed, that the

work will cease. It is of God, and it must prevail. But what must be the shame of those who desert it! and how will their defection give occasion for the enemies of our Lord to blaspheme!

“To the cause in which you are engaged, and especially to yourselves, the purity of your motives is important beyond expression; and to this point you should direct your utmost vigilance. Popularity, party, the influence of great names, the grandeur of operations, uniting the talents, learning, and piety of many thousands in every district of Christendom, and extending to every region of the globe,—may be sufficient to inflame that heart, which the fires of the altar could not penetrate, and to open those hands, the rigid fibres of which had resisted; to the last, all the holy violence of charity. Such is human nature; and it need not surprise you, that, among the contributors to benevolent objects, there are some, whose private deportment is utterly at variance with their more public acts, and whose worldly compliances, to say nothing more, brand their most splendid beneficence with the character of hypocrisy. These corrupt principles, even where they are not supreme, may be insensibly blended with higher considerations, and vitiate actions, which had otherwise been entitled to unmingled applause. Let your purpose then be single; and remember that your services will be approved in Heaven, only in proportion to the disinterestedness by which they are performed. This strict regard to your motives is requisite to preserve you, on the one hand, from unreasonable despondency under embarrassments, and the failure of your hopes; and, on the other, from the risings of that pride, which, attributing to itself the glory of success, provokes the frown of the Almighty upon all its enterprises. He will have the entire praise of every good work; and, to inculcate upon us this salutary lesson, he frequently interposes, to confound those designs, which are formed in dependance on human strength. It is a serious question, whether the declension, which commonly succeeds a revival of religion, may not, in most instances, be ascribed to his rebuke on the vanity of his children, gathering confidence in themselves, by what should for ever humble them,—his manifest and long continued blessing on their exertions. Where the Spirit operates, means are, of course, efficacious; and we are so disposed to rest in these, that much too frequently we overlook that divine agency, which gives them all their power to sanctify and to save. They who bear a part in the benevolent operations of this period, should beware, that they do not estimate too highly their labours and their alms, as proofs of their personal religion. We have said that other sentiments than those of piety may make you the patrons of public institutions; and we must add, that all the pomp of munificence, toils the most oppressive, and sacrifices the most costly, disjoined from a life of humble faith, of penitence, and of prayer, are so far from gaining the approbation of God, that they are, in his sight, but ‘sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.’ Err

not, we beseech you, on a point so fundamental to your happiness here and hereafter. Take heed, that your hearts be right with God. 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.' Cultivate the religion of the closet; and live in the blessedness of communion with HIM, who is, in all generations, the hope and the refuge of his ransomed people. With subdued affections, and heavenly views, exhibit in your daily conduct, the purity, temperance, justice, meekness, gentleness, and long suffering of the Christian character. Thus will you convince the world, that, whether you give, or pray for the promotion of the kingdom of peace, you are sincere; and that the hopes which animate you are divine. You will thus be prepared for the most difficult duties, and the severest trials in life. By your order and discipline, you will become terrible to your enemies as an army with banners; and, by the divine influences attending your efforts, you may anticipate the speedy introduction of that predicted day, when the ways of Zion shall no longer mourn, when all who hear the Gospel shall joyfully bow to its authority, and when the sound of its mercy, mingled with the songs of disenthralled nations, shall roll over every land. Live like Christians; brethren, and your conflicts will soon be over; death will close for ever the period of your sufferings, and grace will exalt you to those seats in glory, from which you will behold, with ineffable rapture, the advances of millennial brightness on these dark abodes of mortality, and exult in the delightful, unalloyed assurance of an eternal union, in the presence of your Saviour, with the countless myriads, out of every kindred and tribe, redeemed by his blood, and justified by his righteousness." [pp. 20—26.]

From the Annual "Narrative of the State of Religion, within the bounds of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church; and of the General Associations of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, during the last year," we are happy in being able to extract the following encouraging account of the state of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, and of the Congregational Churches connected with its General Assembly, in three important states of the Union:—

"The General Assembly have now under their care sixty-two Presbyteries; fifty of which have sent up annual reports of thirteen hundred churches within their respective bounds. With the subjects of those reports our churches are already familiar. The interest, therefore, which these subjects will excite, can be derived only from the charms which the providence and the grace of God may from time to time throw around them. The Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten, the beloved and co-equal Son of God, has, in every age, had a church upon earth. The existence of that church

commenced with the promise, that 'the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head.' It has since subsisted amid the rage and persecution of surrounding enemies; and, in spite of the power and policy of hell, will subsist till the end of time; when its visible and militant state will be succeeded by a triumphant state in glory. That church has not, indeed, in every age, been alike visible and prosperous. Sometimes it has been confined to a particular family, and at others to a particular nation. Sometimes it has been hid like a grain of mustard-seed in the earth; and at others, it has been comparatively a great tree, under whose shadow immortal souls have found security and peace. But amidst all the vicissitudes it has experienced, it has increased, and will increase until its borders shall be the borders of the earth: it has shone, and will shine more and more, unto the perfect day. These remarks are illustrated and verified in the reports which the Assembly have received for the past year; a summary account of which they hereby transmit to the churches under their care. We have *much to lament*, but *more* to present as subjects of *congratulation and praise*.

"The sources of lamentation to which *some* of the Presbyterial reports direct us, are *errors in doctrine and morals*; neglect of the duties of *family and social prayer*; coldness and indifference on the part of professing Christians; and the want of *labourers* in the gospel vineyard. In some of our bounds, exertions are making, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, to propagate a modification of infidelity under the name of Unitarianism or Socinianism; and as there is an aptitude of the human heart to entertain the grossest errors, we regard it as an imperious duty to warn our congregations against every attempt to bring to their notice such doctrines as deny the Lord who bought them. *Immoralities in practice*, have naturally, in many places, flowed from error in doctrine. The intemperate use of ardent liquors, and the profanation of the Lord's day, are particularly mentioned, as too prevalent among those whom the 'grace of God teaches, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously and godly.' Professing Christians have, in too many instances, manifested a lukewarmness, utterly inconsistent with their profession, and the obligations they are under to Him who has loved them and given himself for them. Regardless of the awful imprecation, 'Pour thy fury upon the families that call not on thy name,' they have omitted to bend before the family altar, and offer their morning and evening sacrifices; and as if they questioned the justness of the requisition, 'For all these things I will be inquired of by the house of Israel to do it for them,' they have kept aloof from the meetings of social prayer, and neglected to present their united supplications for a blessing on themselves, and on the whole Israel of God. The complaints of several of the Presbyteries, of the want of a sufficient number of labourers in the Gospel vineyard, have been truly affecting. Entire districts of country to the south and west, comprising

a population of thousands of souls, are represented as destitute of ministrations of the word, from any denomination of Christians. In one Presbytery, in which there are twenty-eight regularly organized churches, eighteen are destitute of the regular administration of the word and ordinances; in another, consisting of nearly forty churches, there are only eleven ministers; and in another, out of twenty-eight, sixteen are vacant. Their lamentation is, 'the harvest is great, but the labourers are few;' and their cry to their Christian brethren is, 'Come over, and help us.'

"While on these accounts the assembly have cause for lamentation, and call upon their churches to sympathize with, and pray for; those among whom the above mentioned evils exist; they also call upon their churches to unite with them, in sentiments and expressions of gratitude and praise to God, for his great, his unmerited, and his continued goodness. We have probably never heard so much, nor had so much to tell of the wonderful works of God amidst the churches under our care. And we have only to regret, that the limits of this narrative will not allow a detailed account of what has taken place in this portion of the heritage of God. Outward attention to the means of grace has, with few exceptions, every where increased. Many new congregations have been organized, and new places of worship erected. Biblical and catechetical instructions have been generally attended to. The children and youth have been led to the fountain, and instructed in the first principles of the truth, as one of the best preventives against error and vice, in their more advanced years. Baptized children have in many congregations been convened with the parents who dedicated them to God, and been solemnly and affectionately reminded of their obligations to be the Lord's. The system of Sabbath school instruction has been pursued with great and increased success. Thousands, who, but for these institutions, would have grown up in ignorance and vice, been the grief of the church, and the curse of the community, are now taught their obligations to God, and fitted to be useful members of society. Great zeal and regularity is generally manifested by the pupils in their attendance: several instances were mentioned of young persons who frequently walked ten miles on the Sabbath, for the purpose of attending the school: and, in several instances, the blessing of God has attended this mode of instruction, to the hopeful conversion of the teachers and the taught. The monthly concert of prayer is generally attended through the Presbyterian church and the other churches connected with the General Assembly; and it is found that this extensive union of prayer for the influences of the Holy Spirit upon the church of Christ, and the gospel of salvation, appears to be attended with the special blessing of God. Additions have been made during the last year, to the churches from which reports have been received, of seven thousand one hundred and eighty-six souls. To many of these the Lord manifested himself, not 'in the great and strong wind, which rent the moun-

tains, and brake in pieces the rocks,' but in 'the still small voice.' They were the fruits of the *ordinary* operations of the Spirit in the world; which, though not called revivals, afford a gradual accession to the church, of such as we trust shall be saved, and for which we owe to God our gratitude. But the most of that number, are the fruits of such numerous, extensive, and blessed outpourings of the Spirit of God during the past year, as the assembly has never before had the opportunity to record." [pp. 1—3.]

Into the particulars of these revivals we do not enter; because, at so great a distance from the scene of their exhibition, they can possess comparatively but little interest; most sincerely, however, do we hope that they may be permanent, as they appear to have been impressive, and, in the estimation of the General Assembly, to have been attended by the desirable evidence of 'bringing forth fruits unto holiness, and meet for repentance.' That there is, in all such cases, danger, and great danger of being led away by feelings violent, but transient in their operation, no one who has marked the progress of occurrences of a similarly extraordinary nature amongst certain of our English sects, to whom they are more particularly confined than is the case in America, can for a moment doubt; and the following judicious remarks in the narrative before us, satisfy us that our transatlantic brethren are at once aware of the fact, and anxious to prevent its abuse:—

"While the Assembly unfeignedly rejoice in these and other signal revivals of religion, and earnestly ~~pray~~ for still more rich manifestations of Divine grace to all the churches, they are convinced that the principal hopes of the church of God must rest on the ordinary operations of the Divine Spirit accompanying the appointed means of grace. The Lord has promised, that the humble, the faithful, and prayerful exertions of his ministers and people, shall never be without his blessing; yet He has reserved to himself the prerogative of watering his churches with copious showers, as He in his wisdom sees fit." [p. 6.]

Most cordially do we rejoice in the encouraging prospects derivable from the present state of the American colleges, and as entirely do we join in the hopes and the anticipations of the ministers under whose general superintendence the theological departments of many of them are placed, expressed in the following closing paragraphs of the narrative to which we have just referred:—

"In addition to these wonderful and heart-cheering events, for which the assembly offer unto the one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, their united and hearty thanks, they rejoice that they are

also able to inform the churches, that the state of religion, in the different colleges within our bounds, and the bounds of those who are connected with us, is most encouraging. There are about 40 hopefully pious youths in Union College, Schenectady; in the college at Princeton there are 25; in Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, there are about 70; in Jefferson college, Pennsylvania, and the University of North Carolina, there are several more; in Yale college, at New Haven, there are about 90; and in Hamilton college 48, professors of religion. The hope that most of these will probably devote themselves to the service of God, in the Gospel of his Son, affords a most pleasing prospect to the American churches. The theological seminary at Andover contains 112 students, and is in a flourishing condition. The foreign mission school at Cornwall, in Connecticut, contains more than 30 pupils, who speak eleven different languages, a number of whom are hopefully pious. The theological seminary at Princeton, under the care of the General Assembly, continues to enjoy the smiles of Divine Providence. It contains at present 73 students, among whom the spirit of missions is increasing. From these fountains of sacred learning, we trust many streams will soon issue to gladden the city of our God; and that when the cry of the vacant congregations within our bounds, and from other destitute parts of our country and of the world, for help, shall reach the ears of these pious youth; and especially when they hear the interrogation of their Lord and Master, 'saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' they may all answer in the spirit of Isaiah, 'Here am I, Lord, send me.'

"With this retrospect of the past, and these animating prospects of the future, we close our narrative of the state of religion within our bounds:—hoping that those evils which exist, either among professing Christians or others, may excite suitable humiliation before God; that Christians, and Christian ministers, will be found more engaged at a throne of grace, and follow their prayers with corresponding endeavours, for the advancement of the interests and the extension of the limits of the Redeemer's kingdom. We have, Christian brethren, the greatest cause for gratitude, and the greatest encouragement to persevere. We have the promise, that in the latter day Israel shall blossom and bud; that its boughs shall be sent out to the sea, and its branches to the river; that it shall spread itself like a goodly cedar, and be a dwelling-place to the fowl of every wing. The Lord shall build up Zion, and comfort all her waste places. He will make the wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord: joy and gladness shall be found therein; thanksgiving and the voice of melody. I the Lord will hasten it in his time. Animated by these precious and faithful promises of God, continue your prayers and exertions; and then may we confidently hope, that ignorance, and vice, and delusion, will be banished from our borders, and that these and other clogs

being removed from its wheels, the Redeemer's chariot will soon ride in majesty and triumph over this western world.

"Amen; even so, come, Lord Jesus: come, quickly." [pp. 6—8.]

Of the seminary at Andover, we have received some further particulars in a letter dated the 10th of June last, from the Rev. Moses Stuart, one of its theological professors, with some of the after productions of whose pen we hope, at an early opportunity, to make our readers acquainted.

"We have now," he writes, "4 professors; about 120 students in divinity; 3 buildings, each 100 feet in length, and 4 stories high; 5500 volumes in our library, and about 250,000 dollars funds. This is a good beginning, for 12 years. Several other seminaries of a similar nature are rising up in our country; and the whole course of theological study is becoming more thorough, and more 'biblical.' Only four or five individuals have bestowed all the munificence which I have just mentioned."

Another portion of his letter we gladly extract, and shall be most happy in devoting some of our pages to the hints of any of our correspondents, English or American, for the furtherance of the object to which our attention is there invited.

"Cannot some way be devised, in which the Congregational churches in N. England should have some better knowledge of your churches, and your churches of ours; and a co-operation in some of the great plans of Christian benevolence be produced? We are part of your flesh and bones,—allied in blood, habits, language, literature, and religion. If any parts of the globe, separated by nature, should have frequent and friendly intercourse, it is the dissenters (Congregationalists and Presbyterians) in England and N. England, who, are of one heart and one soul."

In conducting our work, we profess not, however, to know, and trust that we do not know, any distinctions of sect or party in those who are agreed in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion; and we shall, therefore, as readily promote the intercourse of the Episcopalians of our country and of America, as we shall do that of the various denominations of dissenters. Happy, indeed, shall we esteem ourselves in being the instruments of promoting in any measure a better understanding than has hitherto existed between the descendants from one common stock, nations using but one language, and professing, under like modifications of sects and parties, the same common faith.

From another very valued correspondent, Dr. Ezra Styles Ely, we have received the first five Numbers of a new

periodical publication commenced at Philadelphia with the beginning of this present year, under the title of "The Presbyterian Magazine." It is conducted by twelve ministers of the church whose name it bears, and amongst them by Drs. Janeway, Wilson, Banks, Brodhead, Wylie, Neill, and Ely, who appear each of them to have furnished the work with some valuable papers, with selections from which we may, perhaps, from time to time enrich our pages. At present, we shall content ourselves with extracting some statistical notices furnished by the valuable correspondent last named, and who, with his wonted zeal, ranks with the ablest and most indefatigable contributors to this new work.

"The city and county of Philadelphia contained, in 1810, a population of 111,210. By the census of 1820, it appears that our population amounts to 133,273; so that in ten years, the increase has been 25,063 persons. The total of the city population, between Vine and Cedar streets, and between the Delaware and Schuylkill, is 63,695; of which 54,919 are whites, and 7,883 blacks. We have but *one slave* in the city.

"The population of Maine, in 1800, was 151,719; in 1810, it amounted to 223,705; giving an increase of 71,986; and in 1820, to 297,839; giving an increase in the last ten years of 74,124, and a total increase in twenty years of 146,110.

"The state of New Hampshire, in 1810, contained 214,342 inhabitants; and, in 1820, according to the census, 244,161 persons; giving an increase of 29,819 in ten years.

"Massachusetts contains, by the late census, upwards of 525,000 inhabitants. In 1810, the population was 472,000; increase in ten years, 53,000, or more than 11 per cent.

"The state of Maryland, in 1810, contained 380,556; and in 1820, her population amounted to 407,300.

"The district of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1810, contained a population of 63,179 souls, and in 1820, of 80,212; giving an increase, in ten years, of 17,033 persons."

"By the census of 1820, the state of Delaware contains 72,749 inhabitants; which gives an increase of only 75 souls for the last ten years. This is undoubtedly owing to the continual emigration from the two lower counties of this little republic to the western states.

"The population of Missouri, of every class, amounts to 66,607.

"In 1810, Indiana contained 24,000 inhabitants; and in 1820, the census gives 147,000; making an increase, in ten years, of 600 per cent."

"The number of churches and meeting-houses, of every description, in the city and county of Philadelphia, amount, according to the best of my knowledge, to 70. Upon an average, these will not contain more than 1000 persons each; so that, were every place of

public worship full, not more than 70,000 people could attend divine service at a time. Generally, however, they are not more than half full; so that the number of persons actually present in the churches and meeting-houses at one time, would not probably exceed 35,000. At least 63,273 could not be accommodated, under present circumstances, if they would; and 98,273 are absent from public worship, at a fair calculation, on ordinary occasions. Let us suppose half of this last number to consist of little children, nurses, invalids, or persons necessarily detained at home; and then it will appear, that 49,136 persons, within the city and county of Philadelphia, are living in utter and criminal neglect of the duties of public worship. Let us suppose that the communicants in the 70 places of worship will average at 250; which is certainly a larger allowance than truth would justify; and that will give 17,500 professors of the religion of Jesus. The non-communicants will amount to 115,773; and if we deduct, for children, idiots, and insane persons, one-half, it will leave 57,886, who do not publicly profess to be sincere Christians. Let us deduct 886, as the number which may be truly pious, without having come to the Lord's table; and we shall then have 57,000 fellow-citizens among us who are without excuse, without hope, without God, and without Christ, in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. Should we not be importunate in prayer for their salvation?

"The *Christian Watchman*, a Baptist magazine, published in Boston, gives the following statement of the number of religious societies in Massachusetts:—

Congregationalists	372
Baptists	153
Methodists	67
Friends	39
Episcopalians.....	22
Universalists	23
Presbyterians	10
Roman Catholic.....	1
Freewill Baptists.....	5
Sandemanian	1
Shakers	4
Swedenborgian	1

From New York, we rejoice to learn that there is reason to expect, ere long, the appearance of the literary remains of the interesting author of *Yamoden*, noticed with merited approbation in our fourth Number. The task of preparing them for the press will, in all probability, be undertaken by a younger brother of Mr. Eastburn, in whose steps he is treading in his preparation for the same sacred calling,—though

for years of usefulness in it, we would hope, and the same early maturity of talent, but not for the same early tomb.

It is with sentiments of the deepest regret that we close our American Intelligence for the present Number,—the space which we can allot to it being completely filled before a fourth part of our materials are exhausted—as we had to close our first with a melancholy account of the state of Dr. Mason's health, contained in the following afflicting communication from one of his friends and hearers, dated 'New York, 9th May 1821 :—

"I am sorry to tell you, that our excellent Dr. Mason has again declined in his health. Through the whole winter he continued to discharge his public duties with his usual talent, and nearly his usual vigour. His memory, however, was so defective as to compel him to write and read one sermon each Sabbath, though he delivered his morning lectures even without the help of notes of any kind. We were pleasing ourselves with the belief, that he was gradually recovering, when a slight paralytic attack once more prostrated our hopes. Last Sunday he commenced his lecture on 2 Pet. ii., but was unable to proceed through the service. The sight was one of the most painful which I have ever witnessed. To see a man of his gigantic mind, struggling against disease, and almost compelling it to stand off;—to contemplate talents of the first order, consecrated to the best of causes, groaning to be delivered;—to behold one on whose lips so many thousands had for 25 years been hanging with mute admiration,—one whose eloquence seemed frequently to be inspired as with a live coal from the heavenly altar;—to see such a man in the sacred desk, still attempting to proclaim his Master's honours, at once prostrated, and apparently silenced,—made weak even as the infant,—was a sight too much for my feeble frame: nor was there one in the assembly who did not unite in sympathy. He has since considerably recovered, and hopes, by a journey in the country for a time, to be again able to resume his duties. But I confess that my hopes are now very faint; as these frequent attacks will so much debilitate his system, as to endanger in one of them a sudden dissolution. To God I feel I can commit this dear, this highly gifted pastor. But with him, whenever called home, there will indeed a great man fall in Israel."

More recent communications from the same city, one of them, indeed, from the same correspondent, down to the 9th of June, are altogether silent upon this subject; and though they are much hastier ones than that from which we quote, we are willing, from this circumstance, to anticipate the best, and to hope, for the sake of his flock, his country, and the Christian church at large, that many, very many years of usefulness yet lie before this valuable servant of the Lord, ere he is summoned from his labours to his rest.

POETRY.

THE DEATH OF MUNGO PARK.

By the Author of "Aonian Hours," "Julia Alpinula," &c.

(Continued from vol. iii. p. 184.)

XXX.

ALL night the great adventurer spread his sail,
 To woo the impulse of the freshening gale,
 If, lingering there, to-morrow's sun may see
 Him doomed to death, or worse captivity.
 But whilst the meanest of his band is blest
 With peaceful slumbers, and the dews of rest,
 His wearied, yet unclosing eye must bear
 Perpetual vigils, and unceasing care;
 Till in a safer region he may sheathe
 The sword that evil day hath stained with death.
 Ever as on he bears, sublimer swells
 The mountain-scene,—on alpine pinnacles
 The midnight cloud in solemn grandeur rests,
 Swathing as with a shroud their giant crests.
 These by the river rise: a night of woods
 Girdles their waist, their savage base the floods;
 There the fierce vulture whets his beak, and there
 The lion and the wolf have made their lair,
 Oft swelling, as the voyager shoots by,
 Their fearful howl, and long lamenting cry.
 All bears the stamp of wildness—from the rock
 That bathes its crag in Heaven, as if to mock
 The lightning and far gathering thunder shock—
 And those stupendous forests, which become
 The eagle's desolate haunt and cradling home,—
 On to the shrinking precipice, whose frown
 Throws on the rushing wave such blackness down,
 And chilness such as winter's breath might blow
 From alpine heights, cased in perpetual snow.
 The rock, and precipice, and deep ravine,
 Horrid with night, and woods that lower between,
 No human eye, save his, perchance, hath seen,
 Since their original chaos, when to life
 They leapt, and blended in harmonious strife.
 Save his, perchance, no other ear hath heard
 The echoing scream of the sun-soaring bird,
 Nor howl of stern hyænas; nor the yell
 Voiced by the angry wolf, night's sentinel,
 In such a fearful solitude, where sound
 Deepens the absorbing silence around.

XXXI.

Grey with the silver line of light which breaks
 The horizon's misty edge, the morn awakes,
 Chases from nature's brow the gloom of grief,
 And breathes a stirring life in every leaf.
 Her rosy hues already light the crag;
 Her breath unfolds the lilies of the flag;
 Which, cherish'd by the tremulous visitings
 Of winds and gentle waves, abroad their fragrance flings.
 The long, the mountainous defile is past —
 Haoussa! thy upland heights appear at last:
 Grateful as seem those verdant isles to lie,
 Girt by the burning sands of Araby, (17)
 When, parched with thirst, Medina's pilgrim views
 Their date trees dripping with balsamic dews,
 And, hastening to the far discovered wells,
 Blesses each odoriferous breeze that swells
 The lively tinkling of his camel-bells.
 Here may the anxious pilot find awhile
 Refuge from danger — a repose from toil;
 Whilst the loud storm that on his footsteps hung,
 Ceases the distant cliffs and woods among,
 Himself unquelled — as stands the marble rock
 That firmly bears, but bends not to the shock
 Of ocean's multitudinous waves, beat back
 In foam, and murmuring in their vain attack.
 Here, spread from many a cliff 'twixt earth and sky,
 The broad banana's leafy canopy, (18)
 Circling round grots hung o'er with mossy greens,
 In noontide hours his rocking vessel screens;
 And frequent yields, to fan his fevered brow,
 Startling the near gazelle, its holy bough.
 But when the sun sinks from his zenith — soon
 As breaks the wild bird's wing the hush of noon —
 With the first stirring breeze that breathes upon
 His pillared tent — its visitant is gone;
 Just heard the gliding of his prow; the dip
 Of his swift oar, — the message of his lip
 Which speeds his duteous band; one minute bright
 With rippling waves, and their reflected light, —
 And settled loneliness again pervades
 The caverned rocks, and their sequestered shades.
 Thus, day by day, secluded — he will guide
 His pilgrim-bark, — and at dim eventide,
 When zephyrs curl the illumined tide no more,
 And weary wear the arms which grasp the oar,
 The light sail furl, and, anchoring, seem to be
 Of that lone strand the tutelary Deity;

And with the saffron morn again pursue
The chase of waves, with glory in his view,
Whispering his little port a slight adieu.

XXXII.

“ Blue midnight! and the waters calm and clear—
The sevenfold Pleiades sparkle in their sphere,
And high Orion in his noon of light,
Girdled with gems! O, what has wild affright
With your sweet influence?—away, away,
Unreal powers! I stoop not to your sway.
Yet wore those seeming shadows of dismay
Mysterious aspect;—the dark Fates, methought,
Stood round my couch, and, as I slumbered, wrought,
Each after each, the web whose wizard thread
Is twined in fearfulness, and scarfs the dead:
And fiery visages were instant seen;
And figured shapes of all unearthly mien
Pointed their airy finger, one by one,
To curtained wrath, and a descending sun!
Was it indeed a vision which rung out
That savage threat, and such tumultuous shout?
I knew not—for a darkness smote my brain;
And my heart heaved with unaccustomed pain.
Seemed to my dizzy thought that the pent wave
Of some tempestuous flood, ’twixt rock and cave,
Struggled for mastery of its course: a sound
Of whirlwinds, and lamenting shrieks around,
Rose to the stars; and this diurnal ball
Reel’d from its base:—I wake—’tis fancy all.
There are the hills, and heavens; my dream’s despair,
So calm they lie—hath left no vestige there!
Yet some would deem the visionary loom
Presage and token of impending doom:
Enough! nor chanted rite, nor breathed spell,
Guides the high Power, who doeth all things well.”

XXXIII.

He paused—he turned—and of his slumbering train
Awakened one he ne’er shall wake again;
The trusty guide, who speeds, his duty done,
For far Bambarra with the morrow’s sun.
His lamp is lit; the fond lines which his pen
Last evening traced, will win his gaze again,
Ere yet, to tenderness and love resigned,
He seals that latest message of his mind.
That pictured speech, where beam beyond control
The deep—the powerful yearnings of his soul.

The voice of hope to absent Beauty given (19),
 Through gushing grief; and blessings called from heaven;
 To heaven submission; and the fortitude
 That lights up danger in her darkest mood,
 All hoping — all sustaining: and the prayer
 Of meek devotion,—all are mingling there.
 He may no more: night wanes; his beckoned guide
 Awaits his parting mandate at his side.
 “These to the first slatee whom chance may bring
 To Sego’s stately mosques, or Sansanding:
 Bid him the sacred tribute to convey
 To vessel anchored in the quiet bay,
 Beneath the Lion Mounts, or at Goree,
 Whose chief will well reward his trust: for thee
 The plighted meed receive; I may not dwell
 On all my mind presages: fare thee well!
 Yet stay! hast thou one dear, confiding heart,
 Life of thy life, and of thy being part—
 Whose lip will chide the tardy hours, till thou
 Art given again to her impassioned vow?
 And hast thou cherub forms, young, innocent,
 Who beam a beauty round their mother’s tent?
 Whose little hearts will overflow with bliss,
 When thou return’st to greet them with a kiss?
 By these I do adjure thee; in their track
 Speed thou these letters — angels guard thee back!”

XXXIV.

“Tell me, mild priestess of the solemn night,
 Why speed so fast the footsteps of thy flight?
 Thy bright pursuer lingers far behind,
 His car unharnessed, his dull temples twined
 With wreath of poppy—lightly twinkle yet
 Those costly gems which grace thy coronet;
 Calm falls thy canopy of light beneath
 On woods that stir not—flowers that fear to breathe:
 And many a dreamer, lulled in deep repose,
 Would bless thy spell that robs him of his woes.
 Each tender cloud that flits before thy shrine,
 Dims but to make thy beauty more divine;
 Then wherefore wilt thou flee? does pain, too, steep
 Thy heart, and leave thee but the wish to weep?
 Are thy fair sisters fallen from their sphere,
 They who rejoiced thee in thy young career?
 Yes, they are fallen from heaven; and thou, mild power!
 Dost oft retire to mourn them in thy bower;
 The secret cell, where Joy is doomed to pay
 A long reversion for that yesterday,

Which, deeply shrouded in Oblivion's pall,
 Nor Morn awakens, nor can Heaven recall.
 Yes, fleeting messenger! by Fate's decree,
 Sick, care, and sadness, rule the night with thee;
 And mine the lot to watch thy stately head
 O'er the hushed living and unconscious dead,
 Till to the vigilance of Grief they break
 Their heavy bonds, and other semblance take
 Than what the grave permits. Brave spirits!—ye
 Who trod the thorny wilderness with me,
 In painful pilgrimage, and braved the worst
 Of ills, the lion's rage, the fever's thirst,—
 What had ye done that, perish'd, ye should have
 A garland only to adorn your grave (20)?
 The bitterness of life ye know not now;
 Each pang that racks the heart, and stamps the brow.
 In the proud lap of high adventure cast,
 Your first of storms and labours was your last;
 Whilst I, by toil and pain unwasted, stand
 On the far frontiers of an unknown land,
 Launching on unpathed waters, where no sail
 E'er in its ample canvass wooed the gale;
 Where never Science shot one brightening ray,
 And tribes lurk round to ambush and to slay.
 Haply the woes which sunk you to the tomb
 Were but the shadow of my woes to come!
 Yet will I on;—though the hot Simoom's breath
 Burn round my path, and blight the clime with death,
 Still the light blossoms of the date behold,
 Bowers whose ripe fruits are brightening into gold;
 Still from these rocks their summer foliage break,
 Though curls amid the boughs the gazing snake;
 Trace by the sparkling river, or deep dell,
 The airy fleetness of the dear gazelle;
 Still on the morning wave the Lotus view,
 Or white as snow, or purpling with its hue
 The sunny stream; o'er which the west winds sigh,
 And the wave worships as it glideth by.
 Noon's silent radiance, eve-tide's murmuring horn,
 Night's dewy march, and twilight-cinctured Morn,
 Each in its train some charm to feeling bring;
 The hum of bees, the wild bird's crimson wing,
 Or passionate breath of winds, whose redolence
 Seems borrowed from the white musk-rose which scents
 Tunisian valleys; or the rich perfumes
 Jurjura gales waft from the orange blooms (21).
 Still may my keel along the Niger glide,
 Till all uncurtained be the expansive tide;

Though there the angry Spirit of the Cape
 Transfer his curse, and rear his threatening shape—
 Though on its fatal wave, my latest groan,
 I heave in death, unheard, unwept, unknown (22): —
 Enough! that I can bear, and brave the weight
 Of peril, doubt, and dread, and can create
 In darkest hours some joy, however brief,
 To quell the active tyranny of grief."

NOTES.

Note (17) Page 400, Line 11, 12.

" Grateful as seem those verdant isles to lie,
 Girt by the burning sands of Araby."

The Oases of the Desert.

Note (18) Page 400, Line 26, 27.

" Here, spread from many a cliff, 'twixt earth and sky,
 The broad banana's leafy canopy."

The pisango, or banana, flourishes more generally in the regions of the western coast, than in the interior of the country; but I do not know that it is not indigenous in these parts. It was said by Mungo Park, that the cocoa-nut was not a native of the interior; yet the Narrative afterwards published of Adams's captivity at Tombuctoo, would induce the belief, that in some situations beyond the point which the former traveller reached in his first expedition, it has planted itself, and flourishes; as does, probably, also the banana. The *licentia poetica* will, at least, authorize its introduction here.

Note (19) Page 402, Line 1.

" The voice of hope to absent Beauty given."

I need offer no apology for inserting here a letter which this enterprising, but unfortunate, traveller addressed to his wife, previous to his leaving Sansanding. It is an interesting composition, and was the last which she received from him. It is supposed, that immediately after writing it, he set sail for the interior; since which time no tidings of him, from his own hand, have reached England. There is a tone of tender, yet subdued, melancholy in it, indicating somewhat of a mind weighed down by sadness, from the loss of his companions; and, perhaps, with discouragements, which he would not should be known; mingled with an amiable solicitude, "lest that his look of grief should reach her heart," which must endear him to our affections, and touch every heart of sensibility:—

" TO MRS. PARK.

" Sansanding, 19th November, 1805.

" It grieves me to the heart to write any thing that may give you uneasiness; but such is the will of Him who *doeth all things well!* Your brother Alexander, my dear friend, is no more! He died of the fever at Sansanding, on the morning of the 28th of October; for particulars I must refer you to your father.

" I am afraid that, impressed with a woman's fears, and the anxieties of a wife, you may be led to consider my situation as a great deal worse than it really is. It is true my dear friends, Mr. Anderson and George Scott, have both bid adieu to the things of this world; and the greater part of the soldiers have died on the march during the rainy season: but, you may believe me, I am in good health. The rains are completely over; another healthy season has commenced, so that there is no danger of sickness; and I have still a sufficient force to protect me from any insult in sailing down the river to the sea.

" We have already embarked all our things, and shall sail the moment I have finished this letter. I do not intend to stop or land any where, till we reach the coast; which, I suppose, will be some time in the end of January. We shall then embark in the first vessel for England. If we have to go round by the West Indies, the voyage will occupy three months longer; so that we expect to be in England on the 1st of May. The reason of our delay since we left the coast was the rainy season, which came on us during the journey; and almost all the soldiers became affected with the fever.

" I think it not unlikely but I shall be in England before you receive this. You may be sure that I feel happy at turning my face towards home. We this morning have done with all intercourse with the natives, and the sails are now hoisting for our departure to the coast."

Note (20) Page 403, Line 13, 14.

" What had ye done that, perished, ye should have
A garland only to adorn your grave?"

Speaking of the death of Walters, one of the party who accompanied him in his overland journey to the Niger, Mungo Park pathetically says: " We dug his grave with our swords in the howling wilderness, and a few withered branches were the only laurels that covered the tomb of the brave."

Note (21) Page 403, Line 42—46.

—————" The wild bird's crimson wing,
Or passionate breath of winds, whose redolence
Seems borrowed from the white musk-rose which scents
Tunisian valleys, or the rich perfumes
Jurjura winds breathe from her orange blooms."

The *Musophaga*, or plantain eater, is a beautiful and rare bird, found near the borders of the African rivers. It is of a fine violet colour; with a large patch of deep crimson on each wing. It is said to live chiefly on the fruit of the *genus Musa*, or plantain tree. " The valleys in North Africa are profuse of beauty and fragrance; besides the bay, the myrtle, the pomegranate, the olive, the jasmine, and oleander, which are common both to Africa and the south of Europe, we find here, in a truly wild state, the Aleppo pine, the red juniper, the date palm, the pistachia, the orange, and, superior even to the orange blossom in odour, the white musk-rose." (PINKERTON, vol. ii. p. 737.) Jurjura is the name of a chain of mountains, the loftiest in Barbary, running in a south-west direction in the province of Algiers, and connecting with Mount Atlas.

Note (22) Page 404, Line 3, 4.

" Though on its fatal wave, my latest groan
I heave in death, unheard, unwept, unknown."

"Though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would, at last, die on the Niger."—*Letter to Earl CAMDEN.*

[To be continued.]

PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Unicorn discovered.—Major Latter, commanding in the rajah of Sikkim's territories, in the hilly country east of Nepaul, has addressed to adjutant-general Nicol a letter, in which he states that the unicorn, so long considered as a fabulous animal, actually exists at this moment in the interior of Thibet, where it is well known to the inhabitants. "This," says the major, "is a very curious fact, and it may be necessary to mention how the circumstance became known to me. In a Thibetian manuscript, containing the names of different animals, which I procured the other day from the hills, the unicorn is classed under the head of those whose hoofs are divided; it is called the one-horned *ts'o'po*. Upon inquiring what kind of animal it was, to our astonishment the person who brought me the manuscript described exactly the unicorn of the ancients; saying, that it was a native of the interior of Thibet, about the size of a *tattoo*, (a horse from twelve to thirteen hands high,) fierce and extremely wild; seldom, if ever, caught alive, but frequently shot; and that the flesh was used for food. The person who gave me this information, has repeatedly seen these animals, and eaten the flesh of them. They go together in herds, like our wild buffaloes, and are very frequently to be met with on the borders of the great Desert, about a month's journey from Lassa, in that part of the country inhabited by the wandering Tartars." This communication is accompanied by a drawing made by the messenger from recollection; it bears some resemblance to a horse, but has cloven hoofs, a long curved horn growing out of the forehead, and a boar-shaped tail, like that of the "*fera monoceros*," described by Pliny. From its herding together, as the unicorn of the Scriptures is said to do, as well as from the rest of the description, it is evident that it cannot be the rhinoceros, which is a solitary animal; besides, major Latter states, that in the Thibetian manuscript, the rhinoceros is described under the name of *Servo*, and classed with the elephant: "Neither," says he, "is it the wild horse, (well known in Thibet,) for that has also a different name, and is classed in the MS. with the animals which have the hoofs undivided. I have written," he subjoins, "to the Sachia Lama, requesting him to procure me a perfect skin of the animal, with the head, horn, and hoofs; but it will be a long time before I can get it down, for they are not to be met with nearer than a month's journey from Lassa."

Etna and Vesuvius.—A letter from Palermo says, that the academy of that city has sent some persons to Mount Etna, who affirm, that while they stood on the crater of that volcano, they heard from it the thundering of the late eruption of Mount Vesuvius; which gives room to conjecture, that these two volcanoes have some subterraneous connexion with each other.

Sagacity of a Dog.—A farmer near Albany, (in America) was lately attacked with insanity; and, in a fit of this dreadful malady, attempted to

put an end to his existence. Every precaution to prevent such a catastrophe was adopted by his afflicted family; but one morning he escaped from the house, taking with him a razor. His relations used every effort to discover him, but in vain. The dog of the unfortunate man quitted the house shortly after his master, and remained absent. This circumstance was regarded as a certain proof that the master was dead, and that the dog had remained by the body. At night, to the surprise and joy of the family, the two fugitives returned. The man, whose fit of insanity had left him, stated, that he was joined by his dog at the moment when he was about to cut his throat, when the faithful animal caught hold of his arm and prevented it. The same thing was repeated several times with success, and towards night, when his mental derangement had completely left him, the grateful master caressed his dog, and returned with him to cheer his desponding family.

Mermaid.—Some time since a mermaid arrived in the Thames, on-board the *Borneo*, Ross, from Bencoolen; it is of the class denominated *Mammalia*, erroneously called mermaid, or maid of the sea; has since been deposited in the Surgeons' Museum; it is about eight feet in length, and bears a strong resemblance to the common seal. There is also a young female, of the same species, in the same museum. The fins terminate internally in a structure like the human hand; the breasts of the female are very prominent, and in suckling its young, not only this appearance, but their situation on the body, must cause that extraordinary phenomenon which has led to the popular belief. In other respects the face is far from looking like that of the human race, and the long hair is entirely wanted.

Botanic Garden at Glasgow.—A valuable assortment of succulent plants, consisting of 400 species, many of them extremely curious and rare, has recently been presented to the Botanic Garden at Glasgow, which was before one of the finest collections in the kingdom.

Improvement in Gunpowder.—M. Warnhagen has discovered that sawdust, especially of wood of the softest kinds, mixed with gunpowder in equal shares, triples the force of the powder. It is intended to be used for the blowing up of rocks.

Effect of Hot Water in Reviving Flowers.—If flowers, which have been twenty-four hours out of water, and are decayed, are plunged into hot water, as the water gradually cools they become quite fresh again. This fact, which many denied until they tried it, has long been familiar to those who live in the vicinity of hot springs; and who have remarked, that decayed flowers plunged into the waters of the springs, become again fresh and beautiful.

Hydrogen Gas.—Mr. Cooper has lately discovered a curious property in this gas: If the lips be applied to a gasometer for a short time, it has the singular effect of changing the voice. This is observed immediately the person who has inhaled the gas leaves the vessel; its effect, however, is for but a short time.

Straw Ropes Conductors of Electricity.—M. M. Capestolle, a French professor of chemistry, affirms, that a rope of straw will form an excellent conductor for lightning, and supply the place of metallic conductors.

Provisions rendered Incorruptible; Vessel not Submersible.—M. de Boucher, a Frenchman by birth; counsellor of state to his majesty the emperor of Russia, has discovered a method of rendering the provisions intended for victualling ships absolutely incorruptible. This discovery has been approved by the Economical Society, and by a committee of physicians. A gold medal has been decreed to him. The same gentleman has also presented to the Economical Society, the model of a vessel that cannot sink, which has been greatly commended by a practical ship-builder.

New Mode of Preservation from Drowning.—A writer in a Liverpool paper makes mention of the following very simple method of preserving persons in the water from drowning: Take a silk handkerchief, and placing it on the ground, place a hat in the centre, with the crown upwards in the ordinary position of wearing, and gather up the corners, giving them a twist to keep them more securely together. Any one may then venture into the water without being in any fear of the drowning person taking hold of him, as the quantity of air in the hat is sufficient to support two persons; or it might be advisable to place the corners of the handkerchief in the hands of the person drowning, who would thus be kept floating, and easily conveyed to the side.

New Printing Press.—Mr. Hellfarth, a printer at Erfurt, has invented a press to print eight sheets at a time. This machine, which may be made of any size, supplies 7,000 copies of each sheet in twelve hours, making 56,000 sheets printed on both sides. The machine is put in motion by one horse; and three men are sufficient to supply it with sheets, and take them away. Each sheet perfects itself.

Luminous Direction Posts.—Mr. H. Harvey, of Wickham Keith, has prepared a model for direction posts, the letters being so painted as to be legible in the night time, and retaining that property for several years.

Perambulator.—Mr. Pritty has invented a machine for measuring distances with the greatest accuracy, and upon an entirely new principle. It may be affixed to a gig, or any other carriage, or to a wheel for running by hand. The distance is not marked by an index, like the hand of a clock on a circular superficies; but the number of miles, of furlongs, and of rods, is shown in a line, by proper figures, in their proper places. These figures are constantly changing of course, as the machine is moved either backward or forward. The machinery, which is so simple that it cannot be out of order for many years, will measure a distance of 100 miles before it recommences its work.

Nautical Improvements.—A simple mechanical apparatus, to impel boats instead of oars, has lately been employed on the Thames, and appears equally eligible for canal conveyance. It consists of the machinery of steam vessels, but the moving power is the hand applied to a windlass. Boats have been used on this principle with success, between London and Greenwich. The labour is less than that of oars, and the impulse of the boat through the water is much increased in swiftness. Though we consider this a very judicious mode of employing a rotatory motion to impel vessels on a small scale, it possesses no merit on the score of novelty, engravings of a similar apparatus being to be found in *Leopoldo Theatrum Machinarum*, and other scientific works of a very early period.

Roman Antiquities near Tynemouth.—A short time since the lower part of the horn of a deer of extraordinary size was dug up in the grounds at Campville, South Preston, near Tynemouth. Mr. Fenwick, the proprietor, had ordered a well to be filled up, first removing the walling stones. Considerably in the earth, near the stones, the remains of this large antler were found in the north-east angle of the Roman camp, called, in Brand, *Blake Chesters*, and referred to by Camden as one of the oblong squares (*Blake Chesters* being the principal) running in a zigzag style from *Segedunum* (Wallsend) to Tynemouth. Sacrifices of wild animals to the gods were frequently made in those stations; and some faint tradition yet remains of a temple to Diana, or some heathen deity, having stood at Middle Chirton, the western side of this camp, or chain of forts. The head of an ancient spear was recently dug up in the same site.

Relics of Charles I.—The sheet which received the head of Charles I.,

after his decapitation, is carefully preserved, along with the communion plate, in the church of Ashburnham, in Sussex; the blood, with which it has been almost entirely covered, now appears nearly black. The watch of the unfortunate monarch is also deposited with the linen, the movements of which are still perfect. These relics came into the possession of lord Ashburnham immediately after the death of the king.

The Statue of Memnon.—The Russian ambassador at the court of Rome, has received a letter from Sir A. Smith, an English traveller, who is at present at the Egyptian Thebes. He states, that he has himself examined the celebrated statue of Memnon, accompanied by a numerous escort. At six o'clock in the morning he heard very distinctly the sound so much spoken of in former times, and which had been generally treated as fabulous. "One may," he says, "assign to this phenomenon a thousand different causes, before it could be supposed to be simply the result of a certain arrangement of the stones." The statue of Memnon was overturned by an earthquake, and it is from the pedestal that this mysterious sound is emitted, of which the cause has never been ascertained, and which was denied merely because it was inexplicable.

British Antiquities.—In removing the library, and clearing away the floor and book-cases, that have long incumbered the Lady Chapel of Exeter Cathedral, a discovery has been made of two ancient tombs. The sculpture of both is early. They are placed in Gothic niches of much later date; and appear to be the lids only of sarcophagi, and to have been removed from some other station to that which they now occupy. The material is the Purbeck marble. The most ancient of them is ornamented with the figure of a prelate with a depressed mitre, a beard and mustachios; the two first fingers of the right hand pointing upwards, in the act of benediction; in the left hand is a crosier. In spandrels, above the head, are on each side cherubs. The feet of the figure and the crosier rest on two birds, which terminate in the centre with a single head, the face of which is human. The sides and ends are wrought into wide flutes, without fillets, like the fluting of the Doric column; the front is placed parallel with the niche, and the upper corner of the lid at the back inserted four or five inches into the wall. This tomb is on the north side of the chapel: the other is placed in a niche on the south side, immediately opposite. This has likewise the figure of a prelate, carved in good style, and in much higher relief than the former. The arms and hands are placed in easy and natural positions on the body, over the staff of the crosier; the head, or crook, is defaced. The mitre of this figure is of a more recent form than the other; the feet rest on a chimera, carved in a style of spirit and beauty that would do honour to a period of more refined art.

Cleopatra's Needle.—This celebrated monument of antiquity has been presented to his Britannic majesty, by the pacha of Egypt, and is expected to arrive shortly from Alexandria. It is intended to be set up in Waterloo Place, opposite Carlton Palace. The weight of the column is about 200 tons, the diameter at the pedestal is 7 feet. This magnificent column was obtained through the influence of S. Briggs, Esq., the British resident at Grand Cairo, with the pacha of Egypt.

Prevention of Contagion.—Gauze veils, on the principles of Davy's safety lamp, have been recommended by Mr. Bartlett, as preservatives from contagion. This is a point of so much importance to humanity, that we hope the efficacy of the recommendation will be tried by the most critical experiments.

Cheap Mode of Preserving Anatomical Preparations.—It has been usual to employ, for this purpose, spirits of wine, somewhat above proof, and

which costs 18 or 20s. a gallon. It has, however, been ascertained, by Mr. Cooke, of London, that a saturated solution of muriate of soda (common salt) answers the purpose equally well; and this solution, about three pounds of salt to the gallon, does not cost above 10d. per gallon. Mr. Cooke has received from the Society of Arts, for this discovery, the society's medal.

Sight Preservers.—A gentleman has invented a machine to take off the glare of white paper, or needle work; and which cools and softens the rays of light issuing from a lamp, or candle. It sheds a delicate tinge of green upon paper, or any other substance, placed within its influence; and renders print, however small, quite distinct by candlelight.

Spontaneous Separation of Warts.—In the New French Journal of Medicine, Dr. Cheneau relates the following singular case:—Numerous warty excrescences had long occupied the hands of a hysterical, highly susceptible lady, aged forty-four. On the night following the decease of her husband, an event by which she was deeply affected, they all separated, leaving the spots which they had occupied wrinkled, but without induration.

Succedaneum for Leeches.—M. Salandiere, physician, has invented an instrument to serve as a succedaneum for leeches. It possesses considerable advantages, measuring exactly the quantity of blood to be taken; causing the fluid to move with greater or less rapidity on a determinate scale, and producing an effect called by the physicians *resolving*, much superior to the leech. It has nothing to disgust, like those animals, excites little or no pain, and may be used in all countries, and at all seasons.

Sideographic Engraving.—The sideographic printing and engraving establishment of Messrs. Perkins, Fairman, and Heath, has been commenced in the house in Fleet Street, late Parker's glass manufactory; and, it is said, with every prospect of success. Already they have engaged to manufacture Bank notes, on their inimitable plan, for several Yorkshire, and other banks; and they are also preparing various engravings for popular books, all of which will have proof impressions, though tens of thousands are sold annually. Over and above these applications, they are making preparations to print cotton dresses, of greater beauty than ever were fabricated before. The merit of this invention consists in obtaining with great facility, from one engraving, any required number of plates, all of which are equal to the original, and by which millions of impressions may be produced; while, by the common process, one engraving produces only a few thousands. The process of multiplying engravings, etchings, or engine work, is as follows:—Steel blocks, or plates, of sufficient size to receive the intended engravings, have their surfaces softened, or decarbonated, and thereby rendered a better material for receiving all kinds of work, than even copper itself. After the intended engraving has been executed on the block, it is then hardened, with great care, by a new process, which prevents injury to the most delicate work. A cylinder of steel, previously softened, is then placed in the transferring press, and repeatedly passed over the engraved block, by which the engraving is transferred, in relief, to the periphery of the cylinder; the press having a vibrating motion, equalling that of the cylinder upon its periphery, by which new surfaces of the cylinder are presented, equal in extent to the engraving. This cylinder is then hardened, and employed to indent copper or steel plates with engravings identically the same with that upon the original block; and this may be repeated *ad infinitum*, as the original engraving will remain, from which other cylinders may be impressed if required. This invention promises to be of great advantage to some of our manufactures, particularly that of pottery, which may now be embellished

with beautiful engravings, so as to place the successful competition of other nations at a great distance. It may also be applied with great advantage to calico printing, by producing entire new patterns upon the cylinders from which they are printed, an object of great importance to our manufacturing interest; and to the production of highly finished engravings for all standard books; whilst, as a means of improving the taste of the rising generation, school books may be embellished with the best specimens of art, in place of the more humble wood-cuts that now adorn them. Engravings of greater size than can be transferred, are executed upon steel plates, which, when hardened, will print 200,000 perfect impressions.

Musical Invention.—M. Galin, a musical professor, has lately introduced, in Paris, a new instrument for teaching music, called the *meloplaste*. His method consists in making his pupils sing from a stave, without either clefs or notes, according to the movements of a portable rod. The *meloplaste* is now almost universally substituted for books of *Solfeggi*, which were formerly considered indispensable.

Polymorphoscope.—A small mirror, called by this name, is now made at Paris, which is said to reflect, not only the face of the lady who looks into it, but by means of painting, contrived in a curious manner, shows her in various kinds of dress and taste, so that she may see what becomes her best, and be guided accordingly in her choice.

Lithography.—This ingenious mode of multiplying graphic representations is, we are happy to find, making considerable progress in this country. A large and accurate chronological chart of the contemporary sovereigns of Europe, from 1060 to 1820, has been printed, which is supposed to be the largest and finest specimen of lithography that has yet appeared, and is entirely done on English stone.

New Bank-note Paper and Stamp.—Sir William Congreve has invented a new Bank-note paper and stamp, to prevent forgery of country notes. The paper, which is called triple paper, is coloured *throughout in the interior*, but not on the surface, and forms a brilliant and indelible water-mark. Every note of this triple paper is dipped *three times*, and couched *twice*, as it is technically termed, instead of only *one dipping and one couching*, as in the ordinary paper. The price is one-fourth more than common paper.

Method of Playing on the Violin and Violoncello, at the same time.—Mr. James Watson, a blind musician from Dundee, has invented a method, by which he can play upon these two instruments at once, with the greatest facility and correctness. He plays on the violin in the usual manner, and on the violoncello by means of his feet. His right foot goes in a sort of shoe at the end of the bow, and in consequence of his right thigh being supported by a spring attached to the chair in which he sits, he has the full command of his foot, without suffering any fatigue. By means of his left foot, he acts upon a sort of lever, by which he shortens the strings with great facility. Mr. Watson has frequently played, in this manner, thirteen and fourteen hours in one day, without any extraordinary fatigue.

Improved Mode of Printing Copper-Plates.—A late number of the *Annales de Chimie*, treating on the progress of French industry, announces a discovery by M. Gonord, by the adoption of which engraved plates of a large atlas size may be adapted to an edition in octavo, without any reduction of the copper from whence the impression is obtained.

New Lamp.—A new lamp has been invented by Mr. Parker, of Argyle Street, which removes a general objection to the lamps now in use. It casts no shadow, and can increase its light on the lower or upper part of the apartment at pleasure. Its application is either for reading, or general illumination.

Dying Cloth in the Piece.—It is universally known, that when cloth is dyed in the piece, the colour only fixes itself on the two surfaces, and hardly penetrates the middle of the cloth, so that when it is cut, the inner part appears white, or, at most, very faintly coloured, which is an incontestible proof that it has been dyed in a piece. Some colours, the cochineal scarlet for example, can only be properly given to the cloth after it is manufactured, because the operations of carding, spinning, and fulling, would destroy the beauty of the dye: on this account, the cochineal scarlet is the dye which sinks the least into the texture of the cloth, and shows the white seam very distinctly. The count de la Boulaye Marsillon, director and professor in the school of the Gobelins, has contrived a very simple and ingenious process for remedying this inconvenience. He supposes that the water, with which the cloth is soaked before it is immersed in the dye-vat, resists the introduction of the colouring matter within its fibres, and compels it to remain and be fixed on the surface. The author of this invention proceeds then in the following manner: he fixes at the bottom of the boiler a kind of rolling press, the two cylinders of which are parallel to each other, and of course are as long as the breadth of the cloth to be dyed, and may be fixed at any requisite distance from each other, according to the thickness of the cloth. The cylinders are entirely immersed in the colour bath. At opposite extremities of the boiler are fixed two winches, the axes of which are parallel to those of the cylinder. The piece of cloth is then wound round one of the winches, and is wound off to the other, passing in its way through the cylinders of the rolling press, which are set so close to each other, as to press the cloth considerably. This operation is continued backwards and forwards, from one winch to the other, till the dye is of sufficient intensity. The effect produced by this contrivance is obvious; the pressure of the cylinder forces out of the cloth the water which it had imbibed, and the colouring matter being instantly presented to it, meets with no obstacle to its thorough penetration.

Improved Cooking Apparatus.—M. Lanare, director of the Athenæum of Languages, has invented an utensil, which he calls *autoclave*. M. Lanare engages to dress his dinner in less than half an hour, and lately made the experiment with complete success before a numerous company. He had put into the vessel a piece of meat, vegetables, and as much water as is necessary for a dish for five persons. The vessel was placed over a fire, which was kept up by some pieces of charcoal. In twenty-six minutes the vessel was taken off, and left a few minutes to cool; and the reporter affirms, that the broth was excellent, and the meat thoroughly done. It is not necessary to open the pot to skim it, so much as once during the boiling; for at the end of the operation, the scum is found at the bottom of the vessel, and does not mix with the broth. The advantage of this *autoclavian* cookery are, 1st. That the soup is excellent, which is very natural, because the apparatus is hermetically closed, and nothing therefore is lost. 2nd. That the produce is much increased by the quantity of jelly yielded by the bones. 3rd. That the cookery is far more expeditious than in the ordinary kettles, &c. This mode of cookery will be highly advantageous, to the poor in particular.

Smoke Burning.—We congratulate the public on the complete success, in every view of the subject, which has attended the trial of Messrs. Parkes' apparatus for consuming smoke at the steam boilers of Messrs. Horrockses and Co.'s factory, Preston. The adoption of the plan entirely removed the nuisance of smoke, and the experience of five weeks clearly proves, that a saving of fuel is effected more than sufficient to counterbalance the first cost of the alteration. It is well known to scientific manufacturers, that

the steam-engine upon which this experiment was made, has been supported upon as little, if not less, fuel than any other of equal power in the kingdom, upon the old principle; the result may, therefore, be deemed a full demonstration of the advantage of the plan, as a measure of economy. Messrs. Horrockses and Co. are proceeding to alter other engines upon Messrs. Parkes's plan; Messrs. Paley and Co. are also adopting it at their works, and there can be little doubt, but that, in a very short time, the town will be entirely freed from the nuisance which has heretofore proceeded from the numerous steam-engine chimneys within its precincts. We understand that an experiment is about to be made to effect the consumption of smoke arising from the heating of a bakehouse oven; and should this prove successful, a manufacturing town need no longer be enveloped in the gloom of an atmosphere impervious to the cheering rays of the sun.

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RELIGIOUS AND PHILANTHROPIC INTELLIGENCE.

Sunday School Union.—At six in the morning of May 9th, the annual meeting of this society was held at the City of London Tavern, W. B. Gurney, Esq. in the chair. The annual report comprehended a copious view of the state of Sunday schools, both abroad and at home. In France, the Sunday schools are but few, and make but slow progress. In Holland they are more numerous, though the report complains, that in some places the instruction is not sufficiently religious. In India, Sunday schools are established at Calcutta, Chinsurah, Bellary, Chittagong, and Malacca. In Ceylon also, the Wesleyan missionaries have 86 Sunday and day schools, containing 4908 children. Sunday schools have been also opened in New South Wales, the Mauritius, and in West and South Africa; in the latter at four different missionary stations. In the American United States, the schools are numerous and successful. At New York, they have 3,500 boys, and 2,798 girls: and the scholars connected with the Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, are no less than 19,481. Ten schools have been formed in Newfoundland, and several in Upper Canada; but Lower Canada is ill provided. In Antigua, the Church Missionary Society have 1,424 Sunday scholars, beside those of the Wesleyans, who have schools of this description in most of the West India islands. The report then adverts to Mr. Brougham's Bill, which it considers as highly injurious to this cause—to the Quarterly Meeting of Teachers, and their discussions—to the sums recently voted, viz. £87. 16s. 9d.—to the gypsies, to whose children it recommends particular attention—to the General Sunday School Society—and to the Educational Clothing Society; and then gives the following abstract of the present state of the different Union and Reporting Societies:—

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Four London Auxiliaries	324	4,138	48,862
Fifty-seven Country Unions and Societies..	2,407	29,085	269,784
Union in Wales	160	310	14,683
Schools in the Isle of Man.....	46	314	2,861
Sabbath School Union for Scotland	676	1,918	44,683
Sunday School Society for Ireland.....	1,353	135,600
	4,966	36,095	516,473
Increase last year	740	3,758	88,920

Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty.—The anniversary meeting of this society was held at the City of London Tavern, on

Saturday May 12th, Samuel Charles Whitbread, Esq., M.P., in the unavoidable absence of lord John Russell, M.P., in the chair. John Wilkes, Esq., one of the secretaries, in a most eloquent and forcible speech, gave a detail of the proceedings of the committee during the past year; from which it appeared that their interference had been highly useful and successful in a variety of cases, in which the rights of Protestant Dissenters had been infringed. Several recent instances were related of attempts to assess places of worship to the support of the poor, the church rate, and the house and window tax. Demands of mortuary fees, Easter dues, tolls on going to chapel, and the balloting ministers for the militia, were also stated, and properly commented on; as was the punishment in several cases of persons disturbing congregations of Dissenters, in the exercise of their worship, in places regularly certified according to law. Statements were then made of the illegal conduct of a clergyman in Devonshire, and another in Wilts, in declining to read the service of the church over the bodies of those who had not received the rite of baptism from episcopalian hands; and especially of the refusal of a vicar, in the county of Huntingdon, to marry a couple, because the bridegroom, being the son of a Baptist Dissenter, had never been baptized; with the applications to their several bishops, and the apologies which the clergymen had been compelled to make. Wishes were also expressed, that by the burial of Dissenters in their own cemeteries, they would diminish the vexations which so many clergymen continued to exert; and among these, the prohibition of a Berkshire vicar of the tolling of the parish bell at the funeral of the wife of a Dissenting minister, was particularly noticed. Amongst the resolutions unanimously passed by the meeting were the two following: "That this meeting deeply regret the continued aggressions of the clergy of the Established church on Protestant Dissenters, by renewing their refusals to read the burial service over their dead, and to celebrate their marriages, and by sanctioning many proceedings hostile, not only to their useful labours, but even to the toleration they are entitled to enjoy: but that they cheerfully acknowledge the courteous conduct of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, who, at the request of the committee, interfered to restrain some clerical aggressions of which they complained."—"That, regarding Henry Brougham, Esq., M.P., as an eloquent, benevolent, and enlightened friend to civil and religious freedom, and obliged by his exertions to correct the abuse of educational charities, this meeting deplore that a bill should have been introduced by him to Parliament, as to the education of the poor, that would injuriously increase the power of the Established church, add largely to the load of the public burdens, augment the degradation and evils of which Dissenters complain, and lessen that general, extending, and beneficent instruction, which honourable zeal, and Christian philanthropy, abundantly supply; and that the committee for the ensuing year be directed strenuously to oppose the progress of the measure whenever revived."

Continental Society.—This society held its third anniversary meeting at Freemasons' Hall, on May 16th, sir Thomas Baring, Bart., president, in the chair. The report stated, that notwithstanding the smallness of its funds at home, and the prejudices with which it had to contend abroad, the society had various agents in its employ. Two of these are stationed at Paris, one of whom (M. Mejanet) was present at this meeting; two in the neighbourhood of Orleans; one on the banks of the Rhine; another in the Pays de Vaud; others near Amiens, in the valleys of Piedmont, in the vicinity of Noireau, Valenciennes, and Normain, with all whom they hold correspondence, and who are actively employed in the manner above stated. It is added, that the expenses of last year amounted to nearly £1600.;

whereas the stated subscriptions did not exceed £200. The rest had been made up by donations. The anniversary sermon was preached on the preceding evening at Blackfriars' Church, by the Rev. W. Marsh, of Colchester.

Baptist Missionary Society.—The public services connected with the twenty-ninth anniversary of this institution, commenced on Wednesday, the 20th of June, when the Rev. S. Crisp, of Bristol, preached at Great Queen Street Chapel, and the Rev. Joseph Ivimey at Sion Chapel. On the following day the meeting for business was held at Spa Fields Chapel, Joseph Guttridge, Esq., in the chair. From the statement of accounts, it appeared that the receipts of the society had amounted to more than £13,000., being considerably more than was received in any former year; but that the payments having been upwards of £17,000. there was a balance of about £3,500. due from the society. The collection at this and the other services connected with the society, amounted to nearly £400., exceeding what had ever been received at any previous anniversary.

Port of London Society.—July 19, the day of the coronation, the Port of London Society, and the Bethel Union Society, met on board the Floating Chapel on the Thames, to implore the blessing of Almighty God upon the monarch of these realms, then ratifying, in the solemn act of coronation, the compact made with his people. The assembly was composed of many seamen, masters of ships and their families, with many persons from the shore. At the commencement of the service, a letter from Leith was read, stating that the seamen of that port would assemble, at the same time, on board their Floating Chapel, for the same purpose. The Rev. Mr. Angas commenced with prayer, and the 100th Psalm being sung, the most comprehensive prayer by King Solomon at the dedication of the Temple was read in a very impressive manner. The Rev. G. Smith followed in prayer. The treasurer of the Port of London Society then read a letter from New York, stating the encouraging progress of the work of God among seamen at that port; and that, on the Sabbath preceding the date of the letter, the Mariners' Church, which would hold upwards of 1000 people, was crowded. It further stated, that ministers of all denominations, who preached Jesus Christ, and him crucified, as the only way of salvation, willingly gave their services to the people, and merged all minor differences of sentiment in the great purpose of urging sinners to flee from the wrath to come. The Rev. C. Hyatt then read the 67th Psalm; and the Rev. Mr. Jeffreys, missionary to the island of Madagascar; lieutenant Nicholls, R. N., secretary of the Bethel Union Society; and captain Simpson, of the Juno, (on board of which ship the first prayer meeting for sailors was held on the River Thames,) engaged in prayer.

Church of England Tract Society.—By the report of this society, it appears that several new tracts have been published during the past year, and that the whole number of tracts distributed during that period are as follows:—

Sold	95,407
Distributed gratis.....	23,414

Total.... 118,821

In the statement of account, it appears that the society has received—

By subscriptions and donations.....	£236 2 9
By sale of tracts	160 14 6

Total.... £396 17 3

Disbursements.. 363 12 4

In the Report it is also stated, that, by one of the society's tracts, "four persons were awakened to serious attention."

Street Preaching.—THE KING, ON THE PROSECUTION OF SAMUEL NEWTON, against SAMUEL WALLER.—This was an indictment against Samuel Waller, a respectable cotton-spinner at Manchester, and a lay-preacher amongst the primitive Methodists; and the indictment charged, that he, the said Samuel Waller, on the 17th June last, in a certain public street and king's highway, in the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne, did unlawfully and injuriously cause and procure a great number of persons, to the number of 200 or more, to assemble together, and did, for a long space of time, to wit, for the space of two hours, obstruct the said public street, to the great damage and common nuisance of the liege subjects of our lord the king, and against the peace of our said lord the king, his crown, and dignity. The second count charged the defendant, with divers other persons, to the jurors unknown, with making a great noise, riot, tumult, and disturbance. The third count charged the like riot, &c. to be by shouting and singing, and wholly choking up and obstructing the street and highway.

The trial of this indictment came on at the Midsummer Quarter Sessions for the county of Lancaster, held by adjournment for the hundred of Salford, at the Sessions-house, Salford, adjoining Manchester, on Monday the 23d of July, before the Rev. W. R. Hay, clerk, vicar of Rochdale, Lancashire, and rector of Ackworth, in the county of York, chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions for this hundred; James Norris, Esq., barrister at law, stipendiary magistrate of the town of Manchester and Salford; and Ralph Wright, Esq. Thomas Starkie, Esq. appeared as counsel for the prosecution; and Philip Courtenay, Esq. and James Baldwin Brown, Esq., L.L.D. for the defendant. The court was crowded by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Manchester, especially amongst the various denominations of Dissenters, several of whose ministers were also present.

Mr. Starkie stated the case to the jury, and gave the substance of the indictment as above. The defendant, he informed them, and persons of his class, had been in the habit, for some time past, of visiting Ashton-under-Lyne, and there holding forth in the public streets, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants of the town. On the day mentioned in the indictment, Mr. Newton, the constable of Ashton, finding the defendant (who was what is called a *Ranter*) roaring and making a great noise within about 20 yards of the church-door, approached him, cautioned him of the illegality of his proceedings, and ordered him to desist. This he refused, saying, Christ and his disciples did so, and he had a right to do it: that he was a licensed preacher, and considered it his duty to continue the service. "Now," said Mr. Starkie, "if any one will produce me a text from Scripture to support this practice, though it will not alter the law of the case, I will consent to an acquittal." The defendant, in consequence of his obstinate perseverance, was summoned to appear at Oldham, where he accordingly attended before the magistrates, on Thursday the 21st, and when bound over to take his trial at the present sessions, he refused to pay the expense of the recognizances. Thus he was made of opposition stuff throughout; but his (Mr. Starkie's) advice was, that if, in any future case, persons situated as the defendant was, refused to pay those fees to the magistrates' clerk, that he was authorized, by act of parliament, to demand, they should be left to draw their own recognizances themselves. Certainly the clerk was not called on to afford them the facilities of pen, ink, and paper, or to give his labour, and it was at their own peril if they drew their own recognizances wrong. The defendant in the present case stood upon his right, but though he would have the very able assistance of two of his learned friends who appeared for him, and

who, as his counsel, would, he was sure, do every thing that could be done, he hoped the verdict of the jury would be such as to convince him that neither he nor any other person, not even a minister of the church of England, if it were allowable to conceive that a clergyman could ever so far forget his duty, had a right to obstruct the public highway, ranting and roaring to the common nuisance of his Majesty's subjects, on pretence that he thought it his duty to do so. With respect to the law of the case, it was not a little remarkable, that it had been decided in that very court, nearly a century ago, and he had a record of it, with which he should shortly trouble the court and the jury. It was a narrative of the life of John Murlin, wherein it was stated, that, "at Oldham, about seven miles from Manchester, (a place famous for daring and desperate wickedness), we had heavy persecutions for a season; as I was going to preach in the street one Sabbath-day, two constables, with a great mob at their heels, took me into custody, for riotous behaviour, in singing a hymn *as the people were coming out of church*." "The constables and their assistants were *special drunk*," (he, Mr. Starkie, supposed they were *special constables*), and began a quarrel, during which the parish clerk's son broke the drunken constable's head with his own staff. "The next day," says Murlin, "I was taken before a justice, and bound over to the Quarter Sessions; but I traversed, and had it tried at the Assizes; from thence it was sent back to the Sessions, where it was given against me."—He did not mean to deny the defendant's right to preach—he had a right to preach in proper places, and there let him rant and roar as he pleased; but this was a public nuisance. Would it be said that a mountebank, who might be as good a sort of person in his line, as the defendant was in his, had a right to set up a stage in the public street, and obstruct it by bringing together a numerous company? Why, a man had been indicted and convicted for making noises with a speaking trumpet—and that was surely a less nuisance than an obstruction to the street. He knew not what doctrine the defendant brewed, it might be very wholesome or very bad, it might be strong or small beer; he had no concern but with his conduct, none with his principles. He had recently seen a case reported in the papers, which occurred in London, where it appeared that a family were very much disturbed by noises which proceeded from a chapel. On inquiry, it was found that this place, which was used for worship on Sundays, was on other days the residence of a bear; he did not know indeed whether the bear was one of the congregation; however, he was a most unpleasant neighbour, for one day the poor woman of the house, opening the door of her cupboard, found his head in her provision warehouse. Legal proceedings were instituted, and the animal was accordingly removed. In like manner, he trusted the verdict of the jury would convince the defendant, that if he was determined to rant and roar, he must do it in proper places.

Samuel Newton stated, that he is deputy constable of Ashton. On Sunday the 17th of June, he went into the street—saw Samuel Waller standing on Jonathan Whisker's steps—there were other persons with him, he supposes 200 or more. They were about 20 yards from the gate of the churchyard. Whilst they were there, a hearse came from Droylsden with a funeral; the hearse came to the church a different way with the corpse, from what it usually would have done. Went to Waller, and told him his orders were from the constables and churchwardens to make him desist. Waller refused to do so. Got a summons for him to appear at Oldham on the 21st, when Waller said what he was doing was lawful. They sung, and made a great noise. The tunes were common song tunes, such as are sung by factory lads in the street. Before the magistrate, Waller said he would persist. The practice has been continued every Sunday since. Waller has not been

there: they come for opposition it appears; they are more than twice as numerous now as when Waller preached. Mr. Waller said he was a licensed teacher.

Examined by Mr. Courtenay.—Witness is a churchman; never was a Methodist; has often gone to Methodist chapels, but never was a member of their society; was not then a constable; now he is a man in office, thinks it his duty to go to the church of England. Samuel Waller did not stand himself in the public highway; was, in fact, on the steps of a door—Jonathan Whisker's he believes. Information was brought to him of the disturbance from the public-house opposite; a gentleman said, if it were not stopped, he would remove. Witness heard nothing offensive or wrong. They were singing to merry tunes; song tunes. Knows, in point of fact, that they were singing psalms or hymns. The words were given out by defendant. The Ranters have come in a double body since defendant was taken before the magistrates. Defendant has never been at the meetings since. Mr. France, the curate of Ashton, and the churchwardens, directed witness to give him notice the Sunday before, that if he did not remove, he would be taken up. Was sent for by the ostler of one of the inns to a gentleman, about getting the defendant away. There is a public-house opposite, where defendant stood, which was open; the gentleman who sent to him was not a publican. The hearse from Droylsden did not come the usual road; witness *supposed*, on account of the preaching. Re-examined by Mr. Starkie.—The hearse did come an indirect road. The noise was to the great disturbance of those who had to perform the ceremony of the interment; was sure it must be. Mr. Courtenay objected to this as new matter, and the inquiry was not pursued.

The chairman here said, It surely is not intended to deny that this is a nuisance.

Mr. Courtenay answered, that he certainly was prepared to deny it, and, he doubted not, with success.

James Ogden was then examined by Mr. Starkie, and stated, that he lives at Middleton; is not in any business.—Remembers Sunday the 17th of June. Was in the street on that day. Saw Samuel Waller preaching at Jonathan Whisker's door. There was much noise and rabble; about 200 or 300 people were assembled. Waller was preaching and singing. There was a great deal of shouting. They sung merry tunes. Sung like, ballad-singers down the street. The street was crowded up. When the hearse came, Waller preached louder,—witness "*thout it reather hawkward.*" It was a great nuisance.

Cross-examined by Mr. Brown.—Is a member of the Established church. Is at present out of *employ*. Does not know Samuel Waller. Did not hear his words distinctly; he made no more noise than was necessary to make the people hear; made too much noise for witness. Remembers no other carriage passing but the hearse. If any carriage or horse had come, they *might* have made an opening, and very likely would. Heard them singing like lads in factories. Has no doubt but that they were singing psalms or hymns, though not to the tunes which he had been accustomed to at church. He saw nobody interrupted in passing, nor any vehicle.

Mr. Starkie.—That is my case.

Mr. Courtenay said, he rose to address the court and the jury on behalf of the defendant, under great anxiety and embarrassment; greater, indeed, he believed, than it had been his lot to feel with respect to any other case ever confided to his care. His anxiety, however, did not arise from any doubt as to the righteousness of his cause, for it was the cause of religious liberty; nor from any doubt as to the lawfulness of the conduct pursued by

his client, for that had been no infringement of the law. It arose from a sense of his own inability to sustain the great interests committed to his charge, and a fear lest the holy and Christian cause with which he was entrusted might suffer from the incompetency of its advocate. It was the cause of Protestant Dissenters which he advocated; and his client relied, and the Protestant Dissenters relied also, with full confidence on the verdict of the jury. Another source of difficulty arose from the opinion of the chairman, which had been, (he must be permitted to say, though he said it with due respect), prematurely and somewhat rashly thrown out at so early a period of the trial. He could not imitate the pleasantry which had been displayed by his learned friend, the counsel for the prosecution; for he was not sufficiently at ease to be sportive. He was ready to admit, that when the case was first presented to him, his opinion coincided with that which had been expressed by Mr. Starkie and the chairman, that the conduct of the defendant had been illegal; but that opinion had been removed by an investigation into the merits of the case, and he was confirmed in his present impressions by what they had heard that day. Mr. Starkie, in support of his view of the subject, had told them that the matter had been already decided, and he had quoted a case, which, he said, took place in that court about a hundred years ago. But that case had no legal weight; it was from no authentic record; and no lawyer could hear it read, without feeling that it cut its own throat. It stated, that the matter was sent to the assizes, and tried there, but that from thence it was sent back to the quarter sessions, where it was given against the preacher. Now this statement justified him in saying, that it was an ignorant and false representation of what took place, if it were not entirely a wicked invention of the enemy. Every lawyer knew that no such circumstances could possibly have occurred.

Mr. Starkie here said, a case might be removed by *certiorari* to the assizes, and afterwards sent back to be tried at the sessions.

Mr. Courtenay replied, he knew that very well, though it had seldom or ever been done of late years, but he inquired how a case, the trial of which took place at the assizes, could be sent down for new trial or judgment here? Another case much more in point might have been quoted by his learned friend, but he had very prudently forbore to do so, because he did not like it; it was not to his present purpose. This was that of Penn and Mead in the year 1670, as reported in the State Trials. It was an object at that period to put down the Quakers, and accordingly, William Penn, the celebrated leader of that body, and a friend of his named Mead, were brought to trial, not at the New Bailey in Manchester, but at the Old Bailey in London, on an indictment very similar to the present. The charge against these individuals was for riotously and tumultuously assembling in Gracechurch Street; and the conduct of the court, on the occasion of their trial, presented an example of tyranny, of which, fortunately, few instances existed. From that conduct, no doubt could be entertained of the hardship which the defendants would have suffered, if they had not been protected by a British jury, who, by finding an honest special verdict of "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street," disappointed the court of their expected vengeance. This verdict the court refused to receive, and repeatedly sent the jury out to reconsider it; but, after being confined all night, they manfully returned in the morning, a general verdict of "Not guilty." For this, following up their arbitrary and tyrannical course, the court imposed a fine on the jury for alleged misconduct, and one of them (Bushell) refusing to pay his fine, was committed to prison. His case then became matter of judicial investigation. Bushell was brought up by writ of *habeas corpus* in the Court of Common Pleas, and promptly released. Looking to the evidence which had

been given in the present case as very similar to that given in the case of Penn and Mead, he felt satisfied, that, as was the course of the honest jury then, the jury now, as honest and independent he did not doubt, was not to be bamboozled into belief that this meeting was tumultuous. This prosecution, he hesitated not to say, was tyrannical and hypocritical. There was no law of the land, or of God, against preaching in the highway; but the object was to put down unpleasant doctrines. From the time of Penn and Mead to the present, no such prosecution had been attempted. Had not the practice of field preaching very much increased during the last century, and especially of late years? And was not the absence of all prosecution for it a strong proof that it was no offence? Was it to be left for the New Bailey, in the year 1821, to have a revival of the persecutions attempted a hundred and fifty years back? He had already stated, that his first impressions on the subject were those of the chairman. Those impressions had, however, been completely removed; but even if the conduct of his client had been wrong in law, he might give the go-by to the question for want of evidence. The second and third counts of the indictment charged riot, tumult, and disturbance. But as this was not supported by a tittle of evidence, the jury would have to confine their attention to the first count, viz. the charge of obstruction; and that obstruction amounted to nothing. What was it? Why, that persons were hearing his client preach; and that, according to one witness, there was a hearse, which, he *supposed*, turned another way in consequence. Could the jury lay their hands upon their hearts, and say, from this, that any obstruction existed? The other witness admitted, on his cross-examination by my learned friend who is with me as counsel for the defendant, that there was room on the other side of the street, and that if any carriage had come, the people would have given way. This was a prosecution at common law. It was admitted on all hands, that there was no statute, no positive law, which his client had infringed. The common law was the unwritten law of sense. It combined the purest reason with the purest justice. He had the authority of Chief Justice Hale, one of the first lawyers, the best judges, and the most excellent men, that ever adorned the bench, for saying, that Christianity was part and parcel of the common law. He called upon the jury, therefore, to pause and investigate, how that which our Saviour did, and instructed his apostles to do, could be a nuisance;—to pause and consider, how conduct which was sanctioned by his example, and enforced by his commands, could be a nuisance at common law. The common law being that whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, it follows that a nuisance at common law can be no new nuisance; it must have been such always, at all times, and under all circumstances. But he had shown, that notwithstanding the great increase of field preaching within the last century, there was no instance of an indictment such as the present for one hundred and fifty years. It followed, therefore, and he had a right so to conclude, that, in the eye of the law, such preaching constituted no nuisance. With respect to the obstruction of the highway,—admitting, but admitting only for the sake of argument, that it had been proved, he would ask, whether assembling in the streets was at all times, and on all occasions, to be deemed a public nuisance? By way of illustration, he would state a case;—on Thursday last the king's highways in Manchester were obstructed, not by hundreds, but by thousands and tens of thousands; the passage of numerous carriages was, not supposedly, but actually, prevented; and that for a great length of time. There was shouting and singing; and on that occasion, the reverend chairman and the other magistrates on the bench were present, and in those obstructions they bore a part. But who could doubt, that, if those magistrates had

been indicted for a nuisance in celebrating the day of the coronation, by some discontented individual, who, from political or other motives, felt himself annoyed by the shoutings and singing of those very loyal persons, the jury would have expressed their abhorrence and detestation of it? And would they, could they say, that for Christians to assemble to praise God, under that canopy of heaven which God himself had spread, was a nuisance? Could they say that it was no nuisance to celebrate the coronation of George the Fourth, but was one to celebrate the praises of their Maker? Attend to the practice of our Saviour. "My learned friend," continued Mr. Courtenay, "triumphantly asks me for even a solitary text which authorizes the conduct pursued by my client, and says, that if I produce it he will abandon the charge against him. I will give him then not one, but several. In St. Matthew's Gospel, chapter x. verse 27, our Saviour expressly commands his disciples, 'What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops.' And to whom, I would ask, were they to preach from the housetops, but to an audience (my friend may call them a shouting, ranting, roaring mob, if he pleased) assembled in the public streets? Again, we read, '*Go ye unto the highways and hedges.*' And in the 16th chapter of Mark, and at the 15th verse, we have this express command of our Saviour to his disciples, '*Go ye unto all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.*' And yet, for acting in obedience to this very clear and imperative direction, is my client now indicted as the violator of a law of which Christianity is the foundation and an integral part. My learned friend asks for the Scriptural warrant for field and for street preaching. I will give it him in the practice of our Saviour, as recorded in the 2d chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark, and the 2d verse. '*And straightway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no way to receive them, no, not so much as about the door; and he preached the word unto them;*' i. e. obviously to persons gathered together, as was the case in the instance now before you, 'round a door in a public street.'" There were many other passages to the like effect in Scripture, he added, but he would not quote them, for he had already quoted enough. And what construction, he would ask his learned friend, or, what was more important, he would ask the jury, could be put upon those passages, but that of preaching to people in the highways? He asked them, as men and as Christians, upon their oaths, and it was only as Christians that even their oaths were binding, was that a nuisance? Did our Saviour encourage and promote nuisances? He hoped that the worthy and reverend chairman would not be offended with him for having called his opinion rash: he thought that he had now proved that it was so. But who was the invisible prosecutor? Why did he not come forward? The jury had seen Newton's flippancy; they had witnessed the manner in which he gave his evidence; and he asked them whether it was possible to doubt that he had given a colour to his testimony to suit his own views? He said the ostler had come to him from a gentleman, to request him to interfere. It was the only symptom of grace he had witnessed about the indictment, that the prosecutor was ashamed to show his face. He well knew, that there was no riot, tumult, or disturbance; that no person was alarmed or terrified. He (Mr. Courtenay) repeated that the prosecution was hypocritical. There was no law to prevent meetings of those whom they chose to call ranters and rovers; that there was no prosecutor proved it. The indictment attempted a juggle on the understandings and consciences of the jury, which, he hoped, they would have spirit to resist. He called upon them to separate what was proved from what was alleged. Like discerning men, they would distinguish between what was substantiated by evidence, and what was charged

in the indictment. If the jury considered it necessary for the question to be raised, in order that it might be fully discussed, they would give a special verdict; find only the facts, and not be entrapped to bring in a *lumping* verdict of guilty. Why a question so important to the rights of Protestant Dissenters should have been brought to trial in that court, he was at a loss to determine. He suspected, however, that the invisible prosecutor, judging of others by his own baseness, thought to succeed at the Quarter Sessions, when in a higher court he would have had no chance. He could conceive that a man so base as the wicked and hypocritical prosecutor in this odious case, might have speculated on the composition of the tribunal;—might have considered that the learned and reverend gentleman in the chair, brought up in the universities of orthodoxy, would possibly pollute the seat of justice by prejudices imbibed elsewhere. His client might have removed the case, but, relying on the impartiality of the chairman, he had full confidence in the jury. In their hands were the rights of Protestant Dissenters; at their hands he looked to receive protection: he should scorn to attain his ends by idle flattery; he hoped, and trusted, and believed, they were all honest and impartial men,—but if there was one amongst them, and but one, for he wanted not twelve for the purpose, though he had no doubt but he should have them, who felt that respect which a Christian ought to feel for the precepts of his Saviour, that man would die rather than find the defendant guilty, rather than give a verdict so inimical to the Gospel, and to the Saviour who preached it. The conduct of his client was no common-law nuisance, for it was impossible to pronounce that a nuisance which their very religion enjoined: with respect to obstruction, no evidence of that had been given, no one had said he meant to go that way, and could not. The driver of the hearse had not been called, nor had the undertaker, nor the mourners, nor the owner of the gig; and why not? because they had met with no obstruction, and therefore had nothing to complain of. The indictment charged the defendant with having caused and procured persons to stand in the highway, that meant commanding them to do so; but he had no power to command them. He was not in the highway himself; he was standing on the premises of a private individual; the people who were in the street might be amenable, if any nuisance were committed, but not his client, who did not commit the nuisance, and had no control over those who did, if any was committed, which, however, he denied. It was true, a bookseller was responsible if his servant sold libels. But there was a case reported, and to which he referred, in which a man was indicted for causing the distribution of hand-bills in the street, which was quashed by the King's Bench, on the ground that it was the person who actually distributed the hand-bills that should have been indicted, and not the man who set him there. He was, therefore, entitled to an acquittal upon evidence. But he asked their verdict upon higher grounds: he asked it from them as Christians, in favour of one who had done only what had been done by that Saviour to whom, and to whose religion, we owe every thing which makes us better than the rest of mankind. He observed in conclusion, that he relied with perfect confidence in their honesty and firmness.

The defendant's counsel thought it unnecessary to call any witnesses, and, therefore, declined doing so, although several of the most respectable people in Manchester were in attendance to speak to the high character which he bore.

The chairman, in addressing the jury, said, that a case not in itself important, had been made so by the manner in which it had been mixed up with other matters. The rights of Dissenters were not, in any way, in issue. The jury had only to ask themselves, whether the assembling of 2

or 300 persons in *public day*, and in the public streets, was, or was not, a nuisance. They had nothing to do with the horrid case which had been cited by Mr. Courtenay; but, perhaps, it might be in some degree owing to that, amongst other things, that a law was subsequently passed, according to which, by the simple registration of a place, persons might be admitted to preach there, provided it were done with decency and propriety. Every person, therefore, whatever might be his religious sentiments, might assemble in a *private*, decent manner, either to preach, or to hear others. But he put it to the jury to say, whether 2 or 300 persons standing in the public street, was or was not a nuisance. With respect to the obstruction, it was proved that a hearse had gone another way in consequence of it; and the witness Ogden said, that carriages could not pass, without going on the flags on the other side of the street. For 2 or 300 persons to remain assembled in that way for a long time, must be a nuisance to the liege subjects of the king. Christianity had nothing to do with the question; they had only to ask themselves, whether the conduct of the defendant was a nuisance or not; and he had no difficulty, or hesitation, in saying, that in law it was one.

The defendant's counsel here reminded the chairman, that there was no proof of an actual obstruction; but he told them that he should not require such proof, but leave it to the common sense of the jury, whether such an assemblage must not necessarily be an obstruction.

After the jury had consulted some time, the chairman intimated, that if they were not likely soon to agree, they had better retire into their own room; when the foreman, Mr. Anthony, said, they were all agreed but one man. The chairman replied, that it was not usual to inquire into the state of opinions amongst the jury.

At a subsequent period, the jury inquired through their foreman, whether they might deliver a special verdict. Mr. Courtenay repeated the inquiry. The court said not; the chairman adding, that he had never known a special verdict delivered at a quarter sessions. Both the defendant's counsel expressing their surprise that such an opinion should be entertained, were about to address the court upon the subject, when the assistant to the clerk of the peace mentioned an instance of a special verdict in this very court of quarter sessions, in a boundary case. On being appealed to by the chairman for his opinion, Mr. Starkie, the counsel for the prosecution, stated, that the jury might find specially; and in this opinion were the counsel at the table, not engaged in the cause. The court then instructed the jury accordingly; shortly after which, having deliberated about fifty minutes, they returned a verdict of guilty of obstructing the king's highway, in the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne; that being, in fact, a general verdict of guilty, on the first count of the indictment.

The chairman, addressing the jury, then said, As this case, from some cause or other, seems to have excited more interest than belongs to it, and there has been some difference of opinion in the jury, I cannot help saying that your verdict is agreeable to justice, and the law of the land. He then inquired whether, after the verdict which had been given, as he took for granted that the prosecution was not instituted with a view to a vindictive punishment, any compromise could take place, by the defendant entering into sureties not again to offend in like manner.

Mr. Courtenay said, that the conduct of his client had been guided by what he conceived to be his duty, and as his view of that was not altered by the verdict which had been given, his counsel were instructed not to apply for any mitigation of the sentence which the court might think proper to pronounce.

Mr. Starkie then said, that he should address the court in aggravation of punishment, and he hoped they would pass such a judgment as would put a stop to the outrages they had witnessed to-day; that they would remember the ungracious and unchristian attack which had been made on the prosecution, and prevent for the future the nuisances they had heard that day.

Mr. Courtenay, with some warmth, said, it was the first time in his life, that he had heard the conduct of counsel made matter of aggravation against his client; and that, for himself, he was quite ready to defend his conduct, either in that court, or elsewhere.

Mr. Starkie replied, that he meant no personal attack on the learned gentleman, but he had been made an instrument in the hands of others.

Mr. Waller (the defendant) intimated a wish to address the court, which, after some hesitation, was acceded to, not as matter of right, as he had been heard by his counsel, but in accordance to their request on his behalf. After consulting them, however, Mr. Courtenay said in his behalf, that what he principally wished to explain was, that in asking for no mitigation, he acted according to what he thought his duty, and that it was not his wish personally to offend the court: to which the chairman assented.

Mr. Starkie then said, he hoped the sentence of the court would be such as to convince the prisoner that he had no right, on pretence of duty, to interrupt a Christian congregation in one of its most solemn services.

The defendant denied that he had done this.

The magistrates then retired for a few minutes. On their return, the reverend chairman ordered that the defendant should be put to the bar, and addressed him to the following effect: "Samuel Waller, you have been convicted of the offence charged in the indictment against you, by a jury who have taken no ordinary pains, and have done themselves great honour by their attention and discernment. The prosecution has been mixed up with other matters quite unconnected with it; but the simple question is, whether you or any other person have a right to be a nuisance. The interests of Dissenters have no more to do with the case than high treason has. A great deal has been said about an invisible prosecutor, but it is evident the prosecution has been ordered by the churchwardens for the protection of the parish; and you were not summoned before the magistrates, until pains had been taken to make you desist. You speak of your duty, but when any one continues to hold their own opinion against a jury and the law, it looks like obstinacy. The sentence which we are about to pass upon you is not meant to be vindictive, but to show that individual opinion is not to be set up against the law. I feel it right again to compliment the jury for the care and attention they have displayed. The sentence of the court is, that you be imprisoned in this House of Correction for the space of three months, and that you give security, yourself in £50. and two sureties in £25. each, to keep the peace towards all his majesty's subjects, and be of good behaviour for two years, to be computed from the expiration of your imprisonment; and that you be further imprisoned until these securities be given."

Mr. Waller then left the court for the gaol, in custody of one of the turnkeys. We have since learnt, that the first two nights after his conviction, he was put into a double-bedded cell, with two convicted misdemeanants, who (we mention it to their honour) voluntarily slept together, that he might have a bed to himself. On Wednesday, through the interposition of some of his friends, his situation was ameliorated; but, on Friday afternoon, he still continued ill in bed, from the anxiety and suffering caused by his previous confinement. We are also informed, from

good authority, notwithstanding the contrary was so evident to the Rev. Mr. Hay, that neither the churchwardens nor head constable of Ashton-under-Lyne sanctioned the prosecution of Mr. Waller; and that, even before his trial, they refused Newton's application to be allowed his expenses. It is stated also to have been positively ascertained, that Newton *was* formerly a member of the Methodists' Society.

We close our report of this trial, which has excited great interest throughout the kingdom, with the very pertinent remarks of a correspondent in one of the Manchester newspapers (the *Guardian*) who appears to have been present on the occasion: "When the court was preparing to pass sentence, and the defendant was ordered to the bar, to which criminals of different descriptions had been brought during the proceedings of the day, I was occupied in conjecturing what would be the difference between the sentence pronounced on Mr. Waller, and that on a prisoner who had appeared there a little while before. A woman and her daughter were indicted for singing, on the race-ground, songs of the most horribly obscene nature; so bad indeed, that the worthy chairman, who had by accident heard some of them at the time the women were committed, evinced a great and becoming horror, and with much propriety ordered them immediately to be destroyed. These women pleaded guilty, and the elder of them, for committing this flagrant offence against good morals and the peace of society, and for bringing up her daughter in the same shocking course, was sentenced, by the same reverend magistrate," observes the editor in another part of the paper, "to three months imprisonment in the House of Correction, and the younger of them to an imprisonment of one month. No one would charge this sentence with undue severity. While I was contrasting the two cases in my mind, the court pronounced sentence on Mr. Waller, viz. Three months imprisonment in the House of Correction, and then to find securities for good behaviour for two years!! This surely requires no comment."

OBITUARY.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.—This extraordinary man was the second son of Carlo Buonaparte, a lawyer at Ajaccio, in Corsica, and of Letitia, his wife, a young and beautiful woman of the family of Ramolini, whom he espoused in 1767; and by whom he had five sons and three daughters, all of them raised, by the subject of this brief notice, from a rank comparatively obscure, to wield the sceptre of dominion over mighty states, and to rank, in fortune and in title, with the proudest and the richest of the earth. He himself was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at the house of his father; who after having resigned the gown of the civilian for the sword of the soldier, and distinguished himself by his talents and bravery under the banners of his friend Paoli, in the arduous struggle made by that gallant patriot for his country's freedom, had submitted himself to the new order of things, was much noticed by the count de Marboeuf, the French governor, and nominated a member of the deputation of the Corsican nobility to their new sovereign, Louis XV. At or about the time of the birth of his son Napoleon, he was judge lateral, or assessor of the tribunal of his native town,—a situation which he did not hold many years; for having gone to Montpellier for the benefit of his health, he died there of a cancer in his stomach, at the early age of thirty-nine. The patron of the father extended his favour to his family, and by his instrumentality young Napoleon was sent to France, where M. de Marboeuf, a prelate, and brother to the governor of Corsica, procured his admission into the military academy of

Brienne; whence he was removed, in 1784, to that of Paris, as a scholar on the royal foundation. He there distinguished himself greatly by his application to the mathematics and military exercises, though his exclusive devotion to them prevented his progress in other branches of literature; so much so, indeed, that he is said never to have acquired a grammatical knowledge even of his own language, or rather of that of his adopted country. In 1785, he was appointed to a second lieutenancy in the artillery regiment of La Fere. Four years afterwards he obtained a captain's commission; and, in 1793, distinguished himself by his superior skill in directing the batteries, whilst in command of the artillery at Toulon: and two years after was nominated to the command of the army of La Vendée, but declined the appointment. He had then just established a strong claim to the confidence at least of the ruling powers, by commanding, as general of brigade, the corps which defended the convention, and defeated the insurrectionary Parisians. Barras then was, and for some time had been, his patron; and the tie by which they were connected was strengthened, in March, 1796, by Buonaparte marrying, at the recommendation of his friend, Josephine de Beauharnois, widow of the count de Beauharnois, who was guillotined four days before Robespierre, his wife being then also in prison, whence she was soon liberated by the interference of Barras, and became his mistress. Three days after the formation of a connexion more advantageous than honourable, Buonaparte left his bride at Nice, to assume, at the age of twenty-six, the command of the army of Italy, at the head of which, in about six weeks, he won the battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi; effected the splendid but sanguinary passage of the bridge of Lodi, in which he exhibited great personal courage; made himself master of Piedmont and the Milanese, and compelled the king of Sardinia to sign a treaty of peace with the French Republic in his own capital. In the course of the same year he fought nine other battles with the Austrians, and Neapolitans, commanded by generals Wurmser and Alvinzi; captured Mantua, and forced the Pope, the king of Naples, and the minor Italian states, to purchase safety by a peace involving great sacrifices of their territories. Early in 1797, he penetrated through Friuli into Germany, and advanced to within thirty leagues of Vienna; but finding that the archduke Charles had collected a very large force to oppose his progress, he deemed it politic to resort to negotiation, to prevent the risk of a defeat; and, consequently, on the 16th of April, signed preliminary articles of peace with Austria at Leoben; which being afterwards ratified by the definitive treaty of Campo Formio, left the French republicans in possession of the Netherlands, and of some other of their conquests; and established a republic in Italy; Trieste and Venice having recently been captured by the French army. He was next appointed, by the directory, general in chief of the expedition which they either intended, or pretended, it is doubtful which, to despatch from their shores for the invasion and subjugation of England; but he shortly afterwards actually embarked on one as disastrous as that, we doubt not, would have proved if persevered in, if not quite as chimerical — sailing from Toulon, on the 19th of May, 1798, in a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, nearly as many frigates and corvettes, at the head of 40,000 men, the flower of the French army, to conquer Egypt. How miserably he failed in the execution of this mighty project, a favourite creation, it is said, of his own active mind and insatiable ambition, Aboukir, Alexandria, and Acre, can tell; for there his fleet and his army were annihilated by the valour of British warriors. He himself waited not, however, to witness the final destruction of his hopes; but having received intelligence of the reverses which the French arms had sustained in Italy

and Germany, and of the consequent critical state of affairs at home, he secretly abandoned his army to their fate; and, on the 23d of August, sailed from Egypt with a few officers who were devoted to his interests; and after narrowly escaping capture by the English fleet, reached Paris, where, with the assistance of Abbé Sieyès, Murat, his brother Lucien, and though last, not least, the bayonets of his grenadiers, he dissolved the conventional government of France, and established in its stead a consular one, of which he was the head; Cambacères and Le Brun, his colleagues, being little better than mere pageants of state. November the 10th, 1799, was the precise period at which, as first consul, this extraordinary man, at little more than thirty years of age, assumed to himself the government of France. This situation was not likely, however, to be an easy or an inactive one; towards the end of April, in the following year, Buonaparte, at the head of a large and well appointed army, left Paris for Italy: by unprecedented exertions, indicative of the boldness of his character, and the strength of his genius, crossed the Alps by Mount St. Bernard;—after several minor victories, completely defeated the Austrian army under general Melas at Marengo,—and forced that general to purchase the safety of the remnant of his army by abandoning Italy to his victor. This decisive battle, and the no less brilliant victory of Hohenlinden, enabled the French consul to dictate the terms of peace to Austria, as he did in the preliminaries signed at Paris in June, 1800; and the definitive treaty of Luneville, concluded on the 9th of February following. By these treaties the Cisalpine republic, comprehending the greater part of Italy, was placed under the power of Buonaparte, who was recognized nominally as its protector, though actually as its head. In the following year, the signature of definitive articles of peace with England at Amiens paved the way for his election to the consulate for life; but this step towards the establishment of his dynasty on the throne of France, in lieu of the ancient and royal house of Bourbon, was not submitted to without some opposition. Plots were formed, or said to be formed, against him; and, under pretence of having engaged in them, the duc d'Enghien, son of the duke of Bourbon, was shot by his order in the castle of Vincennes; whilst of his old companions in arms, Moreau and Pichegru were effectually prevented from opposing his ambitious views, to which they were known to be inimical; the former by being exiled to America, the latter by strangulation in prison, it was said by his own hands, though there is the strongest ground to suspect that others were employed, to prevent his being further troublesome. Georges, a Vendean leader of great spirit and ability, with eleven of his companions, were, about the same time, executed; and the two counts de Polignac, with several other persons of rank, were sent into perpetual exile. Soon after this clearance, Napoleon was elevated to the throne of France, then declared imperial; and, on the 2d of December, 1804, was crowned in the church of Notre Dame, by pope Pius VII.,—at that time virtually, as he soon afterwards became actually his prisoner,—by the title of Napoleon I. His new title was recognized by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and by the kings of Spain, Prussia, and Denmark; England and Sweden being the only considerable powers who refused to acknowledge it. With these countries he was already involved again in war, and on his return from Italy, after his proclamation there as king, he revived on a very grand scale the old farce of invading England; and even proceeded so far in the apparent execution of this threat, as to assemble at Boulogne an army of 200,000 men, and an immense flotilla, to transport them to the British shores. The battle of Trafalgar, dearly purchased to England, by the death of the gallant Nelson, soon destroyed, however, the vain hopes of the French, and of their boastful leader, whose

"Delenda est Carthago" was rapidly exchanged for a very different note. His vast preparations for our overthrow soon received another, and as it proved, a more propitious direction; and transporting the troops with great celebrity from the shores of the English Channel to the banks of the Danube, four battles, and the cowardly, if not traitorous, surrender of general Mack at Ulm, in less than two months after the commencement of hostilities against Austria, put him in possession of the capital of her dominions. It suited, however, neither with the natural energy of his character, nor his immediate views of aggrandisement, that he should rest upon his conquests; he, therefore, followed the emperor of Germany into Moravia, where he had been joined by the emperor of Russia, at the head of a very large army; and, on the 2d of December, 1805, their combined forces were defeated by the victorious Napoleon, in a well contested, but decisive, battle, fought on the plains of Austerlitz. Immediately after this defeat, Francis II. personally sued for peace, which was granted by his conqueror, in the treaty of Presburg; by which the title of the French monarch to the kingdom of Italy was recognized, as was also his possession of Venice, Tuscany, Parma, Placentia, and Genoa. Eleven days before he had concluded, at Vienna, a treaty with Prussia, ceding to him the Grand Duchy of Berg, which he bestowed upon Murat. Arriving now by rapid strides to the height of his grandeur, in the summer of the following year he elevated three of his brothers to the thrones of kingdoms which the arms of France had acquired since the commencement of her revolutionary war; giving the crown of Naples to Joseph, that of Holland to Louis, and creating for Jerome the new kingdom of Westphalia. Shortly afterwards he formed that union of the smaller states of Germany, under the name of the confederation of the Rhine, which gave him as its chief that preponderating influence in Germany, which had long belonged to the house of Austria. Nor were its energies long suffered to lie dormant, for they were soon directed against the king of Prussia, who found, when it was too late, that the sacrifice he had made at Vienna had but purchased for him a hollow truce, whilst it gave to his vigilant opponent the opportunity of consolidating and increasing his forces for a fresh attack. That attack was rapidly made, and was as speedily successful. Whilst the plenipotentiaries of the two powers were still negotiating at Paris, Napoleon had placed himself at the head of his army; and, on the 4th of October, three days after their deliberations were broken off, such was the celerity of his movements, that he had reached Wurtzburgh with 150,000 troops in his train. Ten days after, the battle of Jena was fought, which decided the fate of the Prussian monarchy; and in less than a month all its states were in possession of the French. On the 19th of November following, in the intoxicating hour of victory, and the plenitude of a power which he conceived to be omnipotent, he issued from the capital of his subdued enemy the famous Berlin decree, by which, without a single ship or boat off her ports, he vauntingly declared England to be in a state of blockade; in the hope, by ruining her trade with the continent, not only to humble her pride, but to cripple her means of continuing an opposition to his ambitious projects, which had been as vigorous as it was incessant. Wintering on the banks of the Vistula, the Russians, with a large force which they had collected in the neighbourhood, attacked him at Pultusk and at Thorn, at both which places he was exposed to considerable losses; whilst at the latter his army was only extricated from entire ruin by the skill and activity of the brave, devoted, but unfortunate, Ney. With the return of spring his affairs assumed, however, their wonted smiling aspect; and after some partial successes, Napoleon, on the 14th of June, 1807, attacked the Russians at Friedland;

and after a vigorous and sanguinary contest of sixteen hours completely defeated them, with the loss of 20,000 killed, as many wounded, eighty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, sent from England for the use of the allies. Retreating after this severe defeat to the banks of the Niemen, the Russians were followed by their conqueror, who arrived at Tilsit just as the royal fugitives, the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia, had escaped from the town, by burning the bridge. Losing no time in such a critical juncture of their affairs, the allied sovereigns solicited an armistice, which was granted at a meeting of the two emperors on a raft in the river; and soon completed by the treaty of Tilsit, signed on the 7th of July: and containing, amongst its most prominent features, an accession on the part of Russia and Prussia to what was called the continental system, by which their ports were closed against the English trade. Having thus settled to his satisfaction, at least for the present, the affairs of the northern, he turned his attention to those of the southern states of Europe; and in an evil hour for himself, but a happy one, in its results at least, for the world, by a forced abdication of Charles IV., and his son Ferdinand, whom he imprisoned in France, made a vacancy on the throne of Spain for his brother Joseph, whom he removed to fill it from that of Naples. His next usurpation was that of the ecclesiastical states, which, on pretence that the pope had always refused to declare war against England, he annexed, by one of his *sic volo's sic jubeo's*, to the imperial crown of France. These usurpations, at length, opened the eyes, and roused the energies of the powers of Europe; and whilst the patriotic Spaniards and Portuguese—for he had invaded Portugal also, with the avowed intention of subjecting her territories to the French dominion; because she would not join the general confederation against England, her ancient and her best ally—assisted by British troops, vigorously, and at length most successfully, opposed the progress of the army of 80,000 men, with which he had invaded their country—the Austrians flew again to arms; and he lost no time in taking the field against them. Such, indeed, was the rapidity of his movements, and the continued tide of his success, that after fighting six battles, in all of which he was victor, within five weeks of the declaration of hostilities by the emperor Francis, he was a second time the triumphant master of his capital. This terminated not, however, the scene of bloodshed; for on the 21st of May, a most sanguinary battle, lasting for two days without interruption, was fought at Essling: and after a terrible slaughter, and an immense loss on both sides, the archduke Charles, the Austrian commander, compelled his assailant to retreat to the island of Lobau. Not profiting, however, as he might have done, by this success, the French army, after receiving a considerable reinforcement, attacked him again on the 5th and 6th of July, at Wagram, where they obtained a decisive victory; which led, on the 12th of the same month, to a suspension of arms, and, on the 14th of October, to a definitive treaty of peace, signed at Vienna. So crippled were the resources of the house of Austria by this disastrous campaign, and so humbled its pride by a second dictation of peace in its capital, that the emperor, as its head, accepted the overtures of his upstart victor for an alliance with his family, which, honourable under no circumstances, must have been rendered doubly unpalatable to the father and the monarch, from its being preceded by the causeless divorce of the empress Josephine, to make way for the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor Francis, as wife of the conqueror of her father, and the bitterest enemy of her family and her country. The marriage took place on the 2d of April, 1810; and, on the 20th of March following, the young empress was delivered of a son, baptized

by the name of Napoleon Francis Charles Joseph, and created, by his father, king of Rome. Sometime previous to an event which would, he flattered himself, establish his new dynasty on the throne of France, he had united to that kingdom the provinces situated on the left bank of the Rhine, Holland, whose crown he stripped from the brow of his brother, with as little hesitation or ceremony as he had placed it there, the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, a part of the kingdom of Westphalia, and the Valais. But it was not in such extensions of empire to satisfy the insatiable appetite for glory and dominion of this ambitious man. Austria and Prussia were humbled, if not subdued; but Russia, possessed of inexhaustible resources, was still powerful, and ready to take the enemy against him whenever opportunity should offer. He determined, therefore, to anticipate what he conceived, and perhaps rightly conceived, to be her purpose; and placing himself at the head of an immense army on the Vistula, he advanced into Poland, entered Russia, and boldly, and, as the event proved, most rashly, pushed on to Moscow, in the midst of the inclemencies of a winter season, in so bleak and dreary a northern clime. The ancient capital of this vast empire was reduced to ashes, but whether by the Russians or the French, or by both, is a matter of some doubt; and the invading army remained encamped in its smoking ruins, exposed to every privation which a cold and barren region, and an active enemy, enured to its hardships, cutting off in every direction their supplies, could create, for a period of thirty-five days. Hundreds and thousands perished by frost and famine; and, harassed night and day by troops of the enemy, well calculated for such a service, the remainder of the French army commenced a disastrous retreat, preceded by their emperor and chief, who made a rapid flight to Paris, where he arrived in the night; and disclosing in a bulletin, the next day, the immense extent of his losses, presented to the senate a decree for raising by conscription a new army of 350,000 men, which were without hesitation placed at his disposal. Prussia had, in the mean while, joined the victorious Russian troops; and soon afterwards the emperor of Austria, who had acted as mediator for some time in vain, declared in favour of the allies against his son-in-law. After the formation of this powerful confederation against him, the raising of the siege of Dresden was nearly the last time that victory smiled upon his arms—three weeks after, the sanguinary, but decisive, battle of Leipzig was fought, in which he lost upwards of 120,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; and experienced also the immediate defection of the Saxons, Bayarians, and Westphalians, and the rest of the German contingent troops, who went over to the allies. Truly then did he exclaim, "Within the last year all Europe marched with me, now all Europe is leagued against me;" and it was a league against which he could not stand. Three hundred thousand more troops were subjected to his commands by the senate, but the legislative body accompanied the confirmation of this grant by a very intelligible hint, that it was essential to the salvation of the country to conclude a peace. On the 4th of July, 1814, the allied army crossed the Rhine; and carried the terrors of war into a country which, for the last twenty years, had mercilessly ravaged nearly every state in Europe; and, experiencing a few trifling checks, but gaining several brilliant victories over their former victor, headed by the emperors of Austria and Russia, and the king of Prussia, they entered by capitulation the capital of France. The emperor of that capital and nation was then at Fontainebleau, at the head of but 50,000 troops, and 200 pieces of cannon, the remains of the vast armies which he had levied for this eventful strife, but who had perished by thousands, and tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, the victims

of his ambition and his pride. Eleven days after, a treaty was concluded, in virtue of which Buonaparte abdicated the crown of France for himself and his family; but, retaining the empty title of emperor, was suffered to retire to Elba, and hold, with a revenue of two millions of livres, the sovereignty of that barren and insignificant island. This event was rapidly followed by the restoration of Louis XVIII., as head of the house of Bourbon, to the throne of his ancestors; on which he remained peaceably seated until, on the 1st of March, 1815, not only all France, but the whole of Europe, was thrown into consternation, by the sudden reappearance of Napoleon in France, where he was received with open arms. Having secretly purchased feluccas at Genoa, ammunition at Naples, and arms at Algiers, this bold adventurer set sail on the night of the 27th of February, in the midst of a grand fête given to his little court, and, with no more than 1200 soldiers in his train, landed at Juan, in Provence, whence he proceeded by forced marches to Grenoble and Lyons; and, joined every where on his way by hundreds and thousands of his old companions in arms, he marched through the heart of France, without drawing a sword; and, on the 20th day after landing on its shores, reascended the throne of the Bourbons. He sat not there, however, long; the allies were on the alert, and immediately took the field against him at the head of immense armies, commanded by able and lately victorious generals. He fought but three battles for his throne: successfully in the partial ones of Fleurus and of Ligny; but attacking, on the 18th of June, the allied army, under the command of the duke of Wellington, his hopes were crushed for ever in the decisive and well-fought battle of Waterloo. He fled from this fatal field to Paris, but he was coldly received there as a fugitive, without men or means to support his cause. A second time, therefore, did he abandon his crown, and abdicate his throne, but vainly attempted to do so in favour of his son. Followed up closely by the victorious allies, with a few, and but a few, faithful adherents, after a vain attempt to escape the vigilance of the English cruisers, and reach the shores of America, he surrendered himself off Rochfort, on the 15th of July, 1815, to captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*; delivering himself up, as he declared at the time, to the English government as the most implacable, but the most generous of his enemies. His wish to land in England was not gratified, but by arrangement with the allied powers he was, on the 2d of August following, sent off to St. Helena, as the safest place of custody that could be found for him. There he has continued ever since, dissatisfied of course with his lot, though every indulgence seems to have been allowed him that was consistent with due vigilance to prevent his escape. Want of the exercise to which he had been accustomed, — for he refused to avail himself of the range that was allowed him to its full extent, because there were restrictions necessarily attached to its enjoyment — and the gradual extinction of all hope of deliverance, for a long period most sanguinely entertained, — accelerated, in all probability, the progress of a disorder to which he had an hereditary tendency. In the latter end of January, in the present year, he transmitted a complaint, through count Montholon, of a want of money, arising from a cessation of his usual remittances. To prevent in future this disagreeable circumstance, without imposing upon himself the necessity of accepting those supplies which were offered him through the commercial house of B. and H., without his knowing who gave the command to them for the advance, or from whom they received the money, he ordered it to be proposed to the governor to advance him monthly £500., which the duke of Leuchtenberg would repay to the English government through Mr. Baring. He desired, at the same time, that instead of the two priests living with him, of Dr.

Antommachi, counts Bertrand and Montholon, he should be supplied with other society. As his family lived in Italy, and could not well judge what kind of men would be agreeable to him, he left the selection of them to the king of France, and to those of the king's ministers who had formerly served under him, and knew his habits and wants,—such as M. M. Pasquier, Segur, Daru, and Latour-Maubourg, or M. de Cazes, who had been his own and his mother's private secretary. With regard to a priest, he desired a man of knowledge and experience, a learned divine, capable of discussing religious subjects, able to answer his questions, to resolve his doubts, and to instruct him in the sacred Scriptures, a man of between 40 and 50 years of age, and a well-grounded scholar. 'Although,' said he, 'I feel my strength decay, I am not yet so prostrate as to take refuge in spiritual remedies. But when this happens, I must have another spiritual guide besides the two who at present attend me, one of whom has not yet shaken off the dust of the schools. Voltaire himself, in the view of death, threw himself into the arms of religion; and who knows but that I may acquire a taste for the subject, and become pious?' As physician, he wished a man like Courvoisier; but he declared that he would receive with confidence any one selected for him by Bourdois, Eymery, Larrey, Dubois, or Desgenettes. Of those who were to come in room of counts Bertrand and Montholon, he required one to be a general (the most agreeable to him was Drouot;) but in no case an officer who had served against him. The other might be either a secular person, or a *ci-devant* priest; but in all cases, one of his former council or chamberlains, a man of education and talents, such as Caulaincourt, Savary; Segur, Montesquieu, Daru, Drouot, Turenne, Denon, or Arnauld. The proposed money arrangement was undertaken by the governor. Sometime afterwards, Buonaparte said, that the priest who was to be sent to him must be one who adhered to the concordat of 1802, such as M. Duvoisier, late bishop of Nantes. No change was, however, made in his establishment or attendants; whether there would have been, had he lived, must of course, in some measure, have depended on the willingness of any of the individuals to whom he referred to become his voluntary companion in captivity. He grew gradually worse however in health, and, after an illness of six weeks, departed this life on Saturday the 5th of May, at six o'clock in the morning. During the first four weeks of his illness, it did not assume any very dangerous appearance, though he appeared himself to be conscious that it would terminate fatally. He was only considered seriously ill the last fortnight, when he sent for Dr. Arnott, of the 20th regiment. Although every medical man was offered to attend, he declined farther assistance, and made count Montholon promise, in the event of his losing his senses, that no one else should be permitted in his room. He told Dr. Arnott he had perfect confidence in his abilities, but was convinced his complaint was incurable, and not to be discovered; he, however, expressed himself willing to submit to any treatment he wished. He stated, that his father died of the same disease at 36 years of age, and desired his body might be opened to ascertain the cause, in order that his son might take precautions to guard against it as much as possible. The effects of Buonaparte's illness on his frame, as described by an officer who had frequent opportunities of seeing him during the period of his indisposition, were so powerful as nearly to reduce him to a skeleton, and to obliterate all traces of his former features. He may be said to have died rather heroically than otherwise, as the pain arising from the disease must have been very acute, and he never uttered a complaint. He refused medicine as useless, and stated, a month previous to his death, that he should never rise from his bed again. At that period he also said, that he was confident he knew better than the surgeons what his disease was; and that it was the

same that his father died of. The pain that it gave him, he described as if a knife had been run into his body, and broken short off, the wound closing externally afterwards. It is said that he gave directions about his affairs and papers till five or six hours before he died, having retained his senses till that period. A few hours previous to his decease, he gradually drew his hands from his sides, and clasped them over his breast, as if offering up a prayer at the same time. He then released them, and they fell into their former position. During the latter part of his illness his eyes were constantly fixed on the full length portrait of his son, which was hung up, by his request, at the foot of his bed; and it seems his attachment to the child was very great. The last words of Buonaparte have not yet been recorded; they were uttered in a state of delirium, but still show what was working in his mind:—‘*Mon fils*’ were the first words, and afterwards he murmured what seemed to the hearers to be ‘*Tête d’armées*.’ He shortly afterwards said ‘France,’ and never spoke again. His dissolution was so calm and serene, that not a sigh escaped him, or any intimation to the by-standers that it was so near. As it was the expressed wish of the deceased, that his body should be opened, and as it was also most desirable to the authorities at St. Helena that the true seat of his disease should be ascertained, the opening took place at two o’clock the day after his death. There were present his own surgeon, who operated, the surgeon of the admiral’s ship, and five other surgeons; the deputy-adjutant-general, and brigade-major, with Bertrand and Montholon. When the chest was opened, the liver was found to be perfectly sound, with not a mark of disease about it. The French surgeon even cut it through with his dissecting knife, and all the surgeons who were present agreed that ‘no liver complaint’ had ever existed. But when they proceeded to the examination of the stomach, all the surgeons instantly called out, ‘There is the seat of the disease.’ It was a ‘cancer of the stomach;’ the same disorder of which his father died; there was a hole in one part of it large enough to admit the point of a man’s finger. The medical men unanimously agreed that it could not have been produced by the climate, or by depression of mind, and that ‘he must have died,’ as Madame Bertrand exclaimed, when the appearance of his disorder was described to her, ‘had he been in the midst of his glory at Austerlitz.’ “I went,” says an eye-witness, “with the admiral to see his body, previous to the operation being performed. He looked more like one sleeping than dead; nor had he the least appearance of sickness. His nose and mouth I was particularly struck with, as being beautiful. The countenance was placid and serene; and there was something very noble and commanding in it. If I had not known his age, I should have judged him not more than forty. With regard to the lying in state of the body, and the general admission of the inhabitants of the island to view it, Sir Hudson Lowe left the matter entirely to the option of Bertrand and Montholon, who, however, both acquiesced in it, and even wished that it should be the case. Accordingly, in the afternoon of that day, soon after the examination of his body by the surgeons, he was dressed in his green uniform, with red facings, and all his stars and orders.” (A circumstance which appears to have given rise to the report, which is now ascertained not to be correct, that Buonaparte died in his military uniform.) An immense number of persons went to see him. “It was one of the most striking spectacles,” says one of them, “at which I had ever the fortune to be present. The view of his countenance, from which I felt it scarcely possible, even for an instant, to withdraw my eyes, gave me a sensation I cannot describe; but the impression it made on me will never be forgotten. His hands were as white as wax, and felt soft, though the chill of death was upon them. He was buried on the 9th, in *Sane Valley*, a spot selected by himself, with the

full military honours paid to a general of the first rank. His coffin was carried by grenadiers. Count Montholon and general Bertrand were the pall-bearers; madame Bertrand, with her family, following. Next came lady Lowe and her daughters in deep mourning; then the junior officers of the navy; the staff of the army; last, sir Hudson Lowe and the admiral brought up the rear. The 66th and 20th regiments, the artillery, volunteers, and marines, in all, full 8,000 men, were stationed on the surrounding hills, about half way up; and when the body was lowered into the grave, three rounds of eleven guns were fired by the artillery. His grave was about 14 feet deep, very wide at the top, but the lower part chambered to receive the coffin. One large stone covered the whole of the chamber. The remaining space was filled up with solid masonry, clamped with iron. Thus every precaution is taken to prevent the removal of the body, and it is believed to have been full as much by the desire of the French commissioners, as from the wish of the government of the island. The spot had previously been consecrated by his priest. The body is inclosed in three coffins, of mahogany, lead, and oak. His heart, which Bertrand and Montholon earnestly desired to take with them to Europe, was restored to the coffin, but it remains in a silver cup, filled with spirits. His stomach his surgeon was anxious to preserve, but that is also restored, and is in another silver cup." Another account from the island says,—“Inclosed with him in the coffin were a silver urn containing his heart, and another containing his stomach, and all the coins that were issued during his reign; together with a knife and fork, a spoon, and one plate, all of silver. I saw his heart before it was soldered up in the urn, which was permitted to me as a great favour. The pall at the funeral was of purple velvet, on which was placed the cloak or mantle and sword, which Buonaparte wore at the battle of Waterloo, and on the head of the coffin a cushion and crucifix.” The head and face of Buonaparte were immensely large in proportion to his body; they may with great propriety be said to be the only parts that could be reckoned fine; his face, fourteen hours after his death, was one of the most interesting that could be imagined, but from the extreme heat of the climate, the decay was so rapid, that shortly afterwards the features collapsed, and at the time that he was laid in state, after his having been opened, the countenance had undergone a total alteration. His body was altogether mean; bones very small, and very little muscle; he was very fat, even at the time of his death. On opening him, his heart was found very small and feeble, and loaded with fat; his liver was large, and one of his kidneys reversed. It seems that he would have died much sooner if the liver had not forced itself into the hole in his stomach, and hindered the aliment from escaping; but except from a slight irritation, naturally to be expected at this part of the liver, as it was in contact with the diseased quarter, it was completely sound and healthy, and did not show the least symptoms of the complaint, which he was stated by Mr. O'Meara to suffer under. His hand was rather effeminate, but beautiful. The wounds on his body were as follow:—A small wound on the head, received from the halbert of an English sergeant at Toulon; one above the knee by a spent ball, received at Ratisbon; and one near the ankle, a deep musket-ball graze that he received in Italy. His cranium did not give the satisfaction to the craniologists that was anticipated. A great deal of trouble was taken by Drs. Mitchell and Burton to have a cast of his face and cranium; but unfortunately, the quality of the gypsum, which was only to be procured from the island, was such as rendered all their attempts fruitless. A short time previous to his death, he scratched an N. with a pen-knife on a snuff-box, which he presented to Dr. Arnot for his attendance on him, and has left the above gentleman 500 Napoléons.

—It appears that Buonaparte, during his whole confinement at St. Helena, never allowed any of his suite to relax in those attentions and duties that he had formerly exacted as emperor. He always dined alone; no one was allowed to sit in his presence; and to ensure the impossibility, he took care to have but *one chair* in his room. Indeed, from all accounts, Bertrand, Montholon, and the rest of his suite, had no sinecure in their retreat with the emperor, and they have at least proved their fidelity, in their continuing with him until his death. It is now ascertained, from the acknowledgment of Bertrand, that the book called *The Thirty-one Days*, was the production of Buonaparte himself. The effects at St. Helena are said to be left to Bertrand and Montholon: they are very valuable, consisting chiefly of plate and the finest Sève China; a most beautiful antique cameo snuff-box, given to him by the Pope, he has left to lady Holland, with a slip of paper in it written by himself, in acknowledgment of her kindness; but the rest of Buonaparte's will was kept a secret at St. Helena. An officer's guard was appointed to watch over his grave. Drawings were taken by captain Marryat, of the spot where he lies buried, and also of the procession to his funeral, which have since been published; an English officer, after having attended his funeral, paid a visit to his residence, and was shown his wardrobe by Marchand, his valet, and a more shabby set-out he never beheld, of old coats, hats, and pantaloons, that a midshipman on shore would hardly condescend to wear. But Marchand said, it was quite an undertaking to make him put on any thing new, and then, after wearing it an hour, he would throw it off, and put on the old again. Of the character of such a man, it is of course impossible to give any thing like a view, within the limits of a mere obituary. The following sketch appeared in the *Constitutionnel*, a Parisian newspaper, and perhaps, on the whole, is as just as could be expected from his admirers:—"The death of a man who has exercised great influence in the destiny of the people, is an event which gives birth to numerous recollections, and may furnish materials for important reflections. Few conquerors have had a fame so extended as Napoleon Buonaparte. The noise of his name filled all Europe, and was heard to the extremities of Asia. Placed, by the force of events, at the head of a great nation, wearied by a long anarchy, the heir of a revolution which had exalted every good and evil passion, he was elevated as much by the energy of his own will, as by the feebleness of parties, to the supreme power, placed France in a state of permanent war, substituted the illusion of glory for the real benefits of liberty, and identifying himself with the national independence, drew from the apprehensions of a foreign yoke the principal instrument of a boundless authority. Napoleon had an entire faith in fortune. It was his belief that an insurmountable fatality governed his destiny. This error has been common to several eminent persons; and almost all those who have entertained it have experienced, after the most signal success, the greatest reverse. They left not sufficient scope to the counsels of wisdom; the fruits of fifty victories have been destroyed, perhaps, in one unfortunate day—of this, Pultowa and Waterloo are memorable instances. We may speak freely. For a length of time he has been unconnected with all the questions agitated among us. Napoleon necessarily made a strong impression on the minds and imaginations of mankind: A soldier, who, by the force of genius alone, raises himself above his contemporaries, who gives tranquillity to a disturbed society, and dictates his laws to sovereigns, appears in the world a wonderful personage; and the earth is silent before him. History, an impartial judge, will confess Napoleon has rendered singular services to social order. The promulgation of those codes by which we are to this day governed, notwithstanding the many imperfections of the penal code, is a benefit which will not be lost for

generations to come; a part of Europe is already in possession of it. We will not speak of that astonishing military glory which is admitted without dispute. The improvements in the internal administration, the public works, the settlement of the finances, present more durable titles to admiration and respect. In fine, Buonaparte is dead. Truth should sit upon his tomb: and let us not be diffident in saying, that the prisoner of St. Helena will be reckoned amongst great men." Ambition, we would add, was certainly his ruling passion; and to this he sacrificed the lives of his fellow-creatures, with a profusion and recklessness almost without parallel in history. He was not cruel or vindictive, or generous or merciful, from the impulse of feeling, but to answer some purpose connected with his plans of personal aggrandizement; for in all he did, he had an end, and an important end to answer. Daring in his genius; determined even to obstinacy in his purposes, he was rather fitted to be borne on the tide of victory, than to contend with misfortune and defeat. Principle, religious or moral, he seems to have had none: if he ever thought of what was right, it was only in connexion with what was expedient, and that he uniformly pursued. A disciple of Mahomet in Egypt; in France he was a Catholic by profession; in heart, there is reason to fear, an infidel. His death-bed seems to have exhibited what a pagan historian would term the heroism of a great man; but the Christian looks in vain to the closing scene of his existence for the indications of that holy calm which attends the peaceful exit of the righteous, or of the hopes triumphing over, though mingled with the fears of the penitent, who found mercy of the Lord even at the eleventh hour. The hero, the conqueror, the emperor, the captive has passed to his account;—he had his opportunity of repentance and reflection given him; earnestly do we wish that he may have availed himself of it. To God we are certain that, for a great portion of his life, he did not live;—happy will it be for him if in God, through the abundant merits of a Saviour, he should have died. Yet who would not say of the humblest believer, rather than of this man, though one of the mightiest of the earth, Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last days be like his!

CHARLES ALFRED STOTHARD, Esq., F.A.S.—This ingenious artist, cut off in a moment from society and from his friends, in the prime of life,—the full vigour of health, and whilst the fairest prospects were unfolding before him,—was the eldest surviving son of Thomas Stothard, Esq., R.A., the celebrated historical painter, who, by his being accidentally shot by a school-fellow, was deprived, some years since, of his eldest son. He was born on the 5th of July 1787, and exhibited, at an early age, a very strong propensity to study, and a genius for drawing, which was very naturally encouraged by his father, who, on his leaving school, entered him as a student in the Royal Academy, where he greatly distinguished himself by the taste and accuracy with which he copied the antique sculptures in that school of art. The direction of his talents to the channel in which they obtained for him a deservedly high reputation, was, however, more immediately a recommendation from his father, whom he accompanied to Burleigh, whilst engaged in decorating the staircase of that magnificent mansion, to fill up his time by making drawings of the monuments in the neighbouring churches, as useful authorities in the designing of costume. This gave the first bias to his mind in favour of antiquarian researches and illustrations; and though for a while he determined to become an historical painter, an attachment which he formed to the lady whom he afterwards married, induced him, as a more probable means of obtaining a sufficient maintenance to justify his marrying, to return to this less beaten track to fortune and to fame; and with such an

incitement to diligence and activity, he soon became celebrated for the taste and fidelity with which he delineated objects of national antiquities, a branch of his art to which he afterwards principally and almost exclusively devoted his attention. In illustration of it, he published nine numbers of a most interesting work, "The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain." Through the patronage of Sir Joseph Banks and Mr. Lysons, by the latter of whom he was extensively employed to make drawings illustrative of that great national work the *Magna Britannia*, he was appointed to the honourable post of historical draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries, of which he soon after became a fellow. Under the direction of the Society, he made three excursions in 1816, 1817, and 1818, to France, to take drawings of the famous tapestry deposited at Bayeux; and in the abbey of Fontevraud and L'Espar in Normandy, converted, the one into a prison, the other to a barn, discovered several interesting monumental effigies of our royal race of Plantagenets, which his accurate drawings were the means of recovering from oblivion, and his representations to our government, the cause of wresting their remains, exposed to daily dilapidation, from final destruction. On the last of these interesting excursions he was accompanied by his wife, the only daughter of John Kempe, Esq. of the New Kent Road, to whom, after a long attachment, he was married in 1818. To her lively pen the public are indebted for an interesting narrative of their journey, illustrated by some of the most tasteful productions of her husband's pencil. In 1819, he laid before the Society, by whom he had been employed, the result of his laborious investigations, in a paper highly honourable to his discrimination, in which, in opposition to the doubts of the Abbé de la Rue, he proved, from historical evidence, the antiquity of the Bayeux tapestry to be that generally assigned to it, the era immediately succeeding the conquest. This ingenious treatise was printed in the 19th volume of the *Archæologia*, and engravings of the very accurate and beautiful drawings which it illustrates are now publishing by the Society. In the autumn of that year, he executed for them a series of exquisitely finished drawings of the paintings then recently discovered in the Painted Chamber, at Westminster, in which he exhibited a very ingenious recovery of the long lost art of raising gold embossed on the surface of the material, as may be seen in the splendid illuminations of ancient manuscripts. Whilst engaged in this work, he had nearly met with the same fate which afterwards befel him; by all but falling from the top of one of the highest scaffolds, on which he fearlessly had taken his stand. In the spring of the present year, he visited Devonshire to make drawings for the illustration of his friend Mr. Lysons's account of that county, in the regular series of the *Magna Britannia*; and there, whilst engaged in copying the stained glass of the east window of Bere Ferres church, on Monday the 29th of May, suddenly terminated his active life by a fall from a ladder, when he was killed upon the spot by a concussion of the brain against the monument of an ancient knight. Thus did he receive his death-blow from one of those very effigies that had so long been the favourite object of his pursuit; and, still more singular to relate, the fall which terminated the career of the artist, literally snapt in twain the pencil which he held in his hand. He has left behind him a large collection for a work on seals; very extensive and valuable materials for an illustration of the age of Elizabeth; and also several drawings in his best style, to accompany a yet unpublished account, by his wife, of a tour in the Netherlands, undertaken in the autumn of 1820, for the benefit of her health.

PROVINCIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Deaths.—Sept. 2, 1820. At Jebo, in Chinese Tartary, Kea King, emperor of China. According to the Pekin gazette, "his Imperial Majesty, on the 25th of the 7th moon, departed to wander among the immortals." The monarch whose dissolution is thus singularly announced, was the 14th son of Kien-Lung of the Ta-tsing dynasty; and, at the time of his death, was in the 61st year of his age, and the 25th of his reign, which, on the whole, was a better and more peaceful one than those of the preceding dynasty of Ming. Perhaps, however, this is not saying much for him; for he seems to have been capricious, fond of drink, distrustful, superstitious, much under the influence of his favourites, addicted to persecution in matters of religion, though not otherwise so great an oppressor as from so absolute a monarch, with such propensities, might reasonably be expected.—April 6, At Fellowship-hall, in St. David's, Jamaica, Margaret Darley, a free black woman, at the advanced age of 130, retaining all her faculties to the last.—14. At his house in Gloucester Place, major James, author of the "Military Dictionary," the "Regimental Companion," and other miscellaneous works.—May. At his country house, near Berlin, the celebrated Prussian naturalist Achard, the discoverer of the process of making sugar from beet-root.—At Frankfort, where he had lived in retirement for the last 16 years, of apoplexy, prince Charles of Hesse Rothenberg, better known in France by the name of Charles Hesse. This republican prince was for a long time one of the editors of the "Journal des Hommes Libres," in which his articles were signed *Fiat Lux*.—8. At Schwerin, aged 86, H.R.H. Duke Adolphus Frederic, of Mecklenburg, youngest son of the reigning duke.—13. At New York, rev. David Williamson, a native of Fifeshire, Scotland, and upwards of 30 years pastor of the associate congregation at Whitehaven, Cumberland, 58.—17. At Frankfort, at a very advanced age, M. Alopeus, formerly Prussian ambassador to several courts.—In Campbell county, Virginia, America, aged 121, Mr. Chas. Layne, sen. At the period of gen. Braddock's defeat, Mr. Layne was 55 years of age, and was exempt from military duty on that alarming occasion. He has left a widow, aged 110 years, and a numerous and respectable family, down to the third and fourth generation. He was a subject of four British sovereigns, and a citizen of the United States for nearly 48 years. Until within a few years, he enjoyed all his faculties, with vigorous bodily health.—19. In Paris, marshal duc de Coigny, peer of France, chevalier of the royal orders, and commander of the military order of St. Louis, governor of the invalids, and of Fontainebleau.—M. Camille Jourdan, member of the French chamber of deputies.—22. At Hanover, in his 82d year, M. Foder, privy-counsellor of justice, well known in the literary world.—23. In Tenterden street, Robert Darling Willis, M.D.—27. In his 27th year, Hon. Morton Eden, barrister at law, brother to Lord Auckland.—June. On board the Duke of Kent packet, on his passage from Lisbon to Falmouth, right hon. Lord Clifford.—At Strasburg, M. Levrault, rector of the academy in that city, member of the council general, the council of prefecture, and of the legion of honour.—At Padua, Antonio Colalto, ancient professor of mathematics in the university.—In the department of the Brescia, Angelo Anelli de Desensano, who was bred an advocate, but quitted his profession for the study of literature; he was the author of several dramatic pieces.—1. At his house in Spring-garden, the right hon. John Dalrymple, sixth earl of Stair. His lordship, having left no issue, is succeeded by John George, son of general William Dalrymple, deceased.—2. At Vienna, senator count Antonio Maria Capo d'Istria, father of the

Russian secretary of state.—4. In Edward Street, Portman Square, sir George Douglas, bart., of Springwood Park, Roxburghshire, which county he represented in several successive parliaments. He is succeeded by his only son, James.—11. At Brussels, the ex-conventionalist Quiette. He was one of the four deputies who, with Bournonville, the minister at war, went, on the 2d of April 1793, to the head-quarters of Dumourier, to arrest that general, and take him to Paris to be tried, but who were themselves arrested and delivered by Dumourier to the Austrian general Clairfait, and were kept in prison in Germany for two years and a half, until they were exchanged for the duchess d'Angouleme, in 1795.—18. In his 80th year, James Carmichael Smith, M.D., and physician extraordinary to his late majesty. He was author or editor of the following medical works: "An Account of the Effects of Swinging as a Remedy in Pulmonary Consumption," 8vo. 1787. "The Works of the late Dr. William Stark," 4to. 1788. "A Description of the Jail Distemper, as it appeared among the Spanish Prisoners at Winchester in 1780, with an Account of the Means employed to cure the Contagion to which it gave rise." For the discovery of a remedy for that contagion, in the use of three mineral acids of great efficacy, Dr. Smith received a parliamentary reward, after a fruitless opposition from Dr. John Johnstone, of Kidderminster, who, on very vague grounds, claimed the discovery for his father, as it was afterwards claimed also for the French nation by M. Chaptal, who states it to have been first practised by Guyton de Morveau, in 1773. These claims drew from Dr. Smith two controversial pamphlets, "A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq., on a Pamphlet by Dr. Johnstone," 8vo. 1806; and "Remarks on the Report of M. Chaptal, with an Examination of the Claim of M. Guyton de Morveau, to the Discovery of the Power of the Mineral Acid Gas on Contagion," 8vo. He also printed "The Effects of Nitrous Vapour in Preventing and Destroying Contagion, ascertained; with an Introduction respecting the Nature of the Contagion, which gives Rise to the Jail or Hospital Fever," 8vo. "A Treatise on Hydrocephalus or Dropsy of the Brain," 8vo. 1814.—20. At Paris, prince Maurice de Broglie, bishop of Ghent.—22. In Bevis Marks, aged 74, Daniel Jacob de Castro, esq., for 36 years chancellor of the Spanish and Portuguese nation.—23. At Paris, cardinal de la Luzerne, 88.—The duchess dowager of Orleans, after a long and painful illness. She leaves to the duke of Orleans two millions and a half francs, or upwards of £100,000 per annum.—July. Suddenly, in France, on his return from Rome, rev. Charles Plowden, provincial of the order of Jesuits, at Stonyhurst, in Lancashire, of an aneurism of the heart, 78.—Fortane Dufau, a native of St. Domingo, an historical painter, and a pupil of David.—3. At his house in York Place, Portman Square, lieutenant-general Robert Nicholson, H. E. I. C. S.—4. Richard Cosway, esq. R.A.—5. At his house in Portland Place, Charles Thomson, esq., one of the masters in Chancery, who put an end to his existence in a fit of insanity.—8. At Havre de Grace, rear-admiral the hon. Francis Farington Gardner, 47.—9. At his house in Cleveland Row, sir John W. Compton, D.C.L., late judge of the Vice Admiralty Court at Barbadoes, and fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.—13. At his apartments at the London coffeehouse, Ludgate Hill, within the rules of the Fleet prison, in his 85th year, sir Watkin Lewes, knt., father of the court of aldermen, and also for many years one of the representatives in parliament of the city of London.—17. In the 77th year of his age, John Newby, esq., 38 years secretary to the Marine Society.—21. At the library, in Redcross Street, founded by the rev. Daniel Williams, D.D., the rev. Thomas Morgan, LL.D., aged 86, librarian of that institution, and a large contributor to *Rees's Cyclopaedia*, *Aiken's Biographical Dictionary*, &c. He formerly compiled

also the literary department of the Annual Register.—*August 1.* At his house in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, the right hon. lord Suffield. His lordship dying without issue, is succeeded in his titles and estates by his brother, the hon. Edward Harbord.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Very rev. Arthur H. Kenny, D.D.,^f dean of Achonry, St. Olave's, Southwark, R.—Rev. Dr. Rudge, evening lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London.—Rev. Edwin Colman Tyson, B.A., second mathematical master of Christ's hospital.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Death.—At Woburn, the rev. E. H. Whinfield,

BERKSHIRE.

Death.—*August 5.* At Wokingham, in the 77th year of his age, the rev. William Bremner, many years curate of that place, and master of Lucas hospital.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Death.—*July 2.* At the rectory house, Milton Keynes, rev. Lambton Lorraine.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Death.—*June 18.* Charles Hague, Mus. D., professor of music in the University of Cambridge since 1799.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. James Wood, D.D., master of St. John's College, deanery of Ely.—Rev. J. Halliwell, Fellow of Christ's College, lecturer of Great St. Andrew's, Cambridge.

University Intelligence.—Rev. W. French, M.A., fellow and tutor of Pembroke, has been appointed, by the bishop of Ely, master of Jesus College.

CORNWALL.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. Walter Gee, B.D., fellow and tutor of Sidney Sussex College, Week St. Mary, R.—Rev. G. T. Plummer, A.B., Northill, R.—Rev. W. A. Morgan, Tremere, P.C.

DERBYSHIRE.

Deaths.—*July 29.* Aged 90, rev. Francis Gisborne, R. of Staveley.—At Somerhal, Herbert, rev. S. Jackson.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. J. Chamberlayne, master of Etwell hospital.—Rev. M. Witt, second master of Repton school.

DEVONSHIRE.

Deaths.—*May.* A man named Mortimer, at Collumpton, of voluntary starvation. He had a small property, by which he had been supported for some years; but finding he was likely to outlive it, as it was reduced to about £150, and feeling the apprehension of want more than the natural love of life, he came to the resolution of ending his days by starvation. To effect this dreadful purpose, he took nothing but water for a month before he died; at the end of three weeks, his body was wasted to a skeleton, and a medical gentleman was called in, who advised him to take some nourishment, but this he refused, and even discontinued the use of water. In this way he subsisted another week, when nature yielded the contest.—*June.* Rev. George Hawker, in the 25th year of his age, having but a few days before taken possession of the valuable vicarage of Tamerton, at which time he was in full health.—Abel Wake, esq. He has bequeathed £3000 to the episcopal school for boys at Exeter; £3000 to the same establishment for girls; £3000 to the school of St. John's hospital, in that city; and a handsome legacy to the Devon and Exeter hospital. He has also left £2500 to the London hospital, and £2000 each to the asylum for the deaf and dumb, in the Kent road, and that for the blind in St. George's

Fields; the same sum to the society for the relief of prisoners confined for small debts, and £1000 to the Westminster asylum.—*July.* Rev. T. Blackball.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. G. Hawker, B.A., Tamerton, V.—Rev. W. Hames, B.A., Clayford, R.—Rev. W. Buckland, B.D., professor of mineralogy in the University of Oxford, Templeton, R.—Rev. P. F. Clay, Eggesford and Chawleigh, R.R.—Rev. Charles Boyles, Tamerton, V.

New Church.—A new church has lately been opened at West Tisignmouth.

DORSETSHIRE.

Death.—Rev. John Munden, LL.D., R. of Beer Hacket and Corscombe.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. H. Walter Haselbury Bryan, R.—Rev. G. Chard, Blandford, R.

DURHAM.

Death.—*July.* At Moorhouses, Anne Rule, 100.

ESSEX.

Deaths.—*June 4.* In his 29th year, rev. Samuel Jackson, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, eldest son of J. Jackson, esq. of Great Easton.—16. At his parsonage house, Langdon hills, in his 79th year, rev. John Moore, LL.B., for many years R. of that parish, and of St. Michael's Bassishaw, London, one of the minor canons of St. Paul's, priest of his majesty's chapel royal, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London, and late one of the examiners of Merchant tailors' school.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. J. C. Rice, A.M., Rawreth, R.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Death.—*July 22.* At Cheltenham, sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, bart., of Charlton-house, Kent, 47.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. H. Baylis, M.A., R. of St. Mary de Crypt, to hold Mapleton, with Ebrington annexed, V.

Ordination.—*April 19.* Rev. G. B. Drayton, over the Baptist church at Gloucester.

HAMPSHIRE.

Deaths.—*June 10.* At Romsey, in her 34th year, after an illness of four days, Rebecca, the wife of John Reynolds Beddome, esq., and youngest daughter of the rev. Robert Winter, D.D., pastor of the Independent church in New Court, London.—14. At Tichborne house, in his 65th year, sir Henry Tichborne, bart.—*July 2.* Sir Thomas Champneys, bart., who is succeeded in his title and estates by his only surviving son, Thomas Symmer Champneys, esq., of Orchardleigh Park, Somerset.—31. From a sudden inflammatory complaint, rev. Andrew Lawrence, brother of sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., chaplain to the royal hospital at Haslar, and V. of Long parish.

Ordination.—*May 29.* Rev. W. Brand, late of Castle Donnington, over the general Baptist church in Clarence Street, Portsea.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Death.—*May 13.* At Kingsland, rev. Richard Davies Evans, M.A., R. of that parish, and a prebendary of Hereford.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. Harry Lee, a prebendal stall in Hereford Cathedral.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Deaths.—*May 31.* At Cheshunt Park, aged 79, Oliver Cromwell, great grandson of Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, fourth son of the protector. This gentleman was formerly a respectable solicitor in Essex Street, Strand, and clerk to St. Thomas's Hospital; but has left no male issue behind him. His Memoirs of his great-great grandfather, the pro-

lector, recently published, are, we doubt not, known to most of our readers.

—*June 28.* Rev. W. Hautayne, thirty-four years R. of Elstree.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. J. V. Stewart, Gilsdon, R.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Death.—*July 11.* Rev. Henry Grace Sperling, R. of Papworth St. Agnes.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. Thomas Garbett, a minor canon in Peterborough Cathedral.

KENT.

Deaths.—*June.* At Lydd vicarage, rev. W. P. Warburton, late fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, 60.—14. Rev. D. Ibbetson, M.A., R. of Halstead.—*July 17.* At Hearne Bay, after a few days' illness, rev. B. F. Dornford, M.A., curate of Swaycliffe and Reculvers.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. W. Miller, Bapchild, V.—Rev. J. Sampson, B.D., Halstead, R.—Rev. Edward Heawood, head master of Dartford grammar school.—Rev. W. P. Jones, M.A., master of the King's School, Canterbury.

LANCASHIRE.

Deaths.—*July.* Rev. S. Steel, formerly of Liverpool.—23. Mr. Robert Fairclough, of Fylde Plumpton, near Kirkham, aged 102 years and 6 months. He was a thatcher by trade, and had a retentive memory.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. Mr. Dent, Cockerham, V.

Philanthropic Intelligence.—A charitable institution was established, on the 20th of June, at Preston, under the immediate patronage of several of the most active magistrates of the county, for the reception and reform of offenders liberated from confinement in the gaol, and different houses of correction in this county.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Deaths.—*July.* At Lauby, rev. G. Gray, V. of Aylsby and Martin.—Rev. J. Colebank, of Sutterton, formerly curate of Algakirk and Fosdyke.—At North Somercotes, rev. J. Meyers, 78.—Rev. T. H. Wayitt, D.D., V. of Pinchbeck.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. E. Fane, R. of Fulbeck, prebendal stall of Clifton, in Lincoln Cathedral.—Rev. Isham Case, of Bury, Quarlington, R.—Rev. T. Wright, chaplain to lord Somerville, Steeple and East Claydon, R.R.—Rev. Mr. Wayitt, lecturer of Boston, valuable living of Pinchbeck.

MIDDLESEX.

Deaths.—*June 10.* At Southgate, in his 40th year, Charles Pasley, esq., late major E. I. C. S., and chargé d'affaires at the court of Persia.—24. At his seat, Pinner Grove, aged 74, sir Francis Milman, M.D., F.R.S., late president of the Royal College of Physicians, and physician to their late majesties, and to the royal household. He was the author of "*Animadversiones de Naturâ Hydropis ejusque Curatione*," 8vo. 1799; and of a treatise "*On the Source of the Scurvy and Putrid Fever*," 8vo. 1782.—*July 6.* At his apartments in Chelsea Hospital, aged 76, Thomas Keate, esq., surgeon to that establishment for upwards of thirty years, surgeon to the king, and late surgeon-general to the army. He was the author of a small, but very valuable treatise on Gun Shot Wounds, and also of "*Cases of the Hydrocele, with Observations on a peculiar Method of Treating that Disease*," 8vo. 1788; "*Observations on the Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry*," 4to. 1808; "*Observations on the Proceedings and Report of the Medical Board appointed to examine the State of the Army Depôt in the Isle of Wight*," 1809, 8vo.

MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. James Coles, chaplain to the earl of Tankerville, Michaelstone Viddw, R.

NORFOLK.

Death.—*July.* Rev. M. Carthew, M.A., V. of Makeshall, &c.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. W. Collett, jun., B.A., St. Mary Surlingham, V., with St. Saviour's annexed.—Rev. C. Grant, West Basham, V.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Death.—*July.* At Plumptre; rev. T. Watts.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Deaths.—*May.* At Hecknall Torkard, John Spray, aged 71; and on the following morning, Mary, his wife, aged 69. From their great attachment to each other, they were called the "two doves;" they were never known to quarrel, nor ever went out on business, but in each other's company. They were buried in the same grave.—*July.* Rev. H. Byron, R. of Merston.—At Southwell, rev. W. Beecher, prebendary of the collegiate church there.

SHROPSHIRE.

Death.—*July.* Rev. D. Evans, V. of Ruyton, and of the eleven towns.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Deaths.—*May 13.* At Bristol, in the 79th year of his age, rev. Thomas Ford, D.C.L., late vicar of Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire, which living he resigned ten years ago, on retiring to his native city, from compassion to the case of the present incumbent, who has ten children, and for whom the next presentation was purchased by his brother, more than 20 years since. Dr. Ford was the author of three single Sermons on Public Occasions, but was better known for his extraordinary attachment to, and skill in church music. On the Sunday preceding that on which he died, he preached his last sermon; and in it, after an allusion to the race of some of his hearers being almost run, emphatically exclaimed, *MINE IS!* He attended prayers, however, at Bristol Cathedral, on the Saturday morning following, but the next day was a corpse. When a young man, he was patronized by archbishop Secker, and was living in the family of that eminent prelate at the time of his death.—*June.* Rev. C. H. Sampson, D.D., minister of Laytonstone Chapel, Essex.—1. In Great Pulteney Street, Bath, the right hon. John Campbell, baron Cawdor.—11. At Batheaston, rev. Race Godfrey, D.D., nearly 30 years minister and chief proprietor of Kensington Chapel, Bath.—*July 10.* At Bath, in his 91st year, the rev. sir C. Wheller, bart., of Leamington Hastings, Warwickshire, and a prebendary of York.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. C. M. Mount, to be minister of Christ Church, Bath.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Death.—*July.* At Coven Heath, Mr. S. Taylor, 102.

SUFFOLK.

Deaths.—*June 28.* At his house, on the common quay at Ipswich, Mr. George Frost, well known in this county as an ardent admirer, and close and accurate imitator of the landscapes of Gainsborough.—*July.* At Walpole, rev. R. Wearing, upwards of 40 years a dissenting minister in this county.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. J. T. Nottidge, M.A., St. Helena, and St. Clement's, Ipswich.—Rev. C. B. Smith, Wingfield, P. C.

SURREY.

Deaths.—*April 17.* At Camberwell, in full possession of all her faculties,

Elizabeth Honsler, aged 105 years, 56 of which she had been maintained in the work-house of that parish.—*May 28.* At Wimbledon, rev. Joshua Ruddock, M.A., V. of Hitchin.—*July 8.* At Sunderstead, rev. Atwell Wiggell.—13. At the Mansion-house Cottage, Camberwell, rev. William Smith, A.M., 78.—17. At East Sheen, rev. Peter Gandolphy, of Portman Street, Portman Square. This gentleman was a Roman Catholic clergyman, well known to the public, by the very active part which he took in the controversy that has for many years prevailed relative to the justice and propriety of emancipating the professors of the religion of which he was a priest, from the civil disabilities to which they are subjected.—26. At his house, Clapham Common, after a severe illness, Richard Rothwell, esq., of Cheapside, alderman of the ward of Cheap.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. H. J. Ridley, M.A., chaplain to the lord chancellor, and prebendary of Bristol, to hold Abinger R. with that of Newdigate.

SUSSEX.

Death.—*May 25.* At the Hocks, near Lewes, rev. sir Henry Poole, bart., of Poole, Cheshire.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. Hugh Pearson, D.D., chaplain in ordinary to his majesty's household at Brighton.

WILTSHIRE.

Ecclesiastical Preferment.—Rev. J. H. Hodgson, B.A., Idmiton, V.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Death.—*July.* Rev. T. Blackhall, V. of Tardebig.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. T. Price, M.A., Breduct, R.—Rev. C. Copner, M.A., St. Peter, Worcester, V.—Rev. J. Lynes, M.A., Elmley Lovett, R.—Rev. H. Gwyther, Yardley, V.

YORKSHIRE.

Deaths.—*May.* Rev. John Preston, of Flasby Hall, 63.—*July 29.* At York, aged 77, Mrs. Catherine Cappe, relict of the rev. N. Cappe. She was well known to the public, by the various productions of her pen.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. W. H. Dixon, Wilson, V., and Cawood, P. C.—Rev. Rouen Cooke, LL.B., Worsbrough, V.—Rev. J. H. Todd, A.M., Sittlington, R.; patron, the earl of Bridgwater.—Rev. R. Forest, senior vicar, choral sub-chanter of York Cathedral.—Rev. J. Richardson, one of the vicars choral of the Cathedral, lecturer at York Castle.

Philanthropic Intelligence.—By the decisions of the Chancery Court, the revenue of two schools, one at Richworth, near Halifax, and the other at Dewsbury, is now swelled from £500 to nearly £3000 a-year! and it is expected, that the number of scholars to partake of the benefits will be increased in the same proportion.

WALES.

Deaths.—*June 7.* At Covebreend, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire, David Phelps, 102. He had lived in the family of Mr. Trehern, as house steward, 76 years.—21. At Llanvihagel Court, near Abergavenny, Hugh Powell, esq., treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London.—*July.* At Aberystwith, rev. J. H. Lilwell.

Ecclesiastical Preferments.—Rev. Samuel Davies, jun., Oystermouth, Glamorganshire, P. C.—Rev. Richard Rice Venables, D.D., Newchurch, R. Radnorshire.

SCOTLAND.

Deaths.—*Feb. 11.* At Edinburgh, the right hon. Anne Abercromby, baroness Abercromby of Aboukir, &c. She is succeeded in her title by her

eldest son, by her late husband; the gallant sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B.; George, now baron Abercromby.—*June 2.* At Glasgow, Mr. John Cross, teacher of mathematics, superintendant of the Glasgow Observatory.—*10.* At Rosehall, N. B. William Munro, gardener there since 1747. He attained, at least, to the age of 104; yet, in spite of this extraordinary longevity, he reserved the full use of all his faculties, and was able to walk about till within a short period of his death.—*20.* At Cromarty, rev. Alexander Macleod, minister of the Gaelic church.

IRELAND.

Deaths.—*June 3.* At his seat, near Clonmel, sir Thomas Osborn, bart.—*15.* At Castletacken, co. of Mayo, right hon. James Cuff, baron Tyrawly; who is succeeded in his estates by his son, colonel James Cuff, M. P. for Tralee; but the title becomes extinct.—*20.* At Colblow, co. of Dublin, Denis George, esq., late a baron of the Exchequer in Ireland.—*July.* At Ashford, co. of Waterford, aged 111, Anne Bryan, leaving a posterity of 160 persons, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.—At his vicarage, Collen, aged 83, rev. Daniel Augustus Beaufort, LL.D., M.R.I.A., R. of Navan, co. of Meath, and V. of Callon, co. of Louth. He was the compiler of the well known "Civil and Ecclesiastical Map of Ireland," and of the Memoir accompanying it, a new edition of which he was occupied in preparing in the last year of his active life. Within a few years of his death, he rebuilt the churches in both his parishes, in a style that does equal credit to his liberality, his zeal, and his architectural taste. He was one of the first proposers of the Royal Irish Academy, and actively assisted in the formation and regulation of that useful institution, of which he became one of the earliest members. To the establishment and improvement of the Sunday schools in Dublin, he contributed essentially by his personal exertions, and constant attendance, during his residence in the Irish metropolis. He was also one of the original founders of the Association for the Encouragement of Virtue. During the course of a life unusually long, and never idle, this exemplary clergyman did little for himself, much for others, nothing for money, scarcely any thing for fame, much for his country, and still more for virtue and religion. His parishioners, who owe him so much, propose erecting a monument to his memory.—At Tullibrack, rev. J. Mart.—At Athlone, rev. R. Dunlop.

SUMMARY OF MISSIONARY PROCEEDINGS.

SINCE our last summary, the first stone of the Missionary College at Calcutta, attached to the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, has been laid with the full ceremonials usually observed in such cases, by the bishop of the diocese, in presence of the archdeacon, and clergy, and several persons of rank in the civil service of the Company.

From the East Indies the BAPTIST MISSION continue to receive encouraging intelligence. Mr. Thompson, the active missionary, who lately undertook a journey from Delhi to Loodiana, gave, at the latter place, to the mahant of the Sikhs, whom he found surrounded by his disciples, and expounding to them one of their sacred books, a copy of the Punjabee Gospels, which the old man most thankfully received. Many of the Sikhs and Gosaees of the neighbouring villages repaired also to the missionary's residence, for copies of the Scriptures, and for religious conversation, which

will, we hope, be made useful to them. The females at Beramphore have lately formed a small society, for the support of native schools for the children of their own sex; an object to which we rejoice to know, that the attention of the religious public, and particularly the female part of it, has lately been, and still is, very actively directed. A letter of Mr. Ward's to Miss Hope, of Liverpool, upon this interesting subject, has, we have reason to know, been extracted from his *Farewell Letters*, and printed for separate distribution in some parts of the north of England, to encourage the formation of auxiliary societies for this express purpose; an end which we are happy to find, that they have been very instrumental in accomplishing. Effective agents for carrying into execution this benevolent design, are also now on their way to India; as, independent of the wives of the missionaries already there, and of others now going out, the British and Foreign School Society has sent a lady to India, under the protection of Mr. Ward, for this express purpose. The missionaries at Serampore proceed prosperously in their arduous, but most important, work of translating the oracles of God into the various languages of the East. For versions of the New Testament in the Assamese and Multanee, they have deservedly received the premium of £500. offered by the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the first thousand copies of the New Testament in a language of India, in which it had not before appeared; and other versions are announced as nearly ready to be presented, for a similar well-earned remuneration. But, for the particulars of their astonishing progress in their mighty work, we refer our readers to the following abstract of their seventh memoir on translations—a document which we very earnestly recommend to their attentive consideration:—

“ Concise View of the Translations of the Holy Scriptures, extracted from the Seventh Memoir, dated Serampore, Dec. 1820*.

“ 1. In Bengalee, the fifth edition of the New Testament, containing 5,000 copies, which was printed off about three years ago, is nearly exhausted; and of the different parts of the Old, scarcely a single copy has been left for some time past. The continual demand for this version, therefore, has rendered it necessary to print a new edition of the whole Scriptures. This edition, which will form the *sixth* edition of the New Testament, and the *third* of the Psalms, and some other parts of the Old Testament, will consist of 4000 copies, and of the New Testament 2000 extra, the demand being so very great. By using a new fount of types, of a reduced size, and printing in double columns, on a large octavo page, the brethren hope to bring the whole five volumes into one volume of about 1300 pages, royal octavo, or two very moderate volumes; and the New Testament into a neat duodecimo, of about 400 pages.

“ 2. In the Sungskrit, the last volume of the Old Testament was printed off above two years ago. The first edition of the New Testament is quite exhausted, and the numerous calls for the Scriptures in this language by the *literati* of India, have induced the brethren to put to press a second edition of the whole Scriptures. This will likewise be printed in double columns, in the large octavo size, and the whole Scriptures be comprised in one volume. It will consist of 2000 copies, with an extra number of 2000 New Testaments.

“ 3. In the Hinddee, also, the last volume of the Old Testament was published nearly two years ago. The edition of the New Testament being

* This very interesting Memoir may be had of Holdsworth, St. Paul's Churchyard; Whittemore, and Hamilton, Paternoster Row. Price, to non-subscribers, 1s.

nearly exhausted, and Mr. Chamberlain having prepared another version of the New Testament in this language, for which his long residence in the western provinces of India, and his intimate acquaintance with their popular dialects, eminently fit him, the brethren have resolved in this edition to print his version of the New Testament, instead of their own, as a comparison of independent versions, made by persons long and intimately acquainted with the language, will be of the utmost value in ultimately forming a correct, chaste, and perspicuous version in this widely extended language. Of this edition of the New Testament, which is more than half through the press, they are printing 2000 copies.

"4. In the Orissa language the whole Scriptures have been long published. The first edition of the New Testament being exhausted, and the demand for this version still increasing, the brethren have prepared a second edition, which is now more than half through the press. It consists of 4000 copies.

"5. The last volume of the Old Testament, in the Mahratta language, was published many months ago, so that a version of the whole Scriptures in that language is now completed. Of the first edition of the New Testament, not a single copy being left, they have put to press a second edition, in a duodecimo size.

"In these five languages the whole of the Scriptures are now published, and in circulation; in the last four of them *second* editions of the New Testament are in the press; and in the first, the Bengalee, begun twenty-six years ago, the *sixth* edition of the New Testament. In the following ten languages the New Testament is published, or nearly so; and in some of them the Pentateuch, and other parts of the Old Testament:—

"1. In the Chinese language, the translation of the Old Testament was completed several years ago. In addition to the New Testament, the Pentateuch, the Hagiographa, and the Prophetic Books, are now printed off. The historical books, which will complete the whole Scriptures, are in the press, and will, probably, be published before the end of the ensuing year.

"2. In the Shikh language, besides the New Testament, the Pentateuch and the historical books are printed off; and the Hagiographa is advanced as far as the middle of the book of Job. So strong, however, has been the desire of this nation for the New Testament, that the whole edition is nearly distributed; and a second edition will, probably, be called for before the Old Testament is wholly published. Excepting the Mugs on the borders of Arracan, no one of the nations of India has discovered a stronger desire for the Scriptures than this hardy race; and the distribution of almost every copy has been accompanied with the pleasing hope of its being read and valued.

"3. In the Pushtoo, or Afghan language, the nation supposed by some to be descended from the ten tribes, the New Testament has been printed off. The Pentateuch is also advanced at press as far as the book of Leviticus.

"4. In the Telinga, or Telooogo language, the New Testament was published two years ago, and the Pentateuch is printed as far as the book of Leviticus. This translation, however, when the Pentateuch is finished, the brethren intend to resign to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society.

"5. In the Kunkuna language, the New Testament was completed above eighteen months ago; and the Pentateuch is advanced at press as far as the book of Numbers. As this province comes immediately under the care of the Bombay Bible Society, it is intended, on the completion of the Pentateuch at press, to relinquish this translation to them.

"6. In the Wuch, or Mooltanee language, the New Testament has been

printed off these eighteen months, in its own character. But, as the opportunities for distributing this version have been exceedingly limited, and they have little prospect of establishing a mission in that province, they have dismissed the pundit, and discontinued the translation, till these circumstances, with those of a pecuniary nature, shall be more favourable.

" 7. In the Assam language, also, the New Testament has been printed off nearly two years; and the vicinity of this country to Bengal, rendering it highly desirable to proceed with the translation, an edition of the Old Testament has been put to press, in the large octavo size, in double columns, which will very considerably lessen the expense, the character being similar to the Bengalee, both in form and size.

" 8. In the Gujuratee language, the New Testament is now happily brought through the press, thirteen years after retaining the first pundit in this language. It makes between 8 and 900 pages, and is printed in the Deva Naguree character. This translation the brethren intend to resign to their brethren from the London Missionary Society, who are now studying the language, that they may give their attention more fully to those in which no others are engaged.

" 9. In the Bikanere language, also, the New Testament is now finished at press. It contains 800 pages, and is printed in the Naguree character. This version was begun nearly seven years ago.

" 10. To these we may add the New Testament in the Kashmeer language, which version has been in hand nearly eight years, and will be finished at press in about a month. It is printed in a neat type of its own, as mentioned in a former memoir. In these ten languages the New Testament may be considered as being published.

" Besides these fifteen in which the New Testament is completed, there are six other languages in which it is brought more than half through the press. These are, the Kurnata, the Nepal, the Harutee, the Marwar, the Bhughulkund, and the Oojein versions. About ten months more, they have reason to hope, will bring these through the press; and thus in twenty-one of the languages of India, and these by far the most extensive and important, the New Testament will be published. It is the intention of the brethren to relinquish the first of these, the Kurnata, to the Madras Bible Society, on the New Testament being completed, that they may be better able to attend to the remaining languages in which no version is begun by any one besides.

" The remaining versions now in hand are the following ten, which are all in the press:—

" The Jumboo, Kanouj, and Khasee, printed as far as John; the Khoshul, Bhutuneer, Dogura, and Magudha, to Mark; and the Kumaoon, Gudwal, and Munipoora, to Matthew.

" In these ten versions, therefore, a sufficient progress is made to render the completion of them in no way difficult.

" In comparing this memoir with the last, it will be seen, that in several of the languages mentioned therein the translation has been discontinued: To this the brethren have been constrained, by the low state of the translation fund, arising principally from the heavy expenses occasioned by new editions of the Sungskrit, the Bengalee, the Hindee, and the Orissa Scriptures, now in the press. In discontinuing these, however, they have been guided by a due consideration of the importance, and the distinctness, of the different languages in which they are engaged, as well as the ease with which pundits could be procured, should the public enable them to resume them again."

In the islands of the South Sea, the agents of the LONDON MISSIONARY

SOCIETY are labouring with great success, though in the midst of it two of them, Mr. Tissier, a preacher advanced in years, and too feeble to travel, but yet useful at his post; and Mr. Bicknell, the first person who offered his services to the society, have been summoned from their labours to their rest. At Otaheite the work of the Lord still prospers in the hands of his servants, and many of its savage inhabitants, but lately fierce in spirit as the tiger, have, under the influence of Divine grace, put on the meekness of the lamb. In the district of Atohurū, one of the two principal divisions of the people whom the missionaries agreed to supply on the Sabbath, have, of their own accord, removed nearer to the new settlement of Burder's-point, for the express purpose of enjoying the means of instruction on the week days also. Their chief has of late become very attentive, and is a promising candidate for baptism. The gospel of St. Matthew has been printed at this station, and the people received it in their native tongue with great eagerness; many of them, who could not obtain a copy, being much disappointed at their loss. In the island of Huaheine, an edition of 2000 copies of the gospel of St. Matthew has been distributed amongst the natives, who sought it with avidity, and received it with gratitude. The gospels of Mark and John, and the Acts of the Apostles, are also translated, and the Psalms are in hand. The first printed report of the proceedings of the mission established in this island has recently been received, and gives the encouraging intelligence of the congregation at Fare, where the missionaries reside, having considerably increased. It now amounts to between 8 and 400 persons. The number of scholars is proportionably augmented; those at three stations on the island amounting to between 12 and 13,000. A place of worship has since been finished, reported to be the best, neatest, and most commodious of any on the islands of the South Sea; and from fourteen to sixteen hundred persons have been collected in it at one time, without its being nearly full. Of these 55 have been baptized, and amongst them the two principal chiefs of the island; whilst 570 were, at the time of despatching the last accounts, candidates for that initiatory rite. Fourteen only had then been received into the full membership of the church, due and commendable caution being observed in admitting to the table of the Lord. The work of education still continued to prosper; so completely so, indeed, that in June of the last year, there were few persons on the island who could not read. Advances in civilization, proportionate to the spread of the Gospel, and the diffusion of education, were also daily made. Several of the natives have built for themselves very neat plastered dwellings, with doors and windows, and ere this have boarded their bed-rooms. Many acres of ground are enclosed, and stocked with articles of food of various kinds. Tools, paper, and writing utensils, are in great demand amongst them. The females especially are much improved in their habits and appearance; the cloth which they procure, instead of being bound negligently round them, is regularly made up into gowns; the wives of the missionaries having successfully bestowed great pains upon their instruction in needle-work, in which several of them have made considerable proficiency. In Eimeo, the congregation gradually increases; during the quarter immediately preceding the last communication to England, 19½ adults, and 137 children, had been baptized; the former having also been formed into a church. The missionaries had recently taken a tour round the island, and were every where received with the most cordial expressions of delight; the people of the district to which they were advancing coming out to meet them, whilst those of the districts through which they had passed accompanied them through one or two others on their journey; so that their congregations were generally composed of the inhabitants of two or three districts at

a time. Every where the natives seemed to be very anxious in their inquiries as to the meaning of different parts of Scripture—the conduct which they ought to pursue—and in procuring the solution of cases of conscience. Two natives have been sent forth as catechists, and were gladly received at every place which they visited. In January of the last year, one of the missionaries accompanied these native teachers in a tour round the island, in which the gratifying scene was repeatedly exhibited of their closing the services by prayer for, and affecting addresses to their brethren. Two other native members of the church at Eimeo have offered their services as missionaries to Raiavai, whither the king purposes sending them as soon as a conveyance can be obtained. Mr. Marsden has lately spent two months in New Zealand, visiting its different tribes, both on the western and eastern sides of the Northern island; and, on his return to Paramatta, he reports that he found the natives every where hospitable and kind. He expresses, indeed, a sanguine hope, that the Gospel will soon dawn upon these benighted regions—a hope to which who will not respond Amen? From the interior of Africa intelligence has recently been received of a mixed nature. At Griqua town the church appears to be in a low state, no accessions having been lately made; whilst, on the other hand, some members have been necessarily excluded from its communion. Nothing, indeed, but the special outpouring of the Spirit, for which the friends of missions to the heathens incessantly should pray, seems, humanly speaking, likely to avail in the extensive diffusion of the Gospel amongst so wild and barbarous a race as the Bushmen; who, exhibiting in a most striking manner, that scriptural proof of being in a state of sin, that they are “without natural affection;” consider their parents, when unable to work, as unworthy to live; and, therefore, leave them without food in the bushes—turn them on a wild ox into the woods—or drag them into the fields to leave them there to be the prey of wolves. Civilization is, however, making some advances even amongst them, and agriculture is more and more cultivated. At Pacalts Dorp, this is still more strikingly the case; more wheat having been sown by the Hottentots than ever: though we regret to add, that drought, and storms, and blasts, have nearly destroyed their crops, and plants, and fruits; and reduced the congregation to a very destitute state, as far as temporal comforts are concerned. In spiritual things they appear, however, notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, to be making progress; several Hottentots, on whom for some years no impression seemed to be made, now exhibiting evident proofs of genuine conversion. In Lattakoo, pleasing indications of the commencement of the work of civilization, and, we hope, of that of religion in the heart, have lately presented themselves. A visit has been paid to that populous city by the Landdrost, of Graaf Ruscet; and since his return, Mateetbe, the king of that place, has given orders to his Bostachuanna subjects, when they go a hunting, not to hurt the Bushmen, except those who came to take their cattle; and both he, and many of his chiefs, have desired Mr. Hamilton, the missionary resident amongst them, to inform the Landdrost, that in obedience to his wishes, they have determined to kill no more women or children of that race. In proof of the sincerity of their intention, he relates, that shortly after the visit of this officer, a party of Mateetbe’s people went out in pursuit of cattle stolen by some Bushmen, whom they found, but did not kill one of them. They took, indeed, a woman prisoner; and, instead of killing her, as had been their practice in similar cases, they brought her to town; kept her for two days, and then sent her home with several presents. Her tribe, surprised at this unwonted generosity in their deadly enemies, sent word that they would not take any more cattle from the Bostach-

vannas; and, adds the missionary, in concluding this interesting narrative, "we have had peace ever since." Shortly after this occurrence, the king of the Moshows sent to Mateebe, to assist him in making a *commandor*, a sudden incursion, somewhat resembling the forays of our border chiefs in olden time, upon a nation to the eastward; but he and his captains returned for answer, with one consent, that they had nothing to do with *commandors*; now, as the word of God said it was not good. With such pleasing prospects opening around them, we wonder not that the society, by whose instrumentality these good signs of better things to come have been effected, are anxious to have a permanent and suitable establishment for the superintendence of their missions in Southern Africa, at the Cape; and we, consequently, most cordially approve of their confirmation of a purchase made, by Dr. Philip of a spot of land at Cape Town, for the erection of a chapel and mission house; and earnestly do we hope that the appeal which they have made to the extra exertions of Christian liberality to supply the deficiency in the funds necessary for completing the projected erection, occasioned by the prudent limitation by the committee of their building grant to £500., will not be made in vain.

A most important field for missionary exertion has recently been opened at Madagascar. By a treaty concluded there in September of the last year, by Mr. Hastie, the commissioner of governor Farquhar, on behalf of the British government, with Rudama, king of the island, the slave trade, long carried on there to a most frightful extent, has been abolished, we hope, for ever, one of the equivalents for its abolition being an engagement on the part of our government, that twenty of the subjects of the king of Madagascar should be instructed in the most useful arts; ten at the Mauritius, and ten in England—a condition on which Rudama sets a higher value than on all the rest. Mr. Jones, the missionary of the London Society, now resides at the court of Rudama, who expresses, not only the greatest willingness, but the greatest anxiety, to receive into his dominions Protestant missionaries, (for Roman Catholics he has refused permission to come,) to instruct his subjects in the truths of the Christian religion. "If your government will instruct my people," said he to Mr. Hastie, "I am theirs for ever." This was a sentiment worthy of a king.

In Western Africa, the most pleasing success still continues to follow the labours of the CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY. The negroes give satisfactory evidence of their having received the truth in the love of it, and of its bringing forth the fruits of a holy life. Docile, industrious—watchful of the dealings of Providence—attentive to the instructions of their teachers—fond of their Bibles, frequent in prayer, these new converts to the Gospel shame, by their conduct, many European professors, who must hereafter account for the use of a thousand times their advantages. The excellent governor of Sierra Leone, the benevolent and enlightened Mr. M'Carthy, still continues his patronage and protection to the agents of the society, and to their interesting flock; who will, we trust, be to them and to him a crown of rejoicing in the great day. The schools at the different stations are in a flourishing condition, and the children take great delight in attending them. Native teachers are now engaged in various parts in preaching the Gospel to their countrymen, and they evince great zeal in the service. The Rev. Mr. Johnson, accompanied by one of these teachers, and six native youths in the society's seminary, lately made a tour to the Bapana islands, which have just been ceded to the British government by their native chiefs, of the family of the Caulkers, men possessing much superior knowledge, and views so much more enlightened than their fellows, that one of them has translated the book of Genesis, part of the Liturgy, and some hymns, into

the Sherboo language. The latter he has taken from the Olney collections so that some of the pious strains of that venerable servant of God, the late Rev. John Newton, are now sung in their native tongue, by the inhabitants of those very regions in which he once assisted in carrying on the horrid traffic in human blood. The agents of the society in the East are increasingly active in the translation and distribution of the Scriptures. The New Testament is now printing at Surat, in Gujuratee, under the auspices, and with the assistance of the Bombay Bible Society. The Armenian Christians are anxiously endeavouring to supply themselves with the Scriptures in the Armenian, Arabic, and Syrian tongues; one of their archbishops, who has lately visited Bombay, not only gladly and thankfully receiving copies of them for distribution, but encouraging their perusal by the members of his church. Surat exhibited, indeed, the pleasing sight of the archdeacon and priest of that church accompanying one of the members of the Bombay committee of the Bible Society, to the house of the Armenian Christians of the city, to furnish such as were without the Scriptures at least with one copy of the New Testament, with which the Syrian churches in Travancore have also been abundantly supplied in the Syrian tongue; and the archbishop of Etz Mutzenon, on his departure from Bombay, was himself the bearer of others for the use of the Christians scattered through Persia, and the provinces of Turkey.

The missionary spirit is kindled, or we should rather say rekindled, in Switzerland. The anniversary of the BASLE MISSIONARY INSTITUTION, on the 20th of June last, was numerously attended; when the students, at their public examination, gave satisfactory proof of having made great progress in the doctrines of the Christian faith, in the Greek and Hebrew languages, in the Arabic of the Koran, and in English. The public meeting was closed by an affecting appeal from that excellent man, and most devoted Christian minister, La Roche. Four promising young men were afterwards set apart to missionary labours, and are already on their way to the Black Sea; in the countries on whose borders, or in whose neighbourhood, they are to labour; one of them proceeding, however, into the interior of Armenia. A Christian nobleman sent a thousand Swiss francs to the meeting, as a purse for the departing missionaries, as did a farmer of Alsace two hundred.

POLITICAL RETROSPECT.

SINCE the appearance of our last Number, the hand of death has again wrought important changes in our domestic politics. The ex-emperor of France, and the queen of England, are no more:—they have both passed to their great account, and have left behind them but the shadow of a name. If any thing could read a lesson, that must be attended to, on the instability of all human greatness, it surely would have been read in the little interest which the death of Buonaparte excited, not only in this country, but throughout Europe; whose dynasties were once changed at his rod—whose emperors and kings anxiously sought his friendship and alliance—whose armies fled before him—and whose immense population trembled at his name. Yet of him it might almost literally be said, that he died as the dog dieth:—an exile, a prisoner, his remains were deposited in one of the wildest spots of the most barren island of the ocean; and if any feeling were excited by his death, it was that of selfish joy at the recollection, that the sum could now be saved, which had for some years been expended on

keeping him like a lion or a tiger in safe custody. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* *Sic transit*, we may again exclaim, as we revert to the sudden removal of the queen of England. In the midst of life we are, indeed, in death;—but a few days since her majesty was asserting with a determination, on which, were she now alive, we should deem it our duty to make some remarks, her right to be crowned as queen consort of these realms; surrounded by all the pomp and splendour of the most gorgeous spectacle, perhaps, that in modern times, at least, the world has seen:—a few days more, and she was a corpse. In her grave we would wish to inter her faults, and deeply do we regret that the spirit of party would not suffer her remains to be transported in peace to the mausoleum of her ancestors at Brunswick, where she wished them to be deposited; but that her funeral procession should have been the cause of bloodshed, and the origin of feuds between the military and the people, which will not soon be allayed. Two individuals have, it appears, been shot by the soldiery; and it is highly proper that a legal inquiry should be instituted into the cause of their death. That inquiry is in progress, and whilst it is so, we should deem it highly indecorous in us to offer any remarks upon the *ex-parte* statements which have appeared in the papers. From the queen we turn to the king, who was crowned on the 19th of July, with as little interruption to the *éclat* of the imposing ceremony as, under the then existing circumstances, could have been expected. Shortly afterwards he left London for Dublin, and had nearly reached the latter metropolis, when intelligence of the death of his queen converted his public and triumphal into a private entrance.

Few things could, we conceive, have a greater tendency to confer a lasting benefit upon Ireland, than a visit of the sovereign to its shores, for the first time since England has held the dominion of that country; bearing thither the olive branch of peace, and not the scourge of war. The Irish, therefore, at all times a generous and an hospitable people, have been enthusiastic in their joy ever since it was announced that his majesty intended to honour their capital with his presence; and they have received him in a manner as gratifying to his feelings, as it has been merited by the anxiety he has evinced to render his stay amongst them, not only a source of pleasure to them for the moment, but permanently beneficial. This has been shown in the encouragement which he has afforded to their native manufactures, but still more strongly in his successful efforts to allay the animosities but too long subsisting between the Protestant and Catholic inhabitants of the country, who have joined heart and hand in giving to their common sovereign a cordial and united welcome to their land. Long, we trust, will harmony reign, where discord has so long held her triumphal sway; and that this may be the case, we would embrace the present moment of friendship, conviviality, and good humour, to urge upon our Protestant brethren the propriety and necessity of abolishing those Orange Lodges, whose processions have uniformly been the signal and the cause of the most lawless disorders, ending but too frequently in the loss of many lives; and of necessity laying the foundation of many a future, and a deadly feud. It is, we conceive, highly creditable to the duke of York, that as soon as he learned the real nature and objects of these institutions, he resolutely and deliberately resigned the office of president, which he had hastily accepted.

The sessions of parliament, brought to a close at a late period of the season, has certainly been an active one; and has embraced some topics of legislation and discussion, to which, though not the most prominently important of its proceedings, the peculiar principles which, as Christians, we advocate, induce us at least slightly to advert. The questions proposed by the bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Marsh) to the clergy of his diocese,

previous to licensing them; and to candidates for orders, before he ordained them; have, in our judgment at least, been very properly brought before parliament: for united as the church is with the state, and inseparable as are the temporal and spiritual interests of the former, whilst by law it is established, we cannot but deem it perfectly regular that the legislature should have an effectual control over the usurpations of the bishop, which, if unchecked, might by possibility altogether change the doctrines of the church, the integrity of whose articles it is their bounden duty to maintain. That those articles are Calvinistic has been asserted, and we think abundantly proved, by some of her ablest members, both amongst the laity and clergy, including with the latter not a few of the most devoted, learned, and orthodox, of her prelates. But this point we may, perhaps, discuss more at length on some future occasion, and in a different department of our Work; for be the articles and homilies of the church of England Calvinistic or Armenian, we cannot but view it as a very dangerous precedent for any bishop to found, on his own particular view and construction of them, a set of queries, which, if not answered to his satisfaction, will render nugatory and invalid subscription to the thirty-nine articles; the only test which either the law, or the rubric, requires. This would, indeed, be establishing any thing rather than that uniformity of faith and practice, on which the church of England prides herself; and might introduce as many creeds as there are dioceses. Every real friend to that church must, therefore, rejoice in the decided disapprobation of the bishop's novel procedure, expressed by the leading members of the House of Peers; both on the ministerial, and the opposition benches. Most cordially, at least, do we agree with the prudent admonition of the premier, to the right reverend bench, exhorting them not to draw tighter and closer the liberal construction of the thirty-nine articles; as by so doing they would violate the spirit of the church, and run a risk of excluding from its clergy those who had, at all times, been its most useful members, and sincere friends. Most earnestly did he recommend them, and as earnestly would we enforce that recommendation, could we hope that our exhortations might find their way to their palaces and their thrones—that they would, on these points, continue to exercise that forbearance, which, for centuries past, their predecessors have exercised with so much prudence, and so much advantage.

The friends of humanity have been vigilant and active in both houses, and, on the whole, successful; for beside directing the attention of the legislature to the horrid barbarity of suffering the burning of widows in India, an unchristian and idolatrous practice, which we, as a nation, undoubtedly have the power of preventing, if we have the will; the full concurrence of ministers has been obtained, to an address to his majesty, praying him to take more effectual means for procuring the co-operation of foreign powers in the entire abolition of the slave trade: a measure certainly most loudly called for, when it is considered, that within the short space of one year, no less than 60,000 slaves were taken from Africa; 18,000 of whom were imported into the Portuguese settlements alone: for though the mother country has by solemn treaty formally relinquished this iniquitous traffic, by a shameful evasion it is continued in her colonies; as is also the case, under similar circumstances, with those of Holland and of Spain. But of all the governments of the civilized world, that of France appears, in this respect, to be the most culpable; and we rejoice to find, that to them particularly will the remonstrance of our ministry be directed, we hope, not without effect.

The bill so properly introduced into the lower house by Mr. Martin, of Galway, for preventing cruelty to animals, has also, we are happy to learn,

passed into a law, after an opposition not very honourable to those engaged in it; and with exemptions, procured by ~~their~~ exertions, in favour of cock-fighting and bull-baiting, two brutal diversions, disgraceful to the English name and character; but which several of our legislators, in other respects most enlightened men, have been most unaccountably anxious to perpetuate and preserve. The voice of humanity has, however, prevailed over the cupidity of commercial speculation, though it could not over the love of barbarous sports, in procuring the rejection of the extra-post bill, on the ground that the proposed speedier conveyance of letters could not be obtained without great cruelty to horses, in driving them at the furious rate of eleven miles in an hour, including stoppages—a rate at which, except in cases of extreme emergence, no animal should ever be driven.

France seems to be making rapid approximations to the constitutional freedom which this country has so long enjoyed. The censorship of the press has been rejected by the chamber of deputies; but whilst, as sincere friends to the diffusion of liberal sentiments throughout the world, we rejoice at this measure, we would not forget that there was a time when such a censorship was established by law in England. The abolition, for a period of near a hundred and fifty years, of such an intolerable restriction on the liberty of the press, whilst it teaches us gratitude for ourselves, should inspire us with hope for others.

These are still early days to expect that Spain should be in any thing like that settled state, which we yet trust, and fully anticipate, that her constitutional monarchy will, ere long, attain. A new penal code has been submitted to the Cortes, ameliorating, in some material points, the old one; yet containing some traces of bigotry and puerility, which we could wish it to have been without. Of the former description is the denunciation of the punishment of death by strangulation, by the pressure of an iron collar, against those who conspire to establish any religion differing from the Catholic. To the latter we may, perhaps, assign the seclusion of a wife, convicted of adultery, for as long a period as her husband wishes, provided it does not exceed ten years; though the same character scarcely can apply to the legal declaration of infamy pronounced against the husband, in the like case offending. It is highly creditable to the government, that very urgent representations have been made by them to the local authorities of the country, on the importance of establishing universities, schools, and charitable institutions, in the suppressed convents, which are to be repaired for these purposes at the public expense. The general diffusion of knowledge by these, and similar means, will soon, we doubt not, introduce into Spain more enlightened notions than those which the drones maintained in these convents were so active, and it is the only thing in which they were active, in promulgating. Their great patrons, the pope and his conclave, have just taken as effectual a step as could be desired, to shake the influence which they have long had in Spain, to a much greater extent than in any other transalpine country of Europe, by refusing to confirm the election of two bishops, on the ground that they took a part in the deliberations of the Cortes, hostile to the privileges and immunities of the ecclesiastical orders. The sitting of the Cortes has been peaceably and constitutionally terminated, by a speech from the throne; and it appears, that before they are assembled again, the extraordinary Cortes will be convoked, as the only means to set at rest the machinations of the disaffected. The establishment of peace and order in the Spanish provinces beyond the sea, is talked of in the king's speech as an object to which his attention will be primarily directed; though it would seem now to be so directed too late, as the time is, we suspect, rapidly approaching, when

Spain will have no provinces beyond the sea to govern, or to care for. Caraccas has surrendered to the patriot army, who, in all human probability, will soon be masters of most of the provinces of South America, still owing their allegiance to the Spanish crown.

The king of Portugal has returned from the Brazils to his European dominions, as a constitutional monarch; though we regret to notice, in the proceedings of the national Cortes, a tendency to depress the monarchical authority beneath its due weight in the three estates. The return of this monarch to Lisbon seems to have been, in some measure, accelerated by some disturbances in the Brazils, in consequence of the soldiers having been called in to disperse a meeting of electors convened to choose deputies to the Cortes; but who, instead of confining themselves to the business for which they were assembled, sent a deputation to the king, at midnight, requiring a provisional government, on the principles of the Spanish constitution, which was granted: but following up this step by other irregular proceedings, too evidently of a revolutionary tendency, the military fired into the Exchange, and killed and wounded many individuals, and apprehended several others. Tranquillity was soon restored, but the stagnation of all business proves that the public have no very strong faith in the stability of the present order of things.

The affairs of Greece and Turkey still remain in the unsettled and uncertain state in which we left them in our last, save that hostilities have been attended by greater atrocities, we fear upon both sides, and certainly upon that of the followers of the crescent, who have forcibly driven from Scio that excellent man, professor Bambas, of whom honourable mention has frequently been made in our Missionary Report; and have also broken up the school, formed upon the British system at Smyrna, by our benevolent countryman, William Allen, during his recent philanthropic tour. The savage execution of the venerable Greek patriarch, and of four bishops of his church, at Constantinople, seems to have excited great indignation in the provinces over which the creed of their church is spread; but it is extremely doubtful, whether the flame it has aroused will not, in the issue, be more destructive to themselves than their oppressors. The great European powers are said, however, to have remonstrated with the Porte upon the severity of its proceedings, not only against the Franks, but the Greeks; and it is not likely, if this course is persisted in, that Russia and Austria, at least, and especially the former, will stand by, quiet spectators of the destructive scene. The great danger to be feared from their interference, is the territorial aggrandizement of Russia—a power already, at the least, sufficiently large. Should this be attempted, as we trust it will not, the peace of Europe may be disturbed; and England again become a principal in an expensive, a lengthened, and, we fear, it would prove a general war.

END OF VOL. III.

I N D E X

TO

THE THIRD VOLUME.

A.

AMERICA : proceedings — of the board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 172, 228 ; of the United Foreign Mission Society, 230 ; the Baptist Missionaries, 231 ; Episcopal Missionary Society, *ib.* ; state—of its penitentiaries, 175 ; of religion in the Presbyterian church, 390 ; of the Theological Seminary at Andover, 395 ; suggestions for an intercourse between the Dissenting churches of England and America, *ib.* ; New Presbyterian Magazine published there, 396 ; statistical notices respecting some of its states, 396 ; notice of the Remains of the author of Yamoyden, 397.

Antiquities — of Egypt, 190, 409 ; Rome, 190 ; Roman found at Tynemouth, 408 ; relics of Charles I., *ib.* ; statue of Memnon, 409 ; tombs at Exeter, *ib.* ; Cleopatra's needle, *ib.*

B.

Bacon, Francis, lord Verulam, his epitaph, 32.

Banks, sir Joseph, memoir of his life, 258 ; his family, *ib.* ; education, *ib.* ; early predilection for botanical pursuits, 259 ; singular adventure whilst botanizing, *ib.* ; attachment to angling, *ib.* ; voyage to Labrador, 260 ; accompanies captain Cook on his voyage of discovery, 261 ; discoveries in natural history, 261, 4, 363, 371 ; dangerous expedition at Terra del

Fuego, 265 ; influence at Otaheite, 266, 361 ; exposure to danger at the neighbouring isles, and at New Zealand, 362—at New Guinea, 366 ; illness at Java, 367 ; introduction to his late majesty, 368 ; preparations to accompany captain Cook in his last voyage, 369 ; voyage to Iceland, 370 ; election to the presidency of the Royal Society, 372 ; quarrel with bishop Horsley, Dr. Hutton, &c., 372, 7 ; marriage, 373 ; encouragement of science, 372, 4 ; conversazionis on the Sabbath condemned, 374 ; created a baronet and K.B., 375 ; activity in forming the African Institution, *ib.* ; other public services, 376 ; illness and death, 378 ; will, *ib.* ; character, *ib.*

Battas, a race of cannibals in Sumatra, account of them, 1.

Bible Society ; annual meeting of the British and Foreign, 202 ;—of the Naval and Military, 204 ; of the Merchant Seaman's Auxiliary, 206.

Biographical sketches of professor Lee, 121 ; dean Milner, 244 ; sir Joseph Banks, 258, 361.

Books, list of new ones, 193, 413.

Bradford, John, (the martyr), reflections written by him on the blank leaves of his New Testament, 30.

Buonaparte, Napoleon, account of him, 433.

Byron, lord, review of his Don Juan, canto I, 353 ; his singular career, 354 ; conduct of the Edinburgh reviewers towards him, 354, 6—of the Quarterly, 356 ; his Don Juan severely censured, 357.

K K

C.

- Cannibals, account of a singular race of them in Sumatra, 1.
 Ceylon, history of, from the Cinghalese historiographic records 33, 267.
 Chapels opened, 214, 8, 9, 220, 1—foundations laid, 221.
 Churches opened, 216, 469—to be erected, 221.

D.

- Dawes, archbishop, original letter from him, 312.
 Death of Mungo Park, a poem, 175, 399.
 Deaths—of remarkable persons, 212, 214, 6, 446, 8, 451; sudden, 215, 7, 8, 222.
 Discoveries: remedy for mildew in wheat, 184; mode of destroying insects, and prevention of gumming in fruit trees, 185; a substitute for potatoes, *ib.*; for remedying diseases brought on by drinking cold water, 140; for hydrophobia, 191; for the plague, *ib.*; method of restoring the white in paintings, 112; the unicorn, 406; a connexion between Etna and Vesuvius, *ib.*; a mode of recovering faded flowers, 407; a curious property in hydrogen gas, *ib.*; a new conductor of electricity, *ib.*; a prevention from contagion, 409; cheap mode of preserving anatomical preparations, *ib.*; spontaneous separation of warts, 410; a succedaneum for leeches, *ib.*
 Don Juan, review of the first canto of, 353.

E.

- Eastbourn, Rev. James, notice of his literary remains, 397.
 Ecclesiastical preferments, 214, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 220, 1, 2, 3, 448, 9, 450, 1, 2.
 Education, on the advantages of affording it to the inhabitants of the Further East, 234.

- Ely, Rev. Dr. Ezra, Styles, communication from him, 395.
 Epitaph on Lord Bacon, 32.
 Essays:—What is poetry, 54; on the religion of the Indian tribes of North America, 70; on the advantage of affording the means of education to the inhabitants of the Further East, 282.

G.

- Gardener, Colonel, original letter from him, 312.
 Godwin, William, review of his work on population, 86; his answer to the theory of Malthus, 95.

H.

- Henry, Rev. Matthew, original letter from him, 311; Rev. Philip, original letter from him, 308.
 Hervey, Rev. James, original letter from, 312.
 Hoare, Prince, review of his memoirs of Granville Sharpe, 134; its defects, 150.

I.

- Jarvis, Dr. Samuel Farmar, essay on the religion of the Indian tribes of North America, 70.
 Improvements in felling timber, 185; ploughing, *ib.*; gunpowder, 407; sideographic engraving, 410; lithography, 411; Bank notes and Bank paper, *ib.*; printing copper-plates, *ib.*; dying cloth, 412; cooking apparatus, *ib.*; burning smoke, *ib.*
 India, papers relating to, 33, 267, 284.
 Independents, examination of their claims to be considered the first promulgators of toleration, 330; proofs of their early intolerance, 332.
 Intelligence, American, 153, 379; literary and philosophical, 184, 406; religious, 204, 421; philanthropic, 206; provincial, 212, 446.

- Missionary, 223, 453, political, 231, 460.
- Inventions, new : walking on water, 188 ; horizontal direction of balloons, 189 ; globes in relief, *ib.* ; boat without sails, oars, or steam apparatus, *ib.* ; machinery for sweeping streets, *ib.* ; raising water, *ib.* ; imitation of oriental manuscripts, *ib.* ; instruments for perspectives, *ib.* ; to render provisions incorruptible, 407 ; vessels not submergible, *ib.* ; mode of saving persons from drowning, 408 ; apparatus to impel boats without oars, *ib.* ; printing presses, *ib.* ; luminous direction posts, *ib.* ; perambulator, *ib.* ; sight preservers, 410 ; instrument for teaching music, 411 ; polymorphoscope, *ib.* ; lamp, *ib.*
- Johnston, sir Alexander, communications from him, 33, 267.
- Juan, Don, review of the first canto of, 353.

L.

- Lee, professor, review of two sermons preached by him at Shrewsbury, 119 ; account of his life, and extraordinary attainments, 121 ; compared with the admirable Chric-ton, 123 ; his present occupations, 128 ; his defence of the education of the lower classes, *ib.* ; character of his sermons, 133.
- Letters, original ones, from Rev. Philip Henry, 308 ; Rev. Matthew Henry, 311 ; archbishop Dawes, 312 ; colonel Gardener, *ib.* ; Rev. James Hervey, 313.
- List of new publications, 193, 413.
- Literary intelligence—establishment of a society for the fine arts at Birmingham, 220 ; undertaking—new grand map of France, 192.
- Longevity, instances of, 215, 6, 7, 8, 220, 446, 9, 450, 2, 3.

M.

- Malays, their character, 269 ; of Sumatra, their character, 17 ; reli-

- gious opinions, 18 ; form of government, 19 ; legislation, 20 ; arts and manufactures, 21.
- Manufactures: liquor from mountain ashberries, 185 ; Sherbet, 186.
- Mason, Rev. Dr. (of New York) notice of him, 398.
- Memoirs of Professor Lee, of Cambridge, 121 ; Dean Milner, 244 ; Sir Joseph Banks, 258, 361.
- Milner, Dean, memoir of his life, 244 ; his early occupation as a weaver, *ib.* ; is educated at his brother's expense, 245 ; assists his brother in his school, *ib.* ; distinguishes himself at college, *ib.* ; chosen Jacksonian professor of chemistry, 246 ; acquaintance with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wilberforce, *ib.* ; elected president of Queen's College, Cambridge, *ib.* ; his conduct in that office, 247 ; made Dean of Carlisle, *ib.* ; elected Lucasian professor of mathematics, 248 ; his vice-chancellorship, *ib.* ; his writings, *ib.* ; ill state of his health, *ib.* ; last illness and death, 249 ; character, 250 ; religious opinions, 252 ; fraternal affection, 255.
- Missionary Intelligence : — Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 206, 223 ; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 453 ; Moravian Missions, 224 ; Baptist Missions, 225, 423, 453 ; Wesleyan Missions, 201, 228 ; Church Missionary Society, 202, 228, 459 ; London Missionary Society, 204, 226, 450 ; Glasgow Missionary Society, 227 ; American Board of Foreign Missions, 228 ; Home Missionary Society, 204 ; United Foreign Missionary Society in America, 230 ; American Baptist Missions, 231 ; Episcopal Missionary Society in America, *ib.* ; Basle Missionary Institution, 460.
- Monumental Inscriptions to the Memory of Great and Good Men, 31.

N.

Natural History.—Rein Deer, 186; Indian Wild Ass, 187; Unicorn, 406; Sagacity of a Dog, *ib.*; Mermaid, 407.

Necrological Retrospect of the year 1820, 235.

New York, Report of its Female Missionary Society, 15, 379.

O.

Obituary of Mr. John Scott, 211; Richard Twiss, Esq., 213; M. de Fontanes, *ib.*; Earl of Carhampton, *ib.*; Admiral Bligh, 216; Rev. Noah Blackburn, 217; W. Stevenson, Esq., 218; Mrs. Pizzozzi, 219; Dr. Bateman, 220; Dr. James Gregory, 221; Marquess of Londonderry, 222; Rev. Dr. Neilson, *ib.*; Napoleon Buonaparte, 433; Charles Alfred Stothard, Esq., F.A.S., 444; Kea Kang Emperor of China, 446; Prince Charles of Hesse Rothenberg, *ib.*; Dr. James Carmichael Smith, 447; Thomas Morgan, LL.D., *ib.*; Abel Worth, Esq., 448; Oliver Cromwell, Esq., 449; Sir Francis Milman, 450; Rev. Dr. Ford, 451; Rev. Peter Gondolphy, 452; Rev. Daniel Augustus Beaufort, LL.D., 453.

Ordinations, 214, 5, 6, 8, 9, 221, 449.

Original letters, from Rev. Philip Henry, 308; Rev. Matthew Henry, 311; Archbishop Dawes, 312; Colonel Gardiner, *ib.*; Rev. James Hervey, 313.

Orme, Rev. William, review of his memoirs of the life of Dr. John Owen, 315, commended 315, 347; its defects 319, 352; his partiality to the Independents, 344, 6.

Owen, Dr. John, review of memoirs of his life by Orme, 315; his descent, *ib.*; education, 316; retirement from Oxford, 319; conversion, 320; first publication, 322; views of toleration, 322, 347, 9; settlement at Fordham, 323,

removal to Coggeshall 347; journey to Ireland and Scotland, *ib.*; appointment—to the deanery of Christ church, *ib.*; to the vice-chancellorship of Oxford, 348; conduct in the government of the University, 349; election as member of Parliament, *ib.*; conduct after the death of Cromwell, 350; retirement from public life, *ib.*; death, 351; character, *ib.*

Owen, Mr.; meeting in Lanarkshire to consider his plan for the relief of the poor, and working classes, 208.

P.

Park, Mungo, poem on his death, 175, 399.

Philanthropic intelligence, provincial, 213, 5, 216, 221, 2, 448, 450, 452; state of the public hospitals in London, 209; proceedings of philanthropic institutions; society for the relief of the Houseless Poor, 206; African Institution, 207; Royal Humane Society, *ib.*; Freemasons' Female School, *ib.*; Westminster Irish Free School, *ib.*; Floating Hospital for Seamen, 209; Society for the Encouragement of Female Servants, *ib.*; Royal Universal Dispensary for Children, *ib.*; London Female Penitentiary, 210.

Phenomena and curious productions of nature; productive stalk of wheat, 186; rare birds in England, *ib.*; eruption of a volcano, *ib.*; atmospheric phenomenon, 187; immense diamond, *ib.*; large block of amethyst, *ib.*; huge mass of native iron, *ib.*; volcano in the moon, 188; the unicorn, 406; a mermaid, 407; rare plants in the botanical garden at Glasgow, *ib.*

Poetry:—what is poetry, a vision, 54; the death of Mungo Park, 175, 399.

Population—review of Godwin's treatise on, 86; refutation of Mr. Malthus's theory upon the subject, 86, 89, 92, 102, 9; in China,

95, 130; India, 96; South America, 97; Sparta, 98; Rome, 99; North America, 102, 110; Sweden, 103; England and Wales, 105; Holland, 105, 112; France, 105; the idea of its redundancy chimerical, 117.
 Political Retrospect, 231, 400.
 Preaching in the streets, proceedings against Mr. Waller for it, 424.
 Presbyterians, proofs of their former intolerance, 325.
 Prisons, account of various, 216, 221.
 Prize question of the Medical Society of Paris, 191.
 Publications, list of new ones, 198, 413.

R.

Raffles, sir Thomas Stamford, communications from him, 1, 9, 284; his instructions to the committee for promoting the education of the natives of Sumatra, 9; letters to him from the school committee of Bencoolen, 13, 16, 26; letter from him to the committee, 29.
 Rajavali, translation of the, from the Cinghalese, 33, 267.
 Religious institutions, proceedings of—Sunday School Society for Ireland, 201; British and Foreign Bible Society, 202; Prayer Book and Homily Society, 203; London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, ib.; London Hibernian Society, ib.; London Itinerant Society, ib.; Port of London Society, 304, 423; Naval and Military Bible Society, ib.; Merchant Seaman's Auxiliary Bible Society, 206; Cambrian Society, ib.; Sunday School Union, 421; Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, ib.; Continental Society, 422; Church of England Tract Society, 423; intelligence;—proceedings against Mr. Samuel Waller for preaching in the streets, 424; refusal of a minister of the church of England to read the burial ser-

vice over the body of a Dissenter, 217; appointment of an additional service at Brighton church by the king, 220.
 Retrospect, political, 231, 460; necrological of the year 1820, 235.
 Review of Godwin on population, 86; two sermons preached at Shrewsbury by professor Lee, 109; Prince Hoare's memoirs of Granville Sharpe, 134; the improvement of English roads urged, 151; Orme's memoirs of Dr. Owen, 315; Don Juan, canto I., 353.
 Roads, review of a pamphlet on their improvement, 151.
 Roscoe, Mr., his remonstrances against solitary imprisonment, 175.

S.

Scott, John, account of him, 211.
 Sharp, Granville, review of Hoare's Memoirs of him, 134; his early life, 136; direction of his exertions to ameliorate the condition of African slaves, ib.; successful exertions in behalf of Jonathan Strong, 137; of Hylas, 138; of J. Somerset, ib.; his publications 136, 7, 9, 141, 3; refusal to enter into holy orders, 127; honorable resignation of his situation in the Ordnance office, 139; controversy with Dr. Johnson on the lawfulness of impressing, 140; exertions in favour of American independence, 141, 3; for the abolition of the slave-trade, 142, 3, 5; procures the establishment of the colony of Sierra Leone, 144; his character, 149; independence, 133; active charity, 147; modesty, 146; private character, ib.; piety, 148; death, 149.
 Stafford, Rev. Ward, report to the Female Missionary Society of New York, 153, 379.
 Stothard, Charles Alfred, account of him, 444.
 Stuart, Rev. Moses, of Andover, N. A., communication from him, 395.

Sematra, account of the Battas, a race of cannibals in its interior, 1; sketch of the present condition of its native population, 9.

T.

Trial of Mr. Samuel Waller, for preaching in the streets, 424.

U. V.

Vaccination in China, 190.
University intelligence; Cambridge, 215, 448; Edinburgh, 223.

W.

Waller, Mr. Samuel, proceedings against him for street preaching, 424.





